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AN ARABIC PAPYRUS RECORDING THE LINEAGE OF ʿAMR B. AL-ʿĀṢ

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Abstract. — Edition and study of P.Vindob. A.P. 01788, a papyrus fragment from third/ninth-century Egypt containing Arab genealogical information in the form of two lineages. At least one of these lineages belongs to ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ (d. 43/664).

Keywords: ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ, genealogy, historiography

This article edits and studies an Arabic papyrus currently kept at the papyrus collection of the Austrian National Library under the inventory number A.P. 01788.¹ It presents two Arab lineages, of which one belongs to ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ (d. AH 43/664 CE), a Companion of the prophet Muḥammad and highly successful general in the Muslim conquests of the first half of the first/seventh century who twice served the early caliphate as governor of Egypt (in ca. 19–25/640–645 and 38–43/658–664).² Because the papyrus is broken off at the top, only the fifth, sixth, and seventh pre-Islamic generations are preserved of the first lineage. They are identical to the corresponding generations in ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ’s lineage, the second lineage on the papyrus. It stands to reason that the first lineage is also ʿAmr’s,

¹ We would like to thank Bernhard Palme, director of the Papyrus Collection of the Austrian National Library, and Claudia Kreuzsaler, deputy director, for providing us with a high-quality digital image of the papyrus and giving permission to publish it. A short description and a digital image of the papyrus are available at the Austrian National Library’s digital catalogue at <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/RZ00014019> (accessed February 6, 2020). Part of the research for this article was conducted for the project “Papyri of the Early Arab Period Online,” funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation.

² Michael Lecker’s “The Estates of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in Palestine: Notes on a New Negev Arabic Inscription,” *BSOAS* 52/1 (1989) 24–37 still presents the most useful overview of ʿAmr’s life and career. It may be useful to note that, in published papyri, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ also appears in documents dating from the period of his two tenures as governor of Egypt and in two second/eighth-century literary papyri. These are the documents *SB* 20.14443, *CPR* 30.16, and *P.Lond.Copt.* 1079 and the (fragments of) literary texts edited in N. Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri I: Historical Texts* (Chicago 1957) 80–99 and *III: Language and Literature* (Chicago 1972) 43–78.

but it may equally belong to a member of his extended family.³ The second lineage on the papyrus reaches the ninth (or tenth) pre-Islamic generation. Traces of writing just below the last preserved line suggest that the papyrus originally presented a longer lineage, perhaps reaching ‘Amr’s eighteenth or twenty-first ancestor, respectively Muḍar and ‘Adnān. According to classical genealogical works, Muḍar was the common ancestor of a large part of the so-called northern Arabian tribes. ‘Adnān was the common ancestor of all of these tribes.⁴ Although the papyrus contains no date, its palaeography points at a third/ninth-century date of composition – a period of intense debate over Arab genealogy.⁵ The papyrus has some interesting features. Before we proceed, let us first have a closer look at the papyrus itself.

P.Vindob. A.P. 01788 H × W = 7.7 × 13.8 cm Egypt, third/ninth century

P.Vindob. A.P. 01788 is a fragment of a light-brown sheet of papyrus broken off on the top, left, and bottom sides. An original cutting line has only been preserved on the right side, where a margin of ca. 2.5 cm has been left blank. The fragment’s six lines of text are written in black ink with a medium-sized pen perpendicular to the papyrus fibers. Together with the absence of writing on the back, the direction of the papyrus fibers vis-à-vis the writing suggests that the papyrus originally was a clean sheet.⁶ The papyrus displays two hands, each responsible for one of the papyrus’s lineages. This is most clearly visible in the shapes of the final *mīm* in *سأهم* and *بسم* in lines 2 and 3, that of the *šād* and *hā’* in *هصيص* in lines 2 and 5, and that of the final *rā’* of *عمرو* in lines 2, 4, and 5. Hand 1’s final *mīm*, in line 2, has a much rounder tail compared to the downward stroke of hand 2’s final *mīm* in line 3. In line 2, hand 1 places the oval

³ The first preserved ancestor in the first lineage is Sahm b. ‘Amr b. Huṣayṣ. For a useful overview of the offspring of this Sahm recorded by genealogists, see Ibn Ḥazm, *Jamharat ansāb al-‘Arab*, ed. ‘A.M. Hārūn (Cairo 1982) 163–165. See also the references cited in note 14.

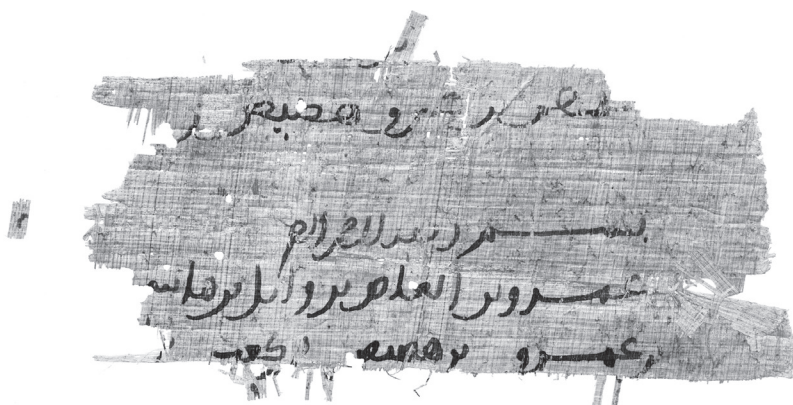
⁴ W. Caskel, “‘Adnān,” in P.J. Bearman et al. (eds.), *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition*, vol. 1 (Leiden 1960) 210 and H. Kindermann, “Rabī‘a and Muḍar,” in P.J. Bearman et al. (eds.), *The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition*, vol. 8 (Leiden 1995) 352–354.

⁵ P. Webb, *Imagining the Arabs: Arab Identity and the Rise of Islam* (Edinburgh 2016) 177–239.

⁶ E.M. Grob, *Documentary Arabic Private and Business Letters on Papyrus: Form and Function, Content and Context* (Berlin/New York 2010) 173; P.M. Sijpesteijn, *Shaping a Muslim State: The World of a Mid-Eighth-Century Egyptian Official* (Oxford 2013) 220. For examples of texts written on clean sheets but not meant for dissemination, as our text probably was (see below), see the documents published in A.A. Shahin, “Schreibübung und Schriftübungszettel zwischen Theorie und Praxis,” in A. Kaplony, D. Potthast and C. Römer (eds.), *From Bāwīt to Marw: Documents from the Medieval Muslim World* (Leiden/Boston 2015) 95–113 and N. Vanthieghem, “Un exercice épistolaire arabe adressé au gouverneur Ġābir ibn al-‘Aṣ‘at,” *APF* 60 (2014) 402–405.

part of the *ṣād* on the writing line, whereas, in line 5, hand 2 realizes this part of the letter in a more diagonal way. Hand 1's *hā'* (line 2) is rounder than hand 2's (line 5). Their final *rā'* differs in a similar way. The identical shapes of the *hā'* and *ṣād* in هاشلم and العاص in line 4 sets lines 3–6 off against lines 1–2. Further, characteristic of hand 2 is the way in which the final *alif* extends below the connecting stroke (line 4: العاص, هاشلم), that the *sīn* and *shīn* are always written with denticles (line 3: بسم; line 4: هاشلم), and the initial *kāf*'s horizontal elongation, with an extended base, an upper stroke that runs parallel to the base line and a rightward shaft at its top (line 5: كعب). *Linea dilatans/mashq* is attested in three places (line 3: بسم; lines 4 and 5: عمرو).⁷ Both hands sparingly use diacritical dots: هصيص in line 2 has two slanting dots under the *yā'*,⁸ and بسم in line 3 has a dot under the *bā'*.⁹ A space of ca. 2 cm separates lines 2 and 3.

[بن	]	hand 1	↓	1
[سأهم بن عمرو >بن< هصيص بن [كعب بن لؤى				2
<i>vacat</i>				
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم				hand 2
عمرو بن العاص بن وائل بن هاشلم بن				4
بن عمرو بن هصيص بن كعب بن [لؤى				5
] . [				6



P.Vindob. A.P. 01788. © Papyrus Collection, Austrian National Library.

⁷ See Grob (n. 6) 188.

⁸ See A. Grohmann, *From the World of Arabic Papyri* (Cairo 1952) 83.

⁹ See Grob (n. 6) 189.

1	hand 1	[		] son of [		son of]
2		[S]ahm son of ʿAmr <son of> Huṣayṣ son of [Kaʿb son of Luʿayy				
		<i>vacat</i>				
3	hand 2	In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful.				
4		ʿAmr son of al-ʿĀṣ son of Wāʾil son of Hāshi[m son of				
5		son of ʿAmr son of Huṣayṣ son of Kaʿb son of [Luʿayy				
6		[] . [

1 بن is still visible in the first line. Lower traces of three or four characters can still be seen before and after بن.

2 Of the *sīn* of س[هم], one denticle and traces of a connecting stroke to another denticle are still perceptible after the lacuna. The scribe left out بن, “son of,” between the names ʿAmr and Huṣayṣ by mistake. The initial tip of the *bāʾ* of بن that follows the name Huṣayṣ is still visible on the small scrap now detached from the papyrus that is currently placed to the left of the papyrus. The reconstruction [كعب بن لؤى] has been made on the basis of line 5. Here and in line 5, we give the classical orthography of لؤى (also of وائل in line 4), i.e. with a *hamza*, because the papyrus does not give enough text to study the authors’ pronunciation of these names.¹⁰ Because the papyrus’s left side is missing, more generations may have originally followed the name Luʿayy.

3 الله has two short *lāms* and the *hāʾ* is reduced to a single oblique stroke with a round tail at the end resembling the curvature of a *nūn*. الرحمن الرحيم is written cursively.¹¹

4 The author of the second lineage spells the name of ʿAmr’s father, العاص, in its very common way without a *yāʾ* at the end.¹² It is noteworthy

¹⁰ See S. Hopkins, *Studies in the Grammar of Early Arabic, Based upon Papyri Datable to before 300 A.H./912 A.D.* (Oxford 1984) 19–32 (§§ 19–27) for the general orthography of (mainly non-literary) papyri and for references to papyri whose spelling seems to reflect a glottal stop.

¹¹ Cf. Grob (n. 6) 191–192.

¹² Grammatically speaking, the name is a definite and masculine active participle formed from the root ʿ-ṣ-y and means “the disobedient.” For the omission of the final *yāʾ* in such participles, see K. Vollers, *Volkssprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien* (Strasbourg 1906) 139–140 and W. Wright, *A Grammar of the Arabic Language*, 3rd ed., vol. 2 (Cambridge 1898) 371; for the case of *al-ʿāṣ* in particular, see also W. Fischer, *Grammatik des klassischen Arabisch* (Wiesbaden 1972) 31 (§ 56, Anm. 2). See also al-Nawawī’s short discussion in his *Tahdhīb al-asmāʾ waʾl-lughāt*, vol. 2 (Cairo n.d.) 30, where the author describes the defective spelling as a commonly accepted ungrammatical variant.

that, as far as modern editions of classical texts can tell us, some authors contemporary with our papyrus, such as al-Balādhurī (d. 279/892), preferred the name's more grammatical spelling, العاصي.¹³

– The *mīm* of هاشم is broken off. There are two possible ways to reconstruct the remainder of line 4. Most genealogists contemporary with our papyrus count two generations between ʿAmr's ancestors Hāshim and ʿAmr b. Huṣayṣ: Suʿayd and Sahm.¹⁴ The latter also appears in line 2 of our papyrus. Possibly confusing this lineage with another line from the Banū Sahm b. ʿAmr, a small number of historians, including the Egyptian Ibn Yūnus (d. 347/958), add another generation, Saʿd, between Suʿayd and Sahm.¹⁵ Because the original width of the papyrus is unknown, the broken-off part of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ's lineage in line 4 can be reconstructed as both هاشم بن سعيد بن سهم and هاشم بن سعاد بن سهم. As to وائل, see the commentary to line 2 above.

5 Traces of the *bāʾ* and *nūn* of بن are still visible at the end of this line before the lacuna. Likewise, the upper traces of the *lām* of لؤي can still be seen above the lacuna.

6 Upper traces of one character are still perceptible below the name Kaʿb.

¹³ Al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ al-buldān*, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden 1866) 492. Greek documents confirm the use of both the names al-ʿĀṣ and al-ʿĀṣī in the first Islamic centuries. The former seems to have been much more common, however. See A. Kaplony, “On the Orthography and Pronunciation of Arabic Names and Terms in the Greek Petra, Nessana, Qurra, and Senouthios Letters (Sixth to Eighth Centuries CE),” *Mediterranean Language Review* 22 (2015) 13.

¹⁴ Al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb al-ashraf*, ed. M. Ḥamīd Allāh et al., vol. 10 (Cairo 1379/1959 and Beirut 1417/1996) 276; W. Caskel and G. Strenziok, *Ġamharat an-nasab: Das genealogische Werk des Hišām ibn Muḥammad al-Kalbī*, vol. 1 (Leiden 1996) Pl. 25; Ibn Saʿd, *Kitāb al-tabaqāt al-kabīr*, ed. ʿA.M. ʿUmar, vol. 5 (Cairo 1421/2001) 47; al-Zubayr b. Bakkār, *Jamharat nasab Quraysh wa-akḥbāruḥā*, ed. ʿA. al-Jarrākh, vol. 2 (Beirut 2010) 98, 111–112; al-Zubayrī, *Kitāb nasab Quraysh*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal (Cairo 1953) 408.

¹⁵ E.g., Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī, *Maʿrifat al-ṣaḥāba*, ed. ʿĀ. al-ʿAzzāzī, vol. 3 (Riyadh 1998) 1720 (no. 1699) and vol. 4 (Riyadh 1998) 1987 (no. 2041), with n. 1 (copied in Ibn ʿAsākir, *Taʾrīkh madīnat Dimashq*, ed. ʿU. al-ʿAmrawī vol. 46 [Beirut 1417/1997] 115); al-Dhahabī, *Ṣiyar aʿlām al-nubalāʾ*, ed. Sh. al-Arnaʿūṭ et al., vol. 3 (Beirut 1401/1981) 79; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, ed. I. al-Zaybaq and ʿĀ. Murshid, vol. 2 (Beirut 1995) 393; Ibn Hubayra, *al-Ifṣāḥ ʿan maʿānī al-Ṣiḥāḥ*, ed. F.ʿA. Aḥmad, vol. 7 (Riyadh 1417/1996) 46; Ibn Yūnus, *Taʾrīkh Ibn Yūnus al-Ṣadaḥī*, ed. ʿA.F. ʿAbd al-Fattāḥ, vol. 1 (Beirut 1421/2000) 374 (no. 1026), but cf. his lineage of ʿAmr's son ʿAbd Allāh, which lacks “b. Saʿd” (277 [no. 756]); al-Mizzī, *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl fī asmāʾ al-rijāl*, ed. B.ʿA. Maʿrūf, vol. 15 (Beirut 1403/1983) 357–358 (no. 3450).

Historical Interest in ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in the Abbasid Period

This interest in ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ's lineage on an Egyptian papyrus is not surprising. Third/ninth- and fourth/tenth-century historiography shows that Egyptian Muslims held ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in higher esteem than their contemporaries elsewhere in the Muslim world did. In non-Egyptian genealogical works and biographical dictionaries, including texts on the virtues or excellences (*faḍāʾil*, *manāqib*) of Muḥammad's Companions, the historical image of ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ largely rests on four themes. As expected, they give his lineage, firmly embedding him in the prophet's tribe of Quraysh. But in direct relation thereto, many such texts also remark that ʿAmr's mother was an enslaved war-captive, usually known as al-Nābigha ("Excellent one"),¹⁶ who had changed hands a couple of times before she came into the possession of al-ʿĀṣ b. Wāʾil, to whom she bore ʿAmr.¹⁷ This partial slave descent sometimes made ʿAmr an object of ridicule and, as he himself is said to have acknowledged, affected his social standing.¹⁸ These texts are also interested in ʿAmr's (late) conversion to Islam, which allegedly took place during an unsuccessful delegation organized by the at that time still non-Muslim Quraysh in order to capture followers of Muḥammad who had migrated to Ethiopia in order to escape persecution. The texts tell that, upon his return to the Ḥijāz, ʿAmr pledged allegiance to the prophet after the latter had forgiven his participation in anti-Islam activities.¹⁹ The texts, further, record the words with which Muḥammad praised him and how the prophet entrusted him with important tasks, such as fighting non-Muslim tribes at Dhāt al-Salāsīl in north-eastern Arabia and calling to Islam the rulers of Oman.²⁰ The last theme

¹⁶ Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr, *al-Istīʿāb fī maʾrifat al-aṣḥāb*, ed. ʿA.M. al-Bijāwī, vol. 3 (Beirut 1412/1996) 1184–1185 quotes ʿAmr as saying that his mother's actual name was Salmā bt. Ḥarmala. Muslim historiography exhibits confusion over the name of ʿAmr's mother. E.g., Khalīfa b. Khayyāṭ, *Kitāb al-ṭabaqāt*, ed. I.D. al-ʿUmarī (Baghdad 1387/1967) 26 calls her Salmā bt. al-Nābigha and al-Balādhurī (n. 14) 277 has al-Nābigha bt. Khuzayma.

¹⁷ Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī, *Maʾrifat al-ṣaḥāba*, ed. ʿĀ. al-ʿAzzāzī, vol. 4 (Riyadh 1998) 1987; al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī, *al-Mustadrak ʿalā al-ṣaḥīḥayn*, ed. M.ʿA. ʿAṭā, vol. 3 (Beirut 2002) 512; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (n. 16) 1184–1185; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī, *al-Iṣāba fī tamyīz al-ṣaḥāba*, ed. ʿA. al-Turkī and ʿA.Ḥ. Yamāma, vol. 4 (Cairo 1429/2008) 537–538. See also Ibn ʿAsākir (n. 15) 110–111.

¹⁸ Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (n. 16) 1184–1185; Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih, *al-ʿIqd al-farīd*, ed. M.M. Qumayha and ʿA. al-Tarḥīnī, vol. 2 (Beirut 1404/1983) 147 and vol. 5 (Beirut 1404/1983) 88; al-Ṭabarī, *Taʾrīkh al-rusul waʾl-mulūk*, ed. M.J. de Goeje et al., vol. 1/6 (Leiden 1898) 2966 and 2972; al-Yaʿqūbī, *Taʾrīkh*, ed. M.Th. Houtsma, vol. 2 (Leiden 1883) 203.

¹⁹ Al-Zubayrī (n. 14) 410–411; copied in Ibn ʿAsākir (n. 15) 127–128 and Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (n. 17) 538–539.

²⁰ Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī (n. 17) 1989; al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī (n. 17) 512 and 515; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (n. 16) 1186–1187, 1191; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (n. 17) 539–540;

in these texts concerns the words ʿAmr spoke on his deathbed, including instructions on his burial, and his passing on ʿĪd al-fiṭr at the end of Ramaḍān.²¹

In these genealogical works and biographical dictionaries, ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ's political feats go nearly unmentioned. By and large, it is political histories of Islam that treat in detail his leading role in the conquest of Palestine and Egypt, his foundation of Fustāt, his influence on the outcome of the First Civil War (36–41/656–661), and his two (or, according to some historians, three) tenures as governor of Egypt. Interestingly, whereas non-Egyptian histories of the Muslim empire composed in the third/ninth and fourth/tenth centuries, such as those of al-Balādhurī, Khalīfa b. Khayyāt, al-Yaʿqūbī, and al-Ṭabarī, do exactly that, contemporary Egyptian histories and *faḍāʾil* works preserve stories that firmly embed ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in Egypt's salvation history, giving him full credit for bringing Islam to Egypt.²² Perhaps the best known example is a teleological story on ʿAmr's visit to Alexandria before Islam. In its oldest known form, Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam presents it, in his *Futūḥ Miṣr*, as part of a larger story on how ʿAmr got acquainted with Egypt prior to the Muslim conquests. Al-Kindī's (d. 350/961) *Wulāt Miṣr* shows that the story also circulated independently.²³ It tells that ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ accidentally participated in a ball game during his visit to Alexandria. According to Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam's version (that of al-Kindī only differs in details), it was believed that whoever would catch the ball with his sleeve would rule over Alexandria. Much to the surprise of all participants, the ball fell in ʿAmr's sleeve.²⁴ Clearly, the story expresses a belief in the predestination of ʿAmr's rule over Egypt.

Another example comes from Ibn Yūnus's entry on ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ in his *Taʾrīkh al-Miṣriyyīn*, a biographical dictionary of noteworthy Egyptian Muslims. It relates how al-Muqawqis, the Chalcedonian patriarch in Alexandria and Egypt's de facto ruler at the time of the conquest, informed

Ibn Ḥanbal, *Kitāb faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥāba*, ed. W. ʿAbbās, vol. 2 (Mecca 1403/1983) 911–913; al-Nasāʾī, *Faḍāʾil al-ṣaḥāba*, ed. F. Ḥamāda (Cairo 1428/2007) 138–140 (nos. 195–196).

²¹ Abū Nuʿaym al-Iṣbahānī (n. 17) 1987–1989; al-Ḥakīm al-Naysābūrī (n. 17) 512–514; Ibn ʿAbd al-Barr (n. 16) 1189–1190; Ibn Ḥajar al-ʿAsqalānī (n. 17) 541.

²² This observation applies to Muslim literature. For Egyptian historical literature on ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ composed in Christian milieus, see J. den Heijer, “La conquête arabe vue par les historiens coptes,” in Ch. Décobert (ed.), *Valeur et distance: Identités et sociétés en Égypte* (Paris 2000) 232 and M.S.A. Mikhail, *From Byzantine to Islamic Egypt: Religion, Identity and Politics after the Arab Conquest* (London/New York 2014), especially 19–25 but also 29–36.

²³ Al-Kindī, *al-Wulāt waʾl-quḍāt*, ed. Rh. Guest, *The Governors and Judges of Egypt* (Leiden 1912) 6–7.

²⁴ Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr wa-akhbārūhā*, ed. C.C. Torrey (New Haven 1922) 55.

‘Amr about the sacrality of Mount Muqattam.²⁵ “There,” he said, “a people will be buried whom God resurrects on Resurrection Day while they are free of sins.” Ibn Yūnus’s second/eighth-century source, the Egyptian Ḥarmala b. ‘Imrān al-Tujībī (d. 160/776), tells that he found ‘Amr’s grave at that location,²⁶ thus expressing his high esteem of the conquest general and his reverence for Mount Muqattam’s hallowed ground. In a different version, preserved in Ibn al-Kindī’s (d. ca. 360/970) *Faḍā’il Miṣr*, al-Muqawqis tells ‘Amr that God planted a tree from Paradise on the Muqattam and that ‘Amr, following the advice of the caliph ‘Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb (r. 13–23/634–644), turned that area into a Muslim cemetery.²⁷ Even more than Ibn Yūnus’s version, that of Ibn al-Kindī connects ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ with the Islamization of Egypt’s sacred landscape. Such foundational images of ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ, portrayed as the founding father of Islamic Egypt, continued to be cultivated long after the period under consideration here.²⁸

Whereas intellectual interest in ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ and his history in Abbasid-era Egypt is hence easily understood, there appear some interpretational difficulties with regard to our papyrus’s record of ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ’s lineage upon closer inspection. As was usual in contemporary Arabic documents,²⁹ the writer of the second lineage (lines 3–6) left no spaces between his words in lines 3 and 4. By contrast, spaces are visible after each preserved name in line 5, which are ancestors 6–9 (or 7–10, see commentary) in the lineage. On that line, the word *بن*, “son of,” does directly connect with the

²⁵ Many third/ninth-century and later Muslim texts from Egypt discuss the sacred character of Mount Muqattam. E.g., Ibn ‘Abd al-Ḥakam (n. 24) 156–158; Ibn al-Zayyāt, *al-Kawākib al-sayyāra fī tartīb al-ziyāra fī al-qarāfatayn al-ṣuḡhrā wa’l-kubrā* (Cairo 1325/1907) 18; pseudo-Ibn Zuhayra, *al-Faḍā’il al-bāhira fī maḥāsin Miṣr wa’l-Qāhira*, ed. M. al-Saqqā and K. al-Muhandis (Cairo 1969) 107–109; Ibn Zūlāq, *Faḍā’il Miṣr wa-akhbārūhā wa-khawāṣṣuhā*, ed. ‘A.M. ‘Umar (Cairo 1999) 94–97; al-Qalqashandī, *Ṣubḥ al-a’shā fī ṣinā’at al-inshā*, vol. 3 (Cairo 1332/1914) 309–311; al-Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥādara fī ta’rīkh Miṣr wa’l-Qāhira*, ed. M.A. Ibrāhīm, vol. 1 (Cairo 1387/1967) 137–139. For Christian stories involving the Muqattam, see Mikhail (n. 22) 249–253.

²⁶ Ibn Yūnus (n. 15) 374–375 (no. 1026).

²⁷ Ibn al-Kindī, *Faḍā’il Miṣr*, ed. I.A. al-‘Adawī and ‘A.M. ‘Umar (Cairo 1391/1971) 64–65.

²⁸ For example, two sixth/twelfth- and seventh/thirteenth-century authors tell that ‘Amr burnt down Alexandria’s famous library. See ‘Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī, *al-Ifāda wa’l-i’tibār*, facsimile ed. and tr. K.H. Zand, *The Eastern Key* (London 1965) 129–130 (copied in al-Maqrīzī, *al-Mawā’iz wa’l-i’tibār fī dhikr al-khiṭaṭ wa’l-āthār*, ed. A.F. Sayyid, vol. 1 [London 2002] 432) and Ibn al-Qifṭī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā’*, ed. J. Lippert (Leipzig 1903) 354–356. From the sixth/twelfth century at the latest, ‘Amr played a prominent role in a story on the destruction of the miraculous mirror that stood on top of Alexandria’s lighthouse. See al-Ghamāṭī, *Tuḥfat al-albāb*, ed. G. Ferrand, *Journal asiatique* 207 (1925) 70–71; Ibn Iyās, *Badā’i’ al-zuhūr fī waqā’i’ al-duḥūr*, ed. M. Muṣṭafā, *Die Chronik des Ibn Ijās*, vol. 1/1 (Wiesbaden/Stuttgart 1974) 106–107.

²⁹ Grob (n. 6) 177.

name that follows. This gives the impression that on line 5 the writer first wrote بن at least four times and reserved some space for the names, which he added at a later time. He left more space open than he eventually needed. This resulted in the empty spaces after the names preserved. Did he not know these names, forcing him to look them up? Current scholarship shows, indeed, that Abbasid genealogists increasingly disagreed over a lineage the further back they went in time.³⁰ The commentary to line 4 discusses such disagreement over ʿAmr b. al-ʿĀṣ's lineage. The absence of an *isnād*, a chain of transmitters that endorsed the authenticity of information, after the *basmala* in line 3 (which indicates the beginning of a new section) suggests that our papyrus was not meant for dissemination.³¹ It most likely belongs to that corpus of poorly studied documents that people produced whilst pursuing a higher education, such as lecture notes made by students or exercises in epistolary formulae, or served as aide-memoires during teaching sessions.³² In its current fragmentary state of preservation, our papyrus may express the wish to accurately note ʿAmr's descent, but its exact character remains unknown.

³⁰ Z. Szombathy, "The *Nassābah*: Anthropological Fieldwork in Mediaeval Islam," *Islamic Culture* 73/3 (1999) 73; Webb (n. 5) 205–222.

³¹ Cf. W.M. Malczycki, "A Comparison of P.Utah.Ar. inv. 205 to the Canonical Hadith Collections: The Written Raw Material of Early Hadith Study," in S. Bouderbala, S. Denoix, and M. Malczycki (eds.), *New Frontiers of Arabic Papyrology: Arabic and Multilingual Texts from Early Islam* (Leiden 2017) 109.

³² For the use of writing in the transmission of knowledge during the first Islamic centuries and the use of aide-memoires in particular, see G. Schoeler, *The Oral and the Written in Early Islam*, tr. U. Vagelpohl, ed. J.E. Montgomery (London/New York 2006) chs. 1–3. For a papyrus with possible lecture notes, see W.M. Malczycki, "A Page from an Aspiring Muḥaddith's Personal Notes, Dated Mid-Late Third/Ninth Century (P.Utah, Ar. inv. 443v)," in A. Regourd (ed.), *Documents et histoire: Islam, VII^e–XVI^e siècle* (Geneva 2013) 241–261. See also n. 6 above.

TWO PAPYRI FROM THE ARCHIVE OF MIKKALOS AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE *BIBLIOTHEKE ENKTESEON*¹

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Abstract. — Edition of two papyri from the archive of Mikkalos, a landowner from Karanis: a declaration of property from 74 CE and a loan of money from 98 CE. Following the editions are an overview of the archive and an excursus on the *bibliotheke enkteseon*, in which it is argued that the office in the Arsinoite nome was established in 67–68 CE.

Keywords: Karanis, Archive of Mikkalos, *P.Lond.* 2.146 and 162a, *bibliotheke enkteseon*, Tiberius Iulius Alexander

In the second volume of London papyri, covering acquisitions between 1891 and 1895 and published with admirable speed in 1898, F.G. Kenyon identified five documents concerning the figure of Mikkalos, son of Ptolemaios alias Petheus, a landowner from the village of Karanis in Egypt's Fayum region. Three of these documents have successive inventory numbers, and all belong to the same acquisition.² As was usual in early publications of such breadth, Kenyon made no comment on this group beyond cross-references, while one document, whose cursive writing and physical condition impeded transcription, was published as a *descriptum* rather than edited in full (*P.Lond.* 2.146, p. xiv).

This is where things stood until 1968, when Herwig Maehler published a property declaration from the Berlin collection, which was submitted by Mikkalos' brother Petheus.³ During a visit to the British Library to examine *P.Lond.* 2.146, I identified one more fragment among the *descripta* of the same acquisition (*P.Lond.* 2.162a, p. xv; 2 below). Just recently,

¹ I thank Roger Bagnall for comments on a draft of this article, Paul Heilporn for suggestions on 2, and the anonymous readers for their helpful suggestions.

² *P.Lond.* 2.141–143, 146 *descr.*, and 172. According to the Gazetteer of Papyri in British Collections, *P.Lond.* 2.139–177 were acquired from G(reville) J(ohn) Chester in 1891. On Chester, see G. Seidmann, "The Rev. Greville John Chester and 'The Ashmolean Museum as a Home for Archaeology in Oxford,'" *Bulletin of the History of Archaeology* 16 (2006) 27–33.

³ *BGU* 11.2017 (ca. 88 CE). The editor noted the document's connection to *P.Lond.* 2.141 (p. 181) but not to the other Mikkalos documents published in the London volume.

Mohamed Elmaghrabi and I connected two published papyri to this group,⁴ which prompted Bianca Borelli to identify yet another.⁵ Other documents connected to the family were uncovered during the University of Michigan excavations of Karanis.⁶ The group of papyri in London and Berlin, at least, constitutes the remains of a family archive centered on Mikkalos, and the publication of the two London *descripta* offers an opportunity to give an initial overview of the archive (see below, “The Archive of Mikkalos”).⁷

The property declaration *P.Lond.* 2.146 (1), moreover, is of particular note. Not only does it preserve a high price for land (541 drachmas, four obols per *aroura*: see ll. 16–19 n.), but it is also an important witness to the development of the *bibliotheke enkteseon*, the nome-level archive of real property, which was split off from the older *demosia bibliotheke* just a few years before 1 was submitted. It contains reference to an earlier declaration submitted to a newly recognized pair of *bibliophylakes*, who may have been the first heads of the *bibliotheke enkteseon* in the Arsinoite nome. According to the reconstruction set out in the final section of this article, the establishment of the new archive, at least in this nome, can likely be narrowed to between May 28, 67 and Feb., 68 CE, that is, during the tenure of the famous reforming prefect Tiberius Iulius Alexander.

1. Declaration of Property

P.Lond. 2.146 *descr.* (p. xiv) H × W = 24 × 11.5 cm Karanis/Arsinoe,
6 April, 74 CE

Complete on all sides. The papyrus is pasted to a backing, so the *verso* cannot be viewed.

Kenyon described this document as an “affidavit by Miccalus, son of Ptolemaeus, relating to the purchase of land in the village of Bacchias.”

⁴ *P.Lond.* 2.151 (p. 215) and *BGU* 13.2344: W.G. Claytor and M. Elmaghrabi, “New Editions of Two Rent Receipts from the Archive of Mikkalos,” *BASP* 55 (2018) 219–227.

⁵ B. Borelli, “Another Text from the Archive of Mikkalos: A Correction to *BGU* 20.2868.11,” *BASP* 56 (2019) 299–300.

⁶ Cornelia Römer has identified *P.Mich.* inv. 4717 (Cairo) + 4729g (Ann Arbor) as the will of Mikkalos’ father, a copy or draft of which can now be recognized in *SB* 18.13308 (Ann Arbor). Both were excavated from house B17 in Karanis. See “The Archive of Mikkalos” below.

⁷ The archive is now included in Trismegistos Archives under TM Arch 602. It was identified after the publication of K. Vandorpe, W. Clarysse, and H. Verreth, *Graeco-Roman Papyrus Archives from the Fayum* (Leuven 2015) and is thus not included in that volume.

Its connection to the other Mikkalos papyri was noted, but since the papyrus was “considerably rubbed” and written “in a thin and very cursive hand,” Kenyon did not produce an edition (*P.Lond.* 2.146 *descr.*, p. xiv). Nevertheless, the full dimensions of the sheet are preserved, and the only defects are small breaks along the fold lines and, more seriously, the loss of ink, which in places has been completely lifted from the papyrus. The hand is indeed a quick cursive but presents little difficulty once the type of document is recognized.

With the benefit of a wealth of parallels unavailable to Kenyon, the document can be recognized as a declaration of property. These declarations have been divided into “general” and “supplementary” subtypes.⁸ The former were submitted by all property-owning residents at the request of the Roman prefect, while the latter were submitted following a new acquisition. The present declaration is of the supplementary type. Mikkalos reports his acquisition of six *arourai* of katoikic land in the territory of Bakchias, which he purchased from Theodote, a woman of metropoleite status, for 3,250 drachmas, that is, just under 542 drachmas per *aroura* (see ll. 16–19 n.).

The addressees of the declaration are Apollonios and Theon in their capacity as βιβλιοφύλακες ἐγκτήσεων Ἀρσινοίτου, administrators of the property archive of the Arsinoite nome. This is the first precisely dated reference to the pair, who are known from two other declarations in the 70s CE and one undated declaration submitted when they were heads of the older *demosia bibliotheke* (see l. 1 n.). Mikkalos’ declaration supplements a previous one, which he reports having submitted five years earlier in the “second” year of Galba (Aug. 29, 68 CE until his deposition early in 69 CE) to Logismos and Antiochos, a pair of *bibliophylakes* who can now be recognized in a Hawara declaration addressed to them later that same year (once Vespasian had taken power). For the implications of these new *bibliophylakes*, see “The Date of the Establishment of the *Bibliotheke Enkteseon*” below.

Ἀπολλων[ίωι καὶ Θέωνι γεγυμ-]
 να[σριαρ]χ(ηκοςί) βιβλιο(φύλαξιν) ἐνκτή(σεων) [Ἀρσι(νοίτου)]
 παρὰ Μικκάλου τοῦ Πτο-
 λεμαίου τοῦ καὶ Πεθέως πρεσβ(υτέρου)
 5 τοῦ Πεθέως τῶ[ν] ἀπὸ Κ[αραν]ί[δ]ο(ς).

⁸ See H.J. Wolff, *Das Recht der griechischen Papyri Ägyptens in der Zeit der Ptolemäer und des Prinzipats* 2 (Munich 1978) 228–232, especially 230, n. 36.

- χωρίς ὧν ἀπεγραψάμην
 Λογίσμῳ (καὶ) Ἀντιόχῳ τῷ β (ἔτει) Γάλβα
 προσαπογράφῃ καὶ ἄς
 νυνεὶ παρακεχώρημαι
 10 παρὰ Θεοδότης τῆς Διονυσί[ο(υ)]
 τοῦ Διονυσίου ἀπὸ ἀμφ[όδ]ου
 Θαραπίας ἀπογεγρ(αμμένης) Ἀμμωνίῳ
 μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ κατὰ πατέρα
 [ca. 11] . [. .] Διονυσίου τοῦ καὶ
 15 Πτολεμαίου τ[ο]ῦ Πτολεμ[α]ί[ου]
 περὶ Βακχιάδα ἥμισυ μέρος
 κλήρου κατοικικ(οῦ) ἀρο(ύρας) ἕξ τιμῆ(ς)
 ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμῶν) τρισχι[λ]ίων διακοσί[ων]
 πεντήκοντα. διὸ ἐπιδίδωμι τῇ(ν)
 20 προσαπογρ(αφήν).

(2nd hd.) κατακεχώ(ρι)σται) (ἔτει) ζ Αὐτοκράτορος
 Καίσαρος Οὐεσπασιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Φαρμο(ῦθι) ιᾱ

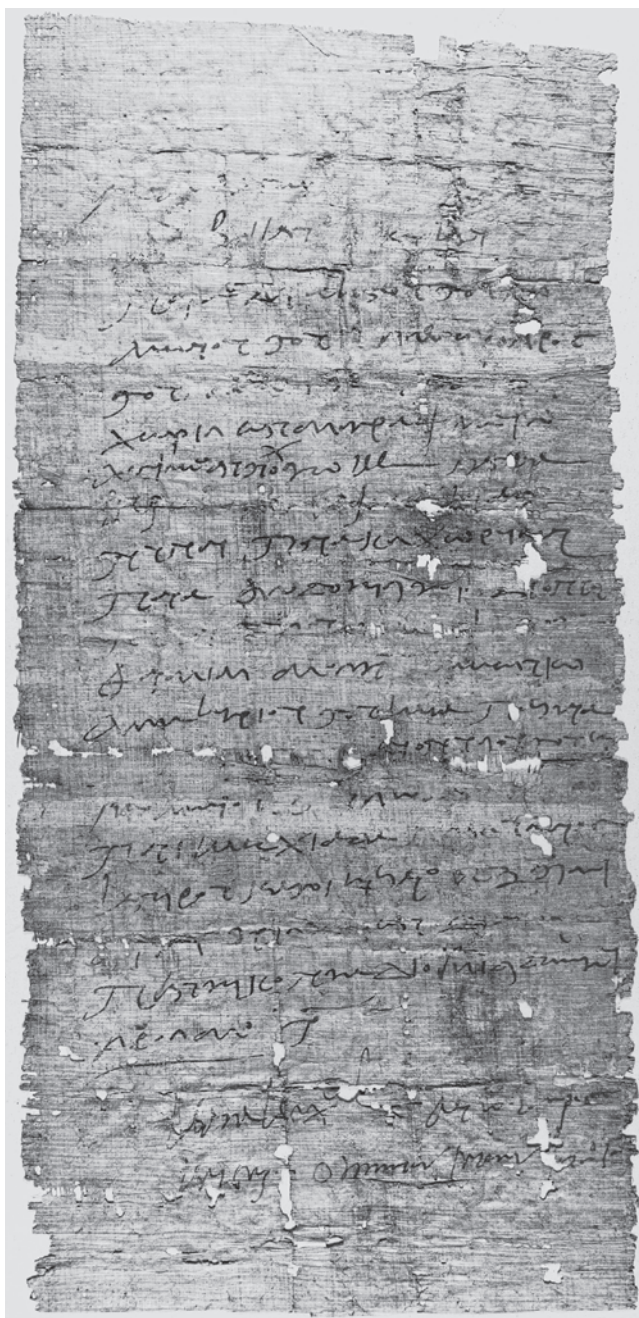
1–2 [γεγυμ]λη[σ]ιαρ]ῃ *rap.* 2 βιβλι^ο ενκτη *rap.*, *l.* ἐγκτήσεων 4 πρεσβ^η *rap.*
 5 κ[α]ραν]ι[δ]ῃ^ο *rap.* 7 λογισμ^ο αντιο^ς *rap.* 9 *l.* νυνί 12 ἀπογεγρ *rap.* 17 κατοικικ^η
 αρ^ο, τιμη *rap.* 18 ἀργ *rap.* 19 τη *rap.* 20 προσαπογρ *rap.* 21 κατακεχ^η *rap.*
 22 φαρμ^ο *rap.*

“To Apollonios [and Theon, former gymnasiarchs,] keepers of the records of real properties [in the Arsinoite nome,] from Mikkalos, son of Ptolemaios also known as Petheus the elder, grandson of Petheus, from Karanis.

Beside the properties that I declared to Logismos (and) Antiochos in the 2nd year of Galba, I additionally declare the half share of a plot of settlers’ land around Bakchias, six *arourai*, which I have now been ceded for a price of three thousand, two hundred fifty silver drachmas by Theodote, daughter of Dionysios, granddaughter of Dionysios, from the Tharapeia quarter, who declared to Ammonios, with as guardian her ... on her father’s side, NN, son of Dionysios also known as Ptolemaios, son of Ptolemaios. Therefore, I submit the supplementary declaration.

(2nd hand) It has been deposited in the 6th year of Imperator Caesar Vespasianus Augustus, Pharmouthi 11.”

1 Ἀπολλων[ί]ου καὶ Θέωνι: This is the first precisely dated declaration to this pair of βιβλιοφύλακες ἐγκτήσεων. Two other declarations to



them in this role, *BGU* 1.184 and *SB* 18.13235, are dated to Vespasian's reign and were certainly submitted before Feb. 14, 78 CE, when their successors, Apollonios and Nikolaos, are found in this capacity (*SPP* 22.175 with *BL* 6.197: for a list of *bibliophylakes*, see Sijpesteijn and Worp [n. 39 below]). *BGU* 1.184.16–18 refers to an earlier declaration submitted to Apollonios and Theon on May 30 (?), 72 CE, although their office is not stated, and thus they conceivably could have been in charge of the older δημοσία βιβλιοθήκη. Burkhalter (below, n. 32), however, deduced from a later dossier of court documents that they were in charge of the *bibliothèque enkteseon* at this date. From *P.Fam.Tebt.* 15.44–46 and 79–80 we learn that during the year 71/72 Protogenes and Isidoros succeeded Apion and Isidoros as βιβλιοφύλακες δημοσίας βιβλιοθήκης, which means that the former were almost certainly still in charge of this archive on May 30 (?), 72 and that Apollonios and Theon must have been in charge of the other record office, the newly established archive of real property. Before this appointment, Apollonios and Theon headed the older δημοσία βιβλιοθήκη: *P.Mich.* 9.541 was submitted to them in this capacity at some point prior to their appointment in the new archive (see below for discussion).

3–5 Πτολεμαίου τοῦ καὶ Πεθέως πρεσβ(υτέρου): This is the fullest version of Mikkalos' father's name, which is also used in *P.Lond.* 2.141.4 (88 CE), a notarial contract drawn up in Arsinoe, and *BGU* 11.2017.4–5, the accompanying property declaration submitted by Mikkalos' brother Petheus. The single patronymic Πτολεμαίου is used in *P.Lond.* 2.142.5–6 (95 CE), 143.7–8 (97 CE), and 2.7 (98 CE) (all contracts drawn up in Karanis' *grapheion*), and in the *cheirographon* *P.Lond.* 2.172.1–2. In contrast, in the two documents in which Mikkalos' father is an active participant (the rent receipt *P.Lond.* 2.151 and his will [on which see above n. 6 and “The Archive of Mikkalos” below]), he is called simply Petheus the elder.⁹

7 Λογίσμω (καὶ) Ἀντιόχ(ω) τῷ β (ἔτει) Γάλβα: Galba's second year by Egyptian reckoning began on Thoth 1 = 29 Aug., 68 CE and would have run through August 28, 69 CE had he not been deposed (Otho was recognized in Egypt as early as Feb. 10¹⁰). A papyrus excavated at

⁹ On the use of double names, see the recent study of Y. Broux, *Double Names and Elite Strategy in Roman Egypt* (Leuven 2015).

¹⁰ J.-Y. Strasser, *La “Bonne Nouvelle.” La nouvelle de l'avènement d'un empereur et de la mort de son prédécesseur en Égypte* (Brussels 2017) 56.

Hawara and now at University College London (*SB* 18.13229) contains a property declaration dated to Mesore of Vespasian's first year (Jul. 25 – Aug. 23, 69 CE), that is, the end of the year cited here. The address of the Hawara document was read as τ[οῖς δυ]σὶ Τιβερίοις [...] | τονεμωι καὶ Ἀντιοχ() [...]. An examination of the digital image¹¹ shows that the first name is Λογίσμωι: the right leg of the *lambda* is perfectly horizontal, which is why it was mistaken for *tau*; γι is an easy fix from ν; and *sigma* should be read in place of *epsilon*. This parallel indicates that καὶ should be supplied between the two names in our text. Logismos and Antiochos are new additions to the *fasti* of Arsinoite *bibliophylakes* (see “The Date of the Establishment of the *Bibliothèque Enkteseon*” below). Logismos is a rare name not otherwise found in Egypt. For attestations elsewhere, see *LGPN* 2.286; 3a.276; 3b.261; 4.211; 5a.270.

8 ἄς anticipates ἀρο(ύρας) in l. 17, but we first find ἡμισυ μέρος in l. 16, which must therefore be in apposition. Cf. ll. 16–19 n.

10–12 The metropolite Theodote, daughter of Dionysios, is otherwise unknown.

12 Θαραπίας: A quarter in the Arsinoite metropolis.¹²

– ἀπογεγρ(αμμένης) Ἀμμωνίῳ: This terse formula indicates that Theodote had declared the property in question to an official named Ammonios (the verb is in the middle voice, as is the opening verb of property declarations, ἀπογράφομαι; cf. also *P.Vind.Worp* 5.27 ff.). For a close parallel, cf. *SB* 18.13235.4 (cited above in l. 1 n.), another declaration to Apollonios and Theon: [πρώτῳ]ς ἀπογεγραμμένου Ἀμμωνίῳ καὶ Σαραπίῳ. Ammonios was βιβλιοφύλαξ with his colleague Sarapion when general declarations were made in 60/61 CE under the orders of the prefect Lucius Iulius Vestinus (*BGU* 1.112 = *M.Chr.* 214 = *FIRA* 3.102; *P.Oxy.* 2.250; *SB* 12.10788a; *SB* 28.16899). Four other documents as late as 83 CE refer to declarations made to Ammonios and Sarapion: *BGU* 2.379.7–8 (67 CE), *SB* 18.13235.4 (ca. 72–78), *SPP* 22.175.8–10 (78 CE), and *BGU* 11.2097.11 (83 CE).

¹¹ http://www.ucl.ac.uk/GrandLatMisc/hawara/papydata/phaw_166.htm, accessed February 2, 2019. I thank Nikolaos Gonis for providing me with a high-resolution image.

¹² *TM Geo* 2344 and R. Alston, *The City in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (London and New York 2002) 383.

16–19 ἥμισυ μέρος ἰ κλήρου κατοικικ(οῦ) ἀρο(ύρας) ἕξ τιμῆ(ς) ἰ ἀργ(υρίου) (δραχμῶν) τρισχι[λ]ίων διακοσί[ων] ἰ πεντήκοντα: Mikkalos acquired six *arourai*, which was a half share of a katoikic plot near Bakchias. While the class of land is given, its use (whether arable, vine, garden, etc.) is not. Nevertheless, the price per *aroura* of 541 drachmas, 4 obols is a rather high figure, which suggests that this was a particularly productive piece of land generating high-value cash crops (Mikkalos owned olive orchards: see discussion of the archive below).¹³

21–22 A second hand certifies that the declaration has been duly deposited in the archive of real properties. One copy was thus cataloged, while the present papyrus was returned to the declarant for his own records. For archival practice in the record offices of Roman Egypt, see Wolff (n. 8) 226–235; Cockle (below, n. 32), 113–114; Burkhalter (below, n. 32), 199–200. See also Jördens (below, n. 46).

21 κατακεχώ(ρισται): The usual abbreviation; for the expansion as a passive, cf. κατακεχώριστ(αι) at *P.Hamb.* 1.62.26 and *P.Fam.Tebt.* 23.26 (see also *P.Heid.* 4.300, comm. to l. 11).

2. *Loan of Money*

P.Lond. 2.162a *descr.* (p. xv) H × W = 15.3 × 5.7 cm Karanis, June 12, 98 CE

This papyrus is in bad shape. The left side is shredded, with many fibers and larger strands of papyrus misaligned. Nevertheless, based on more-or-less secure supplements (e.g., ll. 7, 11, 18), there were originally ca. 40–45 letters per line, with a little less than 2/3 of each line missing at the left. The papyrus is diplomatically similar to another in Mikkalos' archive, *P.Lond.* 2.143 (p. 204; plate 44), which was written in Karanis' *grapheion* the previous year by the same principal scribe and the same *hypographeus* (the well-attested Heron, son of Satyros). Enough of the

¹³ The standard collection of land prices remains H.-J. Drexhage, *Preise, Mieten/Pachten, Kosten und Löhne im römischen Ägypten bis zum Regierungsantritt Diokletians* (St. Katharinen 1991) 127–154; for arable land, see now K. Harper, "People, Plagues, and Prices in the Roman World: The Evidence from Egypt," *Journal of Economic History* 76 (2016) 803–839 at 820–822 with the dataset available at <https://darmc.harvard.edu/data-availability>. For the relationship between land prices and fiscal institutions in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt, see A. Monson, *From the Ptolemies to the Romans* (Cambridge 2012) 159–208. On katoikic land in the Roman period, see J. Rowlandson, *Landowners and Tenants in Roman Egypt* (Oxford 1996) 27–69 and Monson, *From the Ptolemies to the Romans*, 94–95.

contract is preserved to determine that it is a loan of money made by Mikkalos (see ll. 7–8 n.) to two brothers, Petosiris and NN, sons of Peto-siris, in the summer of 98 CE.

- [ἐτους πρώτου Αὐτοκράτο]ρος Καίσαρος Νέρωνα
 [Τραιανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ μ]ηγὸς Λοίου ιη̄ Παῦνι ιη̄
 [ἐν Καρανίδι τῆς Ἡρακλείδου μερίδος τοῦ Ἀρσινοίτου νομο]ῦ.
 ὁμολογοῦσι Πετ[ό]σι[ρι]ς
 [- - - ὡς ἐτῶν - - -] οὐλὴ μετόπωι
 5 [- - - καὶ ὁ δεῖνα - - -] ὥς ἐτῶν τριάκοντα
 [- - - Πέ]ρσαι τῆς ἐπιγονῆς ἀλλήλων
 [ἐγγυοὶ εἰς ἔκτεισιν Μικκάλῳ Πτο]λεμαίου ὡς ἐτῶν τεσσαρά-
 [κοντα ὀκτώ (?), οὐλὴ μετόπωι μέ]σῳ ὑπὸ τρίχα ἔχειν
 [παρ' αὐτοῦ - - -] [.] δραχμὰς
 10 [- - -] ὧν καὶ τὴν ἀπό-
 [δοσιν ἐπάνανγκον ποιήσασθαι τοὺς ὁ]μολογοῦντας τῷ
 [Μικκάλῳ ἐν μηνὶ - - - τοῦ εἰ]σίργτος δευτέρου ἔτους
 [Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Νέρωνα Τραιαν]οῦ Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ
 [- - - ὁ το]ύτων πατὴρ Πετόσιρις
 15 [- - -] . . [.] . [.]
 [- - -] . . [. .] . [. .] . . [.] . ο-
 [- - - γεινομένης] τ[ῶ]ι Μικκάλῳ τῆς πράξεω(ς)
 [ἐκ τε τῶν ὁμολογούντων καὶ ἐξ οὗ] ἐὰν αὐτῶν αἰρήται καὶ ἐκ τῶ(ν)
 [ὑπαρχόντων αὐτοῖς πάντων καθάπε]ρ ἐγ δίκης, ἐξουσίας οὐσης
 20 [- - -] ὦ . . γρ . . αρπ .
 [ὑπογραφεὺς τῶν ὁμολ(ογούντων) Ἡρων Σ]ατ[ύ]ρο(υ) (ἐτῶν) κη
 οὐ(λὴ) με(τώπω) μέ(σῳ).
 (2nd hd.) [Πέ]τοσιρις - - -] . . ις οἱ δύο
 [- - -] . . .

4 *l.* μετόπωι 7–8 *l.* τεσσαράκοντα 17 *πραξε*^ω *rap.* 18 *τ*^ω *rap.* 21 *σατ[υ]ρ*^ο *l.*,
 ὁμμε *rap.*

“(Contract body) [First year of Emperor] Caesar Nerva [Traianus Augustus Germanicus,] 18th of the month Loios, 18th of Pauni, [in Karanis of the Herakleides division of the Arsinoite nome.]

Petosiris [... about X years old,] scar on the forehead ... [and NN ...], about thirty (+) years old [...,] Persians of the *epigone*, mutual [sureties for full repayment], acknowledge [to Mikkalos,] son of Ptolemaios, about

forty-[eight (?)] years old, [scar] on the middle [of the forehead] under the hair, that they have received [from him ...] drachmas ... the repayment of which [the] acknowledging parties [will necessarily make to Mikkalos in the month of ... of the] forthcoming second year [of Emperor Caesar Nerva Traianus] Augustus Germanicus ... their father Petosiris ... with the right of execution [belonging] to Mikkalos [from the acknowledging parties and from whomever] of them he so chooses and from [all their property, as if] resulting from a verdict ... with there being the power to ...

[Subscriber for the acknowledging parties: Heron,] son of Satyros, about 28 years old, scar on the middle of the forehead.

(*Subscription*) [Petosiris ...], the two men ...”

1–2 For the restoration of the year, cf. l. 12 n.¹⁴

2 μ]ηνὸς Λωΐου: μηνός is often written before Macedonian month names.¹⁵

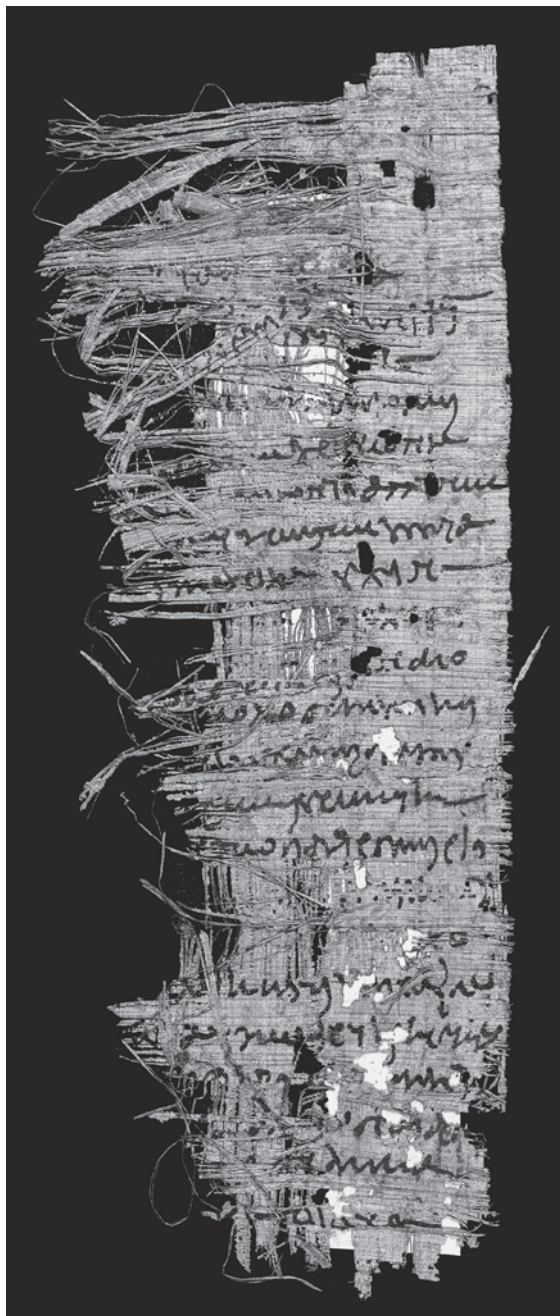
3 That the contract was written in Karanis follows from the identification of the principal scribe’s hand with that of *P.Lond.* 2.143 (see introduction). Yet the required location formula (48 letters) seems long for the space, since no more than ca. 32 letters are expected at the left (the line lengths are variable, but cf. ll. 7, 8, 11, and 13; ll. 1–2 must have been written with larger letters or greater spacing, for which cf. *P.Lond.* 2.143.1–2). Either some elements of the formula were abbreviated, or else *Verschleifung* allowed the scribe to squeeze the whole formula into the first two-thirds of the line. It is less likely that an element of the formula was left out. For a contemporary example from Karanis’ *grapheion*, see *P.Warr.* 11.2–3 (Karanis, 98 CE), where the *meris* is omitted. This text, however, lacks a subscription and may have therefore been a copy, which could help explain its abbreviated protocol. Cf. also the abstract *P.Corn.* 7 (Karanis, after 126 CE).

– δμολογοῦσι Πετρό[σι]ρις: A misaligned strand of papyrus can be digitally restored to illustrate the reading:



¹⁴ For the titlature, see P. Bureth, *Les titulatures impériales dans les papyrus, les ostraca et les inscriptions d'Égypte (30 a.C. – 284 p.C.)* (Brussels 1964) 51.

¹⁵ See U. Hagedorn, “Gebrauch und Verbreitung makedonischer Monatsnamen im römischen Ägypten,” *ZPE* 23 (1976) 143–167 at 148.

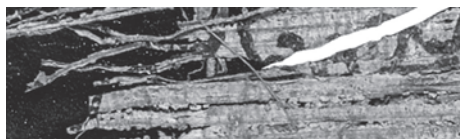


4 The age of the first party possibly ends -κοντα, as one of the readers suggested.

7–8 Μικκάλω Πτο]λεμαίου ὡς ἐτῶν τεσαρά[κοντα ὀκτώ (?), οὐλὴ μετώπῳ μέ]σῳι ὑπὸ τρίχα: These lines, in conjunction with Μικκάλωι in l. 17, provide enough information to identify the lender as Mikkalos, son of Ptolemaios alias Petheus. For Mikkalos' personal description and his patronymic without the alias, cf. *P.Lond.* 2.142.5–6 and 143.7–8.

8 ἔχειν: I take the dip between *chi* and *iota* to be *epsilon*.

12 τοῦ εἰ]σίοντος δευτέρου ἔτους: The reading of the participle is obscured by a misaligned strand of papyrus, containing the bases of letters (most obviously that of the *delta* of δευτέρου), which must be lowered as follows:



The reading εἰσίοντος (against ἐνεστῶτος) is guaranteed by the descending *iota* of a *sigma-iota* ligature (cf. Πετόσιρις, l. 14), which is visible below the line at the left.

19 ἐξουσίας οὐσης: A trace of the *iota*'s descender can be seen well below the line, likely the end of a *sigma-iota* ligature (cf. previous note). This clause, granting an additional right to one of the parties, might suggest that hypothecation is involved in the loan, since simple cash loans usually conclude with the *praxis* clause. The only parallel for this phrase in a loan contract is *P.Oxy.* 3.506.2.43 (143 CE), where it is mostly restored.

21 Ἦρων Σ]ατ[ύ]ρο(υ) (ἐτῶν) κη οὐ(λὴ) με(τώπῳ) μέ(σῳ): The Karanis *hypographeus* Heron is well attested.¹⁶ The exact same writing of Heron's personal description (which might also be read, with extreme *Verschleifung*, as μετώπῳ μέσῳ) is found at *P.Lond.* 2.143.25 (p. 204, plate 44, with the corrections of Claytor [n. 16] 200, accepted in the *DDBDP*).

¹⁶ See W.G. Claytor, "Heron, son of Satyros: a Scribe in the *Grapheion* of Karanis," *ZPE* 190 (2014) 199–202.

22 From what little remains of the subscription, the hand can be identified as Heron's, which supports the reading in l. 21. Compare the writing of $\delta\delta\sigma$ with a filling stroking at line end with another example in his hand (P.Mich. inv. 5844 [edition in preparation], l. 33):



P.Mich. inv. 5844, l. 33



P.Lond. 2.162a, l. 22

The Archive of Mikkalos (TM Arch 602)

The archive consists of at least ten papyri purchased in the 1890s and now housed in London and Berlin (Table 1).¹⁷ Two related documents were discovered in house B17 during the University of Michigan excavations of Karanis. While the excavated pieces obviously have a different acquisition history, they nevertheless likely belonged at one point to Mikkalos and his family, as they each contain a copy of his father's will. The family may have disposed of these documents differently from those acquired through the antiquities market, or perhaps the London and Berlin group was discovered in the vicinity of what would become known as B17 three decades later.¹⁸ Given the uncertainties, the excavated pieces should be considered part of the family's "dossier" rather than their "archive," although they provide important information about the family that is used in a preliminary fashion below.

¹⁷ The London papyri were part of an acquisition of 49 papyri in 1891 (see n. 2), while the Berlin pieces were probably acquired around the same time (BerlPap only has acquisition info for BGU 20.2868 [= P. 9737], which was acquired in 1896).

¹⁸ For a parallel (*mutatis mutandis*), BGU 11.2023 likely once belonged to Gemellus Horion, whose archive was otherwise discovered through the University of Michigan excavations (TM Arch 90). Similarly, the ongoing Franco-Italian excavations of the rubbish dump east of Tebtynis' main temple have not only uncovered documents closely related to those acquired through the market in the 1920s and 30s but also the robber pits associated with these illicit excavations: K. Ryholt, "Demotic Papyri from the Franco-Italian Excavations at Tebtunis, 1988–2016," in M.-P. Chaufray, I. Guernier, S. Lippert, and V. Rondot (eds.), *Le Fayoum. Archéologie – Histoire – Religion. Actes du sixième colloque international. Montpellier, 26–28 octobre 2016* (Wiesbaden 2018) 129–149 at 132. See also Vandorpe, Clarysse, and Verreth (n. 7) 28–29.

Table 1. The Archive of Mikkalos (TM Arch 602)¹⁹

#	Text	Edition / Corrections	Date (CE)	Type
1	<i>P.Lond.</i> 2.146 <i>descr.</i> (p. xiv)	1	74	Declaration of land
2	<i>BGU</i> 13.2344	Claytor and Elmaghrabi (n. 4), text 1	77/78, 90/91, or 106/107 ²⁰	Receipt for rent
3	<i>P.Lond.</i> 2.151 (p. 215)	Claytor and Elmaghrabi (n. 4), text 2	87/88 (?)	Receipt for rent
4	<i>P.Lond.</i> 2.141 (p. 181)		88	Cession of land
5	<i>BGU</i> 11.2017		ca. 88 (?) ²¹	Declaration of land
6	<i>P.Lond.</i> 2.142 (p. 203)		95	Repayment of loan
7	<i>P.Lond.</i> 2.143 (p. 204)	Claytor (n. 16) 200	97	Repayment of remaining pledge
8	<i>P.Lond.</i> 2.162a <i>descr.</i> (p. xv)	2	98	Loan
9	<i>BGU</i> 20.2868	Borelli (n. 5)	103	Repayment of loan
10	<i>P.Lond.</i> 2.172 (p. 205)		105	Repayment of loan

Table 2. Excavated Papyri Related to the Family²²

#	Text	Re-edition / Corrections	Date (CE)	Type
1	P.Mich. inv. 4717 + 4727g (26-B17F-A)	edition in preparation ²³	82–96	Copy/draft of Petheus the elder's will

¹⁹ Another text that conceivably belonged to the family is *BGU* 4.1037 (July 1, 48), a division of property between Petheus the elder and his younger brother Petheus the younger, sons of Petheus, grandsons of Kallias. The age of Petheus the elder (30 in 48 CE) squares with having a son born in 50 CE (see below with n. 26 on Mikkalos' year of birth).

²⁰ The latter two possibilities were incorrectly calculated as 89/90 and 105/106 in Claytor and Elmaghrabi (n. 4). I thank Marius Gerhardt for bringing this to my attention.

²¹ The editor connects this declaration with the cession *P.Lond.* 2.141, suggesting that the two were written in the same hand and that they were even once pasted together (*BGU* 11.2017, introduction).

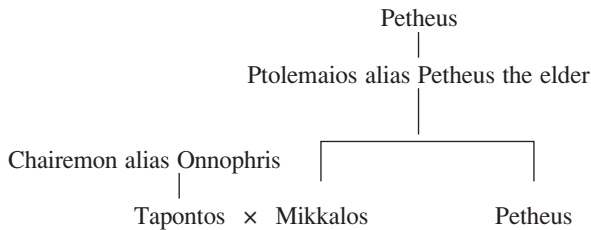
²² Although not found in B17, two other excavated texts, both property declarations, might relate to the family: *P.Mich.* 9.540 (ca. 53 CE) and *SB* 22.15792 (84–96 CE). The former is a declaration from Petheus the elder, son of Petheus, grandson of Petheus, an ouasiac farmer who declares ownership of land around Karanis, Psenharpesenes, and Kerkesoucha, in addition to village properties (for the identification, cf. G. Flore, "Note su P.Mich. IX, 539 e 540," *Aegyptus* 59 [1979] 119–126 at 123). Note that the grandfather's name conflicts with that of *BGU* 4.1037 (n. 19): either the two men are different, or the grandfather had a double name. *SB* 22.15792 (84–96 CE) is the beginning of a declaration from Petheus the elder, son of Petheus, whose grandfather's name has been restored as Petheus by the editor.

²³ This piece and a re-edition of the following text will appear in the next volume of *P.Cair.Mich.*

#	Text	Re-edition / Corrections	Date (CE)	Type
2	P.Mich. 4719 + 4727e + 4727g1 (26-B17F-A)	SB 18.13308 (inv. 4719 only); re-edition in preparation	82–96	Copy/draft of Petheus the elder's will

The papers form a two-generation family archive that spans the years 74–105 and revolves around the figure of Mikkalos, son of Ptolemaios alias Petheus the elder.²⁴ His father and brother appear independently in a couple of documents (texts #3 and #5 in Table 1), and in #7 and #9 Mikkalos appears only as the *kyrios* of his wife Tapontos. The documents all pertain either to the family's property or to money loans, both given (in one case: 2 above) and received.

Figure 1. The Family of Mikkalos²⁵



Mikkalos was born into a well-off Karanis family in 50 CE.²⁶ They had the legal status of Egyptian villagers, and most of the other male members of his family (his grandfather, father, and brother) carried the name Petheus, one of the most common in the village.²⁷ His father's will lists agricultural land around Psenharpshenesis (a satellite village of Karanis) and village properties in Karanis itself, in addition to slaves and animals, a substantial inheritance that was divided between Mikkalos and his siblings. Mikkalos' known landholdings include klerouchic plots totaling 12 3/4 *arourai* near Karanis and Psenharpshenesis, in addition to the six *arourai* purchased in Bakchias, a couple of hours' journey to the east.

²⁴ On the typology of papyrus archives, see Vandorpe, Clarysse, and Verreth (n. 7) 18–19.

²⁵ The alias of Tapontos' father is found in the recently added BGU 20.2868.

²⁶ The age indications in texts 4, 6, and 7 are in almost perfect agreement; Mikkalos' *idia* is mostly restored at 1.5 above, but his brother Petheus is said to be τῶν ἀπὸ Καρανίδ[ος] in BGU 11.2017.

²⁷ His father was also known as Ptolemaios: see 1.3–5 n.

These landholdings and the slaves would alone suggest a certain level of affluence, but even more conspicuous signs are the steep price of 3,250 drachmas that Mikkalos paid for his katoikic plot in Bakchias (see 1 above) and his prompt repayment of a 1,240-drachma loan (*P.Lond.* 2.142 [p. 203]). In the latter arrangement, the lender was a Roman soldier, and the original agreement was concluded in Alexandria, evidence for Mikkalos' mobility and wide-ranging social network.

Like many other villagers of the period, this social network involved close ties with metropolite landowners. The plot in Bakchias was purchased from a metropolite woman named Theodote, of whom nothing further is heard. There is better documentation for the family's relationship with the metropolitans Didymos alias Diodoros and his wife Diodora, who leased land to the family (see the rent receipts #2 and #3) and in 88 CE sold them a substantial olive orchard. Technically framed as a cession, *P.Lond.* 2.141 (88 CE) transfers 9 3/4 arouras of a katoikic olive orchard in Karanis and three arouras of "newly-planted" land (presumably olive-bearing as well) in Psenharpseus to Mikkalos and his brother Petheus. The relationship between these plots and those referenced in the rent receipts is uncertain, but it is interesting to see how the family was able to expand their landholdings by capitalizing on their relationship with this metropolite pair.

As a land-owning family of Egyptian villager status, the archive holders invite comparison to the family of Kronion, son of Cheos (TM Arch 125), whose daughters owned some 20 *arourai* of various classes around Tebtynis.²⁸ This family, however, is known for the disastrous debts incurred by Kronion Jr.,²⁹ none of which is as large as the 1,240 drachma loan that Mikkalos successfully repaid a year and half after it was issued (*P.Lond.* 2.142 [p. 203]). The debts of Kronion's family likely prevented them from capitalizing on their 40+ year tenancy of lands held by Asklepiades and his mother, in contrast to Mikkalos and Petheus' acquisition from Didymos and Diodora.

Another family that comes in for comparison is that of Soterichos and his son Didymos (TM Arch 226), who were of privileged metropolite status (unlike Mikkalos' family) but active around the village of Theadelphia. Soterichos and Didymos, however, were apparently not landowners themselves but rather made do with leaseholds on a range of agricultural lands, rent for which was generally paid in arrears. While of a higher

²⁸ R. Takahashi, "The Kronion Family's Loans: An Egyptian Peasant Family Declining under Roman Rule?" *Ancient Society* 42 (2012) 71–88 at 72 with n. 9.

²⁹ See Takahashi (n. 28).

legal status, they were almost certainly less well off than Mikkalos' family and more dependent on the wealthy landlords of the metropolis.

Mikkalos' archive gives the impression – and it can be no more – of an ascendant village family benefitting from the stability of Roman rule and, in particular, from the new regime's imposition of fixed land taxes and strengthened property rights that encouraged agricultural investment.³⁰ The family took on Greek nomenclature, a sign of alignment with the cultural profile of the local elite, and Mikkalos, at least, was literate in Greek.³¹ Through their relationships with metropolitane landholders and a social network stretching to the capital Alexandria, the family was able to increase their wealth and influence back home in Karanis.

The Date of the Establishment of the Bibliothēke Enkteseon

The recognition of two new Arsinoite *bibliophylakes* in the year 68/69 (see above 1.7 n.) offers an opportunity to reassess the date of the establishment of the nome-level “archive of real property” (*bibliothēke enkte-seon*),³² which appears to have been split off from the older “public archive” (*demōsia bibliothēke*) between 67 and 72 CE (at least in the Arsinoite nome).³³ The new archive housed private property records, and its *bibliophylakes* now received the property declarations that had previously, from at least 53 CE, been sent to the heads of the *demōsia*

³⁰ See, generally, A. Monson, *From the Ptolemies to the Romans* (Cambridge 2012).

³¹ *P.Lond.* 2.142.26–27 (p. 203). If *BGU* 4.1037 belongs to the archive (see n. 19), Petheus the elder and his younger brother were both illiterate.

³² The best starting point is the thorough discussion of Wolff (n. 8) 48–56, 222–255, with earlier bibliography. Thereafter, important studies include W.E.H. Cockle, “State Archives in Greco-Roman Egypt,” *JEA* 70 (1984) 106–122; F. Burkhalter, “Archives locales et archives centrales en Égypte romaine,” *Chiron* 20 (1990) 191–216; K. Maresch, “Die Bibliothēke Enkteseon im römischen Ägypten. Überlegungen zur Funktion zentraler Besitzarchive,” *APF* 48 (2002) 233–246; A. Jördens, “Öffentliche Archive und römische Rechtspolitik,” in K. Lembke et al. (eds.), *Tradition and Transformation: Egypt under Roman Rule* (Leiden 2010) 159–179; A. Jördens, “Nochmals zur Bibliothēke Enkteseon,” in G. Thür (ed.), *Symposium 2009. Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte* (Vienna 2010) 277–290 (with the response of U. Yiftach-Firanko, pp. 291–299); J.L. Alonso, “The *Bibliothēke Enkteseon* and the Alienation of Real Securities in Roman Egypt,” *JJP* 40 (2010) 11–54; T. Kruse, “Archives in Roman Egypt,” in J.G. Keenan et al. (eds.), *Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest* (Cambridge 2014) 62–83; F. Lerouxel, *Le marché du crédit dans le monde romain* (Rome 2016) 145–192.

³³ For the possibility that the *bibliothēke enkte-seon* was not established in every nome at the same time, see Wolff (n. 8) 49–50, n. 22. Lerouxel's (n. 32, 152) “très probablement dans tous les nomes égyptiens en même temps” is too confident.

bibliothēke.³⁴ A clear *terminus post quem* for its establishment in the Arsinoite nome comes from BGU 2.379 = M.Chr. 219, a property declaration submitted on May 28, 67 to Dios and Protogenes in their capacity as record keepers of the older *demosia bibliothēke*.³⁵ A definitive *terminus ante quem* comes from the declaration to Apollonios and Theon above (1, 6 April, 74), which is the earliest precisely dated declaration to the *bibliophylakes enkteseon*, although Fabienne Burkhalter already convincingly deduced that Apollonios and Theon were in this office in the middle of 72 CE (for the reasoning, see above 1.1 n.).

Yet we have long had knowledge of another property declaration from this period, which was excavated by Petrie at Hawara and received a preliminary publication in 1889.³⁶ This was followed by a much improved

³⁴ See Wolff (n. 8) 48–49; Burkhalter (n. 32) 208–209; Lerouxel (n. 32) 160–164. Declarations from the year 53/54 are now known from three nomes. The Arsinoite documents were all submitted to Thrakidas, γυμνασιάρχος καὶ βιβλιοφύλαξ τῆς ἐν τῷ Ἀρσινόιτῃ βιβλιοθήκης (P.Mich. 9.539, 540 [date lost but likely 53], and P.Oxy. 47 3332 (pace Kruse [n. 32] 65, n. 42, these documents do not provide evidence for the establishment of the *bibliothēke enkteseon* in 53 CE); the Memphite declarations were submitted to a pair of Alexandrian citizens with the title βιβλιοφύλακες τοῦ ἐν Μέμφει βιβλιοφυλακίου (SB 20.14392, cols. 1 and 2); the address of the Oxyrhynchite declaration is lost (PSI 15.1521). In the Arsinoite declarations of the 60s, the title becomes βιβλιοφύλακες τῆς ἐν Ἀρσινόιτῃ δημοσίας βιβλιοθήκης (see below with n. 42), while the Oxyrhynchite archive in this decade is known simply as the βιβλιοφυλάκιον (SB 12.10788c.47, 63–64; P.Mich. 3.179.17) and its record keepers are called βιβλιοφύλακες (without further designation: SB 12.10788a.1; P.Mich. 3.179.2) or οἱ πρὸς τῷ βιβλιοφυλακίῳ (SB 12.10788c.46–47). Thereafter, unlike in the Arsinoite nome, the archivists continue to be addressed simply as βιβλιοφύλακες in property declarations (e.g. P.Oxy. 2.249, 80 CE, and other declarations to Epimachos and Theon; see Sijpesteijn and Worp [below n. 39] 529). Save for P.Oxy. 66.4532.1 (an extract that could have been drawn up later than the date of the contract, 85 CE), the earliest reference to the βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων in the Oxyrhynchite material is PSI 12.1235 (86–89), a report from Epimachos and Theon with the title βιβλιοφύλακες ἐγκτήσεων (as in the Arsinoite nome). They forward materials sent to them ὑπὸ τῶν προόντων βιβλιοφυλάκων τῆς αὐτῆς βιβλιοθήκης Βακχίου καὶ Τεΐρωνος, who are known from the year 61 (SB 12.10788a). The significance of the phrase τῆς αὐτῆς βιβλιοθήκης in this report is an open question (cf. Wolff [n. 8] 49–50, n. 22).

³⁵ I do not accept the argument of Burkhalter (n. 32) 210 that the language of Tiberius Iulius Alexander's edict of July 5, 68 (TM 103024; cf. below), in particular his use of the term δημόσια γραμματοφυλάκια, demonstrates that the βιβλιοθήκη ἐγκτήσεων did not yet exist at the time (accepted by Jördens, "Öffentliche Archive" [n. 32] 161, n. 8 and Lerouxel [n. 32] 160): writers of the higher registers of *koine* Greek preferred descriptive rather than technical vocabulary (Polybius is the classic example), and I thus see no reason why this term could not encompass the new βιβλιοθήκαι. A DDBDP search for γραμματοφυλ-, moreover, returns only one document from Roman Egypt (P.Turner 23.19, ca. 144–145), which demonstrates that the term had little currency in day-to-day operations. Alexander likely adopted the term for stylistic reasons, just as the prefect Mettius Rufus uses συναλλαγματογράφοι and μνήμονες (P.Oxy. 2.237.8.36–37) to refer to notaries, who are more often called νομογράφοι and ἀγορανόμοι.

³⁶ Originally known as P.Haw. 166 (and cited as such until republication as SB 18.13229), the first transcription can be found at W.M.F. Petrie, *Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoe* (London 1889) 30–31.

but perfunctory edition by Milne in 1913,³⁷ which was only taken up in the *Sammelbuch* in 1993 (SB 18.13229). Milne's edition showed that it was a standard supplementary declaration of land purchased around Magdola in the *Polemonos meris* of the Arsinoite nome.³⁸ Although its date of July/August 69 falls within the crucial period of reform, discussions of the development of archives in Roman Egypt have seldom made mention of this document, no doubt because the office of the addressees is lost in a lacuna.³⁹ Nevertheless, it is an important witness that requires further attention. With the aid of Mikkalos' declaration above, we can now read the names of the officials to whom the declaration was addressed and recognize that they were in office throughout the tumultuous year 68/69, spanning the successive reigns of the four emperors (cf. 1.7 n.).

But which office were they in charge of? The older *demasia bibliotheke*, as Dios and Protogenes had been two years before, or the newly created *bibliotheke enkteseon*? We can start by examining the papyrus itself, whose first four lines (with the new reading) run as follows:

τ[οῖς δ]υσὶ⁴⁰ Τιβερίοις [ca. 5–10]
 Λογίσμῳ καὶ Ἀντιόχ(ῳ) [ca. 5–10]
 παρὰ Ἀχιλλίδ[ος τῆς⁴¹ Ἡρα-]
 κλείδου τοῦ Ἡρ[ακλείδου (?)]

³⁷ J.G. Milne, "The Hawara Papyri," *APF* 5 (1913) 386.

³⁸ For the image, see above, n. 11. The declaration is part of a *tomos synkollesimos*, with part of the previous sheet (also a declaration) still attached. The fragmentary lines of the previous sheet have not been published, but they unfortunately do not contain the address and thus do not provide further evidence for the issue at hand.

³⁹ It is not cited in Sijpesteijn and Worp's list of *bibliophylakes* in "Ein Hausverkauf aus Soknopaiu Nesos (P. Lond. inv. 1976)," in R. Feenstra et al. (eds.), *Collatio Iuris Romani. Études dédiées à Hans Ankum à l'occasion de son 65^e anniversaire* (Amsterdam 1995) 513–532 at 526, nor in the studies cited above in n. 32, with the exception of Wolff (n. 8) 228, n. 29 in regard to its being part of *tomos synkollesimos*. It was occasionally cited in earlier literature, but to the best of my knowledge the potential significance of its date has not been discussed.

⁴⁰ At first glance there seems to be little room for this supplement (suggested by Wilcken according to Milne's edition), but there is a trace of a low horizontal, consistent with the bottom of *tau* in this hand, at the left edge of the sheet, where it joins to the previous sheet. With the first line written in *ekthesis*, there appears to be enough room for the supplied words, especially if the low trace after the break is from the base of *upsilon*, as I understand it, rather than part of the *sigma* as Milne's transcription implies. For a contemporary parallel for this form of address, see *P.Tebt.* 2.350.4–6: τοῖς τὸ ἐν κύκλιον πραγμα(τευομένοις) δυσὶ Τιβερίοις Κλαυδίοις Ἀντωνίνῳ καὶ Ἀμμωνίῳ (re-edited with a new fragment: M. Resel, "Neuedition einer Bankquittung für ἐγκύκλιον: *P.Tebt.* II 350 + *P.Tebt.* Suppl. 1376," *Tyche* 27 [2012] 119–125). The second iota of the editor's reading of Τιβερίοις is not apparent from the online photo, but a higher resolution image provided to me by Nikolaos Gonis makes it clear that a strip of papyrus at the right is slightly misaligned; if corrected, there would be room for the iota (and the iota of Ἀντιόχ(ῳ)).

⁴¹ Suggested by one of the readers; τῆς omitted in SB 18.13229.

The estimates for the size of the lacunae are established by secure supplements in the following lines, ranging from five letters (l. 3 and π[ρώτως], l. 9) to eight letters (ὁμομητρίω[ν ἀδελφῶν], l. 11), with due allowance both for possible longer supplements ([Ἡρακλείδου(?)], l. 13) and the fact that slightly more is lost at the top of the papyrus. The lacuna in l. 1 should be supplemented by the shared *gentilicium* of the two men, e.g. Ἰουλίοις, Κλαυδίοις, etc. In line two, given the nature of the document as a declaration of property that follows the standard form, one must supply the title of the record keepers.

The titles of those in charge of the older *demosia bibliotheke* in the Arsinoite nome vary slightly: whereas Thrakidas, the first *bibliophylax*, was called βιβλιοφύλαξ τῆς ἐν (τῷ) Ἀρσινοίτῃ βιβλιοθήκης (see n. 34), the later pairs of administrators were addressed as βιβλιοφύλακες τῆς ἐν Ἀρσινοίτῃ δημοσίας βιβλιοθήκης.⁴² Can such a title be supplemented at the end of line 2? Even with drastic abbreviation, βιβ(λιοφύλαξι) τῆ(ς) ἐν Ἀρσι(νοίτῃ) δη(μοσίας) βιβ(λιοθήκης) is far too long for the lacuna. The older title, attested only for Thrakidas in 53, is also too long: βιβ(λιοφύλαξι) τῆ(ς) ἐν Ἀρσι(νοίτῃ) βιβ(λιοθήκης).

The standard designation of the heads of the property archive, on the other hand, was βιβλιοφύλακες ἐγκτήσεων Ἀρσινοίτου, which was frequently abbreviated, as in the example above (1.2): βιβλιο(φύλαξιν) ἐγκτή(σεων) [Ἀρσι(νοίτου)]. At 15 letters, this abbreviated form of the title is also too long for the lacuna. Other examples, however, exhibit more extreme abbreviation, with one offering a version that could just fit the space of the Hawara declaration: βιβ(λιοφύλαξιν) ἐγκ(τήσεων) Ἀρ[σι(νοίτου)] (*BGU* 11.2094.3, 131 CE).⁴³ This title must therefore be considered more likely than one referring to the *demosia bibliotheke*.

A further possibility, however, is suggested by the corpus of Oxyrhynchite declarations, in which the administrators are usually addressed simply as βιβλιοφύλακες without further designation (see n. 34). Although not attested in declarations from the Arsinoite nome, such a short-form designation cannot be excluded here. On the whole, restoring [βιβ(λιοφύλαξιν)

⁴² *BGU* 1.112 = *M.Chr.* 214 = *FIRA* 3.102 (to Ammonios and Sarapion, 60/61), *BGU* 2.379 = *M.Chr.* 219 (to Dios and Protogenes, May 28, 67 CE), *P.Mich.* 9.541 (to Apollonios and Theon, date lost: see discussion below).

⁴³ An example of the abbreviation βιβ(λιοφύλαξ) is also found in a contemporary document (*SPP* 4, pp. 58–83, col. 2.27, written βιβ(λιοφύλαξ)), while ἐγκ(τήσεων) is a common abbreviation, found in four first-century property declarations (*BGU* 2.536.2; *BGU* 11.2017.3; 11.2097.1; *SB* 16.12960.2).

ἐγκ(τήσεων) Ἀρσι(νοίτου)] seems most likely, even if [βιβλιοφύλ(αξι)] (referring to either archive) remains a possibility.

Another way to approach the problem is to examine the list of Arsinoite *bibliophylakes* and consider the implications of placing Logismos and Antiochos in each of the archives in 68/69.⁴⁴ Much depends on the dating of *P.Mich.* 9.541, a property declaration whose date is lost, but which has been assigned to the reign of Vespasian since the *ed. pr.* The declaration is addressed to Apollonios and Theon – but in their capacity as heads of the older *demosia bibliotheke*. The editor, identifying this pair with the *bibliophylakes* of the real property archive known from Vespasian's reign, dated the document to this same reign (without further discussion). We can now see that it must have been submitted before at least May 30 (?), 72, following Burkhalter's deduction discussed above (see again 1.1 n.).⁴⁵

There is one other consequential detail in *P.Mich.* 9.541, namely that a previous declaration was submitted to an otherwise unattested pair of *bibliophylakes*, Dios and Apion (ll. 7–8). They must be placed somewhere on the list, although not necessarily, as Jördens assumed, immediately before Apollonios and Theon.⁴⁶ Yet, for the moment, let us assume that they were the immediate predecessors, and that Apollonios and Theon moved directly from the *demosia bibliotheke* to the *bibliotheke enkteseon* upon its establishment. These assumptions produce the following list of Arsinoite *bibliophylakes* of the public archive:

1. Thrakidas, 53
2. Ammonios and Sarapion, 60/61
3. Dios and Protogenes, 67
4. Tiberii NN Logismos and Antiochos, 68/69
5. Dios and Apion, 69/70 (?)

⁴⁴ See the lists in Sijpesteijn and Worp (n. 39) 526–527 and 531, but note that they assign the early administrators to the list of *bibliophylakes enkteseon*, although they did not hold that title (cf. above, n. 34).

⁴⁵ *P.Mich.* 9.541 is now recognized as part of the archive of Sabinus and Apollinaris (TM Arch 116), although this context does not help further date the declaration. From an unpublished document (*P.Mich.* inv. 5896), we learn that the declarant, Ptolemaios, son of Apion, was born in ca. 35 CE; he thus would have been in a position to submit property declarations from about the middle of the 50s on.

⁴⁶ A. Jördens, "Reparaturen in arsinaitischen Gauarchiven," *Pap.Congr.* 26, 374–375, n. 27. Declarations to the *bibliophylakes* Ammonios and Sarapion (60/61) are referred to as late as 83 CE: see 1.12 n. Cf. also *PSI* 12.1235, where the Oxyrhynchite keepers Epimachos and Theon refer to documents handed over to them ὑπὸ τῶν προόντων βιβλιοφυλάκων Bakchios and Tiro, who were not their immediate predecessors (Sijpesteijn and Worp [n. 39] 529).

6. Apollonios and Theon, 70/71 (?), then heads of the *bibliothēke enkteseon* by May 30 (?), 72
7. Apion and Isidoros, 71 (?)
8. Protogenes and Isidoros, 71/72–73 (?)⁴⁷

Immediately apparent is the logjam between the fixed points of Dios and Protogenes on May 28, 67 CE and Protogenes and Isidoros, who took over from their predecessors in the public archive sometime in the year 71/72.⁴⁸ In this period, the Roman administration would have had to cycle through four pairs of *bibliophylakes*, each serving for roughly one year. This reconstruction is not impossible, but the evidence for first century *bibliophylakes*, before the office became a liturgy, points to tenures longer than just one year.⁴⁹

One possibility for relieving this logjam is to move Dios and Apion earlier, between Ammonios and Sarapion in 60/61 and Dios and Protogenes in 67.⁵⁰ This would produce the following reconstructed list:

1. Thrakidas, 53
2. Ammonios and Sarapion, 60/61
3. Dios and Apion, ca. 64
4. Dios and Protogenes, 67
5. Tiberii NN Logismos and Antiochos, 68/69
6. Apollonios and Theon, ca. 69–70, then heads of *bibliothēke enkteseon* by May 30 (?), 72
7. Apion and Isidoros, ca. 71–72
8. Protogenes and Isidoros, ca. 72–73

⁴⁷ The term of this pair (or at least of one of them) is apparently limited by the appearance of Agathos Daimon in *SPP* 4, pp. 58–83, col. 2.7 (April 26 – May 25, 73).

⁴⁸ *P.Fam.Tebt.* 15.45–47, 78–80. Cf. Burkhalter (n. 32) 210.

⁴⁹ In the Arsinoite nome, Apollonios and Nikolaos were in office between 78–83, while Sokrates and Antipatros were active for some 20 years (84–105): see Sijpesteijn and Worp (n. 39) 527 and for the latter pair, *P.Narm.* 3, introduction. In Oxyrhynchos, Epimachos and Theon remained in office between 80–90 and a board of three keepers are known between 97–99 (Sijpesteijn and Worp [n. 39] 529). By perhaps the first decade of the second century the office had become a liturgy, and shorter tenures are expected: see N. Lewis, *The Compulsory Public Services of Roman Egypt* (2nd ed.; Florence 1997) 17. Nonetheless, a certain Dionysios may have remained in the Arsinoite archives (with different colleagues) through the 120s (this is the assumption of Sijpesteijn and Worp [n. 39] 527).

⁵⁰ In *BGU* 2.379.7–8, the declaration to Dios and Protogenes in 67 CE, Ammonios and Sarapion are referred to as πρότεροι βιβλιοφύλακες, which could indicate that they were the immediate predecessors, but this is not a necessary interpretation. See above with n. 46.

This reconstruction would also have the possible attraction of producing a continuous tenure for the Dios of #3 and #4 (that is, if they can be identified with one another, which is not guaranteed). Nevertheless, there remains a quick succession of *bibliophylakes* from Logismos and Antiochos in 68/69 to Protogenes and Isidoros in 71/72.

Another possibility is to abandon the assumption that Apollonios and Theon transitioned directly from the *demosia bibliotheke* to the *bibliotheke enkteseon*. The dating of *P.Mich.* 9.541 to Vespasian's reign (or at least after May 28, 67), we will remember, depends on this assumption. But what if these archivists (and therefore Dios and Apion) were in office before Dios and Protogenes? This hypothesis would produce the following list of the first five *bibliophylakes* of the public archive:

1. Thrakidas, 53
2. Ammonios and Sarapion, 60/61
3. Dios and Apion, ca. 61–63
4. Apollonios and Theon, ca. 64–66
5. Dios and Protogenes, 67

After the fixed point of Dios and Protogenes on May 28, 67, one is free to posit the establishment of the new *bibliotheke enkteseon*. If Logismos and Antiochos are assigned as the first administrators of this new office (suggested but not guaranteed by the restoration of the Hawara declaration discussed above), the following lists can be produced:

Demosia Bibliotheke

Bibliotheke Enkteseon

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| 1. Thrakidas, 53 | |
| 2. Ammonios and Sarapion, 60/61 | |
| 3. Dios and Apion, ca. 61–63 | |
| 4. Apollonios and Theon, ca. 64–66 | |
| 5. Dios and Protogenes, 67 | 1. Ti. NN Logismos and Antiochos,
ca. 68–72 |
| 6. Apion and Isidoros, ca. 69–71 | 2. Apollonios and Theon, ca. 72–78 |
| 7. Protogenes and Isidoros, ca. 71–73 | |

The above list provides more “breathing room” for the *bibliophylakes* of the public archive, allowing them each at least a couple of years to exercise their office. Taken in connection with the suggested restoration of *SB* 18.13229 above, this reconstruction provides the best explanation of the available evidence.

If this reconstruction is accepted, the *bibliothèque enkteseon* was established between May 28, 67 and February, 68 (or possibly August, 68), at least in the Arsinoite nome.⁵¹ The new office would have been entrusted to a pair of administrators who are conspicuous in the *fasti* of *bibliophylakes* by virtue of their (probable) Roman citizenship: their predecessors and successors were nearly all members of the gymnasial class. The date of this reorganization and the assignment of high-status administrators to the new post would fall in the tenure of the prefect Tiberius Iulius Alexander (*PIR*² 1.139), the reform-minded governor whose famous edict of July 5, 68 – the longest from Roman Egypt – is inscribed in the Hibis Temple complex in the Khargeh Oasis (TM 103024). The reforms announced in this edict have already been loosely connected to the establishment of the *bibliothèque enkteseon*;⁵² the new dating would allow the archival reform itself to be attributed to Tiberius Iulius Alexander.

⁵¹ Logismos and Antiochos could have theoretically been in charge of the older *bibliothèque demosia* when they received Mikkalos' earlier declaration between August 29, 68 and February, 69 (1.7), thereafter moving to the new archive by July/August, 69, the date of *SB* 18.13229.

⁵² Lerouxel (n. 32) 164–171.

A LETTER FROM TERENTIANUS TO TASOUCHARION¹

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Abstract. — Fragment of a private letter from Karanis (P.Mich. inv. 5417a) with a possible connection to the Archive of Tiberianus.

Keywords: Karanis, Archive of Tiberianus, Terentianus, Tasoucharion

The papyrus presented here was found at the ancient village of Karanis, during the University of Michigan excavations in 1928. The fragment, P.Mich. inv. 5417a, comes from House C/B167 (figs. 1 and 2), the same house that produced the Archive of Tiberianus. This archive consists of a collection of Greek and Latin letters, mostly between Claudius Terentianus and his father, Claudius Tiberianus, that were found together in a storage niche under a staircase (locus D²) and date to the first quarter of the second century CE.² Most of the private letters that form this archive deal with the business and family affairs of Claudius Tiberianus, who is either the sender or addressee of all but one of the published letters. The exception (P.Mich. 8.481) is a letter between Terentianus and Tasoucharion. As a result of the prosopographical and archaeological connections between P.Mich. inv. 5417a and the Archive of Tiberianus, this fragment has previously been mentioned in several publications.³

¹ I would like to thank Arthur Verhoogt, W. Graham Claytor, and Elizabeth Nabney for their helpful comments on earlier drafts of this paper. I also thank the journal's anonymous reviewers for their comments and suggestions. I am grateful to Sebastián Encina and Michelle Fontenot of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology of the University of Michigan for assistance with the archaeological records of the Karanis Excavations. Permission to publish the figures was generously granted by the University of Michigan Papyrology Collection and the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology of the University of Michigan.

² TM Arch 54. See R.P. Stephan and A. Verhoogt, "Text and Context in the Archive of Tiberianus (Karanis, Egypt; 2nd century AD)," *BASP* 42 (2005) 189–201; S. Strassi, *L'archivio di Claudius Tiberianus da Karanis* (Berlin and New York 2008); P. Reinard, *Kommunikation und Ökonomie. Untersuchungen zu den privaten Papyrusbriefen aus dem kaiserzeitlichen Ägypten* (Rahden, Westfalen, 2016) 2.693–768.

³ Stephan and Verhoogt (n. 2) 197–199; Reinard (n. 2) n. 2682; Strassi (n. 2) 10 with n. 21, 63, n. 109, 95, n. 54, 101, n. 8, 135, n. 90; Strassi seems to conflate P.Mich. inv. 5417a with another fragment mentioned in P.Mich. 8, p. 71. The introduction to P.Mich. 8.481 contains the following remarks: "With this letter was found a small piece of another letter, written perhaps by the same hand. It contains nothing intelligible apart from fragments of



Fig. 1. Karanis site plan showing location of C167, Third Layer
 © University of Michigan Excavations, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology.

salutations and is therefore not transcribed here.” No photograph is known of *P.Mich.* 8.481, and thus the hand of the two letters cannot be compared. It seems unlikely, however, that the two papyri are the same. Not only does the description of the fragment mentioned in *P.Mich.* 8, p. 71 not match *P.Mich.* inv. 5417a, but the excavation records state that *P.Mich.* inv. 5417a was found in a separate locus from *P.Mich.* 8.481 and therefore could not have been described as being found with it.



Fig. 2. Plan of C167, Karanis, Third Layer

© University of Michigan Excavations, Kelsey Museum of Archaeology.

P.Mich. inv. 5417a is recorded as coming from “high in the fill” of C/B167 L,⁴ where C/B is the occupational level, 167 is the house, and L is the locus.⁵ According to the architectural drawings, locus L was situated in the southwest corner of the courtyard, located east of the living quarters of the house (fig. 2). This fragment is the only papyrus recorded from this context; however, other finds from this same locus include a fragment of a cylindrical wooden box, a lamp (with a potter’s mark), a large bronze ring, a ceramic double bust of African men (with heads back-to-back), and a small glass bead.⁶

⁴ Both the Archive of Tiberianus and P.Mich. inv. 5417a had originally been recorded as coming from level B; however, a reexamination of the Karanis records revealed that the finds from the B and C levels were conflated, and it concluded that both the archive and P.Mich. inv. 5417a should instead be associated with occupation level C, see Stephan and Verhoogt (n. 2) 196–199.

⁵ For an explanation of the Karanis excavation labels see: W.G. Claytor and A. Verhoogt, *Papyri from Karanis: The Granary C123 (P. Mich. XXI)* (Ann Arbor 2018) xix–xx.

⁶ The small glass bead is held in the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology (KM 77397). The ceramic bust is in the Cairo Museum (J 65596) and has previously been published (without an image) by M.L. Allen, *The Terracotta Figurines from Karanis: A Study of Technique, Style and Chronology in Fayoumic Coroplastics 2* (unpublished dissertation, University of Michigan, 1985) cat. 108, 468–469. The other objects likely remain in Cairo.

There is a strong case to be made that P.Mich. inv. 5417a was once part of the Archive of Tiberianus. This letter, like a majority of the letters in the archive, was sent by Terentianus. It is also addressed to Tasoucharion, who is the recipient of another letter with an identical greeting (*P.Mich.* 8.481) found with the archive. This prosopographical connection, combined with the discovery of P.Mich. inv. 5417a in the same house as the Archive of Tiberianus, indicate that this letter was once part of the same collection of letters. P.Mich. inv. 5417a was most likely separated from the archive in antiquity and became part of the fill during the transition between occupation levels.⁷

P.Mich. inv. 5417a is 13.9 cm high and 22.8 cm wide. The full width of this papyrus is preserved, which includes a curiously wide right margin, measuring 10.2 cm. The left margin is 1.4 cm, and the top margin is 2.1 cm. All margins are irregular and contain stripped fibers. The papyrus, which is medium brown in color, is broken at the lower edge, where it becomes more fragmented and the ink more abraded. The papyrus preserves eleven lines in black ink, seven of which are partially legible. The *verso* is blank, except for a few traces of black ink that may form one or two illegible letters. The papyrus contains at least seven vertical fold lines at 2.5–3.5 cm intervals. Four small fragments are associated with this papyrus. Each are smaller than 1 cm² and contain no traces of ink.

Regarding the abnormally wide right margin of the papyrus, it is possible that this letter was originally intended to be double-columned, or that the extra papyrus was used as an outside cover to protect the letter while being transported. Another possibility is that Terentianus intended for this excess papyrus to be cut off and used by Tasoucharion for her response. In another letter to Tasoucharion (*P.Mich.* 8.481.35–36), Terentianus speaks of sending her papyrus so that she might write him back.

The hand of P.Mich. inv. 5417a is sloping and varied, with contrasting wide and narrow characters. The strokes are thick, and some letters contain serifs. There are few ligatures, though some exist with *alphas*, *epsilons*, *iotas*, and *sigmas*. *Alphas* have round bowls and, in some instances, have stems that are nearly horizontal. *Epsilons* are curved and narrow, *mus* are made with three strokes, *nus* are rendered as “flying,” *omicrons* are sometimes narrow and often float above the line, *sigmas* are upright,

⁷ Stephan and Verhoogt (n. 2) 198–199.

and the *upsilon* is “v”-shaped. The prosopographical and archaeological connections with the Archive of Tiberianus date P.Mich. inv. 5417a to the first quarter of the second century CE, which is also supported by its paleography. Similar handwriting is found in *P.Sarap.* 28 (dated 125 CE) and *P.Oxy.* 36.2754 (dated 111 CE). The handwriting also bears a strong resemblance to that of another letter from the Archive of Tiberianus (*P.Mich.* 8.479).

Turning to the text of P.Mich. inv. 5417a, there is a close parallel with that from *P.Mich.* 8.481 (also from the Archive of Tiberianus), in that the first two lines of both these letters are exactly the same. Unfortunately, no photograph of *P.Mich.* 8.481, which is held in Cairo, exists. Thus, it is impossible, at this time, to determine if these two letters were written by the same hand.

P.Mich. inv. 5417a begins with a formulaic greeting from Terentianus to Tasoucharion, whom he addresses as his sister.⁸ Terentianus seems to imply that he has already written, but it is not entirely clear to whom. What follows is mostly fragmented and lost, but there is mention of carrying and double bags.

P.Mich. inv. 5417a

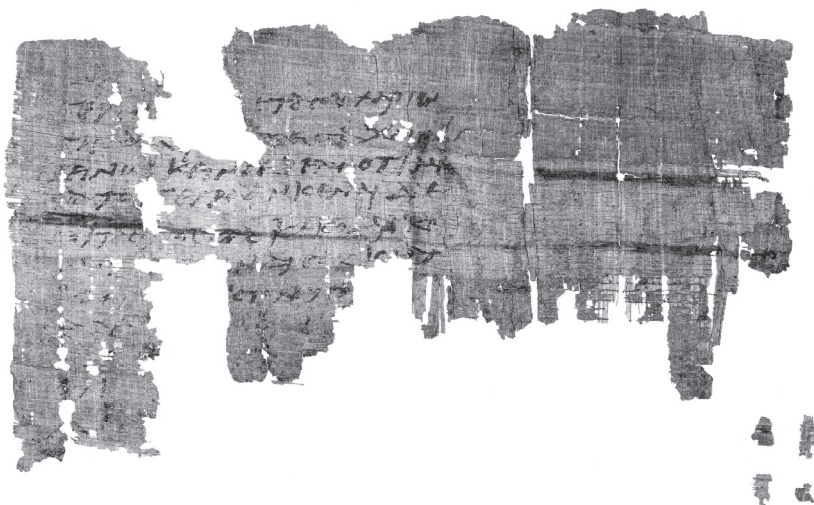
H × W = 13.9 × 22.8 cm

Karanis, Egypt,
first quarter of II CE

Τερεν[τιανὸς] Τασουχαρίῳ
 τῇ ἀδελφ[ῇ] πλεῖστα χαίρε\ι/ν.
 γινώσκειν σε θέλω ὅτι με-
 τὰ τὸ γεγραφεῖναι δ . ε
 5 σοι τὰς . . ο . . ας κεκομικέ-
 ναι [ca. 6] γ δις αἰκίαν
 [ca. 4–5] κτῶν . σα[ca. 4–5]
 . . α . [ca. 4–5] . . . γ[ca. 5–6]
 [ca. 2] . [ca. 8] . [ca. 9]
 10 . τι[ca. 18]
 α . . [ca. 18]

3 l. γινώσκειν

⁸ Although the terms ἀδελφός/ἀδελφή were commonly used between spouses at this time and did not necessarily imply blood relation, Terentianus and Tasoucharion are considered to be siblings, Strassi (n. 2) 135; Reinard (n. 2) 704, 744–746.



“Terentianus to Tasoucharion, his sister, many greetings. I wish you to know that after having written to you ... has brought ... double bags ...”

1–2 As mentioned in the introduction, these first two lines are identical to the first two lines of *P.Mich.* 8.481.

1 Τασουχαρίω: The line through the *omega* could either be a correction or an attempt to fix the letter.

2 There seems to have been a small *vacat* between ἀδελφῇ and πλεῖστα.

3–4 ὅτι μετὰ τὸ γεγραφοκέναι: This is the only known example of this phrase in published papyri. A parallel for the use of the articular perfect infinitive can be found in *P.Tebt.* 1.34.108.

4 Only the *delta* of the last word in this line is discernible, although the last letter may be an *epsilon*. A possible reading could be δ’ αἰεῖ; however, this reading seems peculiar and an *iota* is not clearly visible.⁹

5 The accusative word going with τὰς is unclear. It is also uncertain whether this word is the direct object of γεγραφοκέναι or κεκόμικεν.

6 δισασκίαν: For discussion see, G. Husson, “Τὸ δισάκκιον/ῆ δισασκία: formes concurrentes du genre féminin parallèles aux neutres en -ιον,” *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, vol. 3 (1984) 1297–1301.

⁹ I am grateful to Peter van Minnen for suggesting this possibility.

A PETITION REGARDING THEFT¹

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Abstract. — Edition of P.Mich. inv. 6641, a petition to the *strategos* of the Arsinoite nome regarding theft. In the papyrus, dated to 151 CE, a male petitioner from Tebtynis, Mieus, complains about a female thief, Taorseus, probably his former wife, and her sister, Tephersaïs. The petition likely belongs to a genre of complaints that document women practicing “self-help” in recovering their dowry, typically using the occasion of their husband’s absence.

Keywords: petition, Tebtynis, Arsinoite nome, theft, marriage

The papyrus was purchased from Maurice Nahman through H.I. Bell in 1934. It is rectangular, except for its missing upper right-hand corner. The top, bottom, and right-hand edges are straight and regular. The left-hand edge is frayed, and this results in an uneven margin. There is a prominent *kollesis* along the left-hand side of the papyrus. Most of the top margin, ca. 1.0 cm, is preserved. There is a well-preserved bottom margin, ca. 1.6 cm. The left margin reaches 2.7 cm between line 19 and 20, where the preserved width is greatest. The writing runs to the right margin. The top layer of the papyrus is missing in the upper right corner, affecting lines 1 to 8. These badly damaged lines likely contained more information about the complainant and the nature of the complaint. The sheet of papyrus displays significant abrasion and numerous holes in its upper third and a few small holes across its lower two-thirds. The *verso* is blank.

The dating formula at the end of the text, lines 24–26, dates this petition to March 25, 151 CE. The papyrus contains the complaint by a male petitioner (Mieus) about theft by his wife (Taorseus) and her sister (Tephersaïs), suggesting that this petition may belong to those that describe wives practicing “self-help” in recovering their dowry, typically using the occasion of their husbands’ absence to abscond from the conjugal domicile, taking their husband’s property with them.² There are notable parallels with other

¹ I want to thank Brendan Haug, Peter van Minnen, Elizabeth Nabney, Kayla Pio, Monica Tsuneishi, and my anonymous reviewers for their invaluable advice and suggestions in preparing this papyrus for publication.

² Uri Yiftach-Firanko, *Marriage and Marital Arrangements: A History of the Greek Marriage Document in Egypt: 4th Century BCE–4th Century CE* (München 2003) 216,

papyri containing similar complaints. For example, the wife in *P.Oxy.* 2.282 also seems to have acted with an accomplice, in that case probably her mother. The thief in *P.Oxy.* 65.4481, like the one here, apparently stole “gold objects and effects and clothes” (χρυσίοις καὶ σκεύεσι καὶ ἱματίοις, see line 9 below). Finally, the phrase “taking advantage of my absence” (λαβομένη τὴν ἐμὴν ἀπουσίαν, lines 10–11 below) finds a parallel in the καιροτηρησαμένη τὴν ἀπουσίαν μου of *P.Lond.* 5.1651.³

P.Mich. inv. 6641

H × W = 21.5 × 13.5 cm

Tebtynis, 151 CE

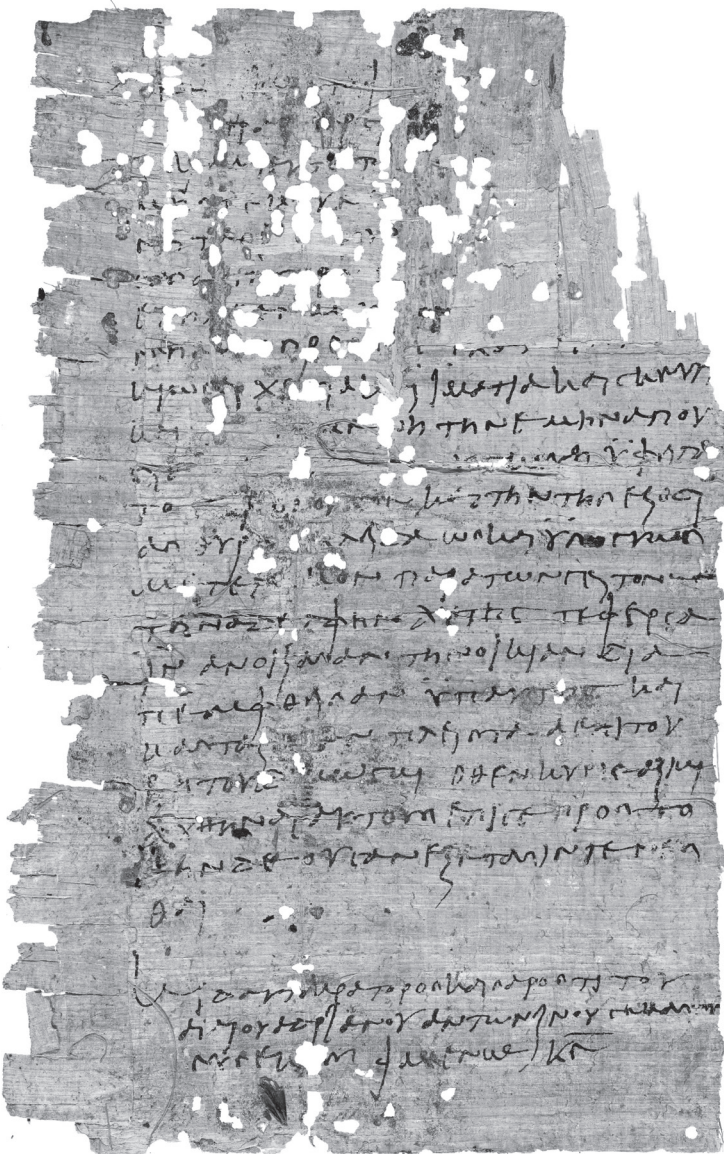
- Δημητρίῳ τῷ [καὶ Ἄρποκρατίῳ]
 vac. στρατ[η(γῶι)] Ἄρσι[(νοίτου) Θεμίστ(ου) κ(αὶ) Πολ(έμωνος)
 μερίδ(ων)]
 παρὰ Μιεῦτο[ς] τοῦ . [. κώ-]
 μης Τεβτύνεω[ς γυ-]
 5 νῇ Ταορ[σεῦς] . οὐ . [ca. 15]
 σᾶσα τη . . ρ [ca. 15]
 ε . σ . . εγμ . . [.] . . [ca. 15]
 νεπα . . . [. .] πρε [.] . . τ[ῆ] συμ-]
 βιώσει χρ[υ]σία καὶ ἱμάτια καὶ σκεύη
 10 καὶ . . λαβομένη τὴν ἐμὴν ἀπου-
 σία[v]υ.ωνη ὑφείλε-
 το ρ . ρ . . ν καὶ τὴν τῆς ἐξοδί-
 ας θύρα[ς] κλειῖδα. ὥς καὶ ὑπογύως
 μετέλαβον παρὰ τῶν γειτόνων,
 15 τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτῆς Τεφερσά-
 ῖν ἀνοίξασαν τὴν οἰκίαν δια-
 πέμφθειςαν ὑπ’ αὐτῆς καὶ
 βαστάξα[σ]αν πλεῖστα ἃ ἐπὶ τοῦ
 ῥητοῦ δηλώσωι. ὅθεν, κύριε, ἀξιῶι
 20 ἀχθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ σε πρὸς τὸ
 τὴν δέουσιν ἐξέτασιν γενέσ-
 θαι.

according to whom five other petitions describe this kind of self-help: *P.Heid.* 3.237 (ca. 250 CE; Philadelphia); *P.Lond.* 5.1651 (363 CE; Hermopolis); *P.Oxy.* 2.282 (29–37 CE; Oxyrhynchos), 65.4481 (179 CE; Oxyrhynchos); *SB* 16.12505 (221 CE; Lykopolis). See also I. Arnaoutoglou, “Marital Disputes in Greco-Roman Egypt,” *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 25 (1995) 24–25, according to whom the only attested petitions submitted by husbands against wives are by men attempting to recover property belonging to them which their wives took away when they left the conjugal domicile.

³ For the difference between petitions concerning theft (to which genre this petition appears to belong) and those about violence, see A.Z. Bryen, *Violence in Roman Egypt: A Study in Legal Interpretation* (Philadelphia 2013) 131.

(ἔτους) ἰδ' Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τίτου
Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ Ἀντωνείνου Σεβαστοῦ
25 Εὐσεβ[ο]ῦς Φαμενώθ κς.

9 ἱματια παρ. 11 ὑφειλατο παρ. 13 ὑπογύως παρ. 17 ὑπ παρ. 19 ἰ. δηλώσω,
ἰ. ἀξιῶ



“To Demetrios, also known as Harpokration, the *strategos* of the divisions of Themistos and Polemon of the Arsinoite nome, from Mieus, son of (or also known as?) ... from the village of Tebtynis ... my wife Taorseus ...

... in the marriage, gold objects and clothing and effects, and taking advantage of my absence ... [she] stole ... and the bar of the external door. And as I also recently learned from the neighbors, her sister Tephersais, who had been sent by her, opened up the house and carried off very many things, which I will list on the appointed day. Wherefore, lord, I ask that they be led to you so that the necessary examination may take place.

Year 14 of Emperor Caesar Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius, the 26th of Phamenoth (March 25, 151 CE).”

1–2 Δημητρίῳ τῷ [καὶ Ἀρποκρατίῳ] στρατ[η(γῶν)] Ἀρσι[(νοίτου) Θεμιστ(ου) καὶ) Πολ(έμωνος) μερίδ(ων)]: The *strategos*, the top official of the nome, was the official to whom most petitions were sent.⁴ By 151 CE, two *strategoi* were in charge of administration in the Arsinoite nome, one in charge of the division of Herakleides and the other of the divisions of Themistos and Polemon. Of the attested *strategoi* from around the date of this papyrus, Demetrios, also known as Harpokration, best fits the traces. He is attested between 151 and 154 as the *strategos* of the divisions of Themistos and Polemon.⁵ For the phrase Δημητρίῳ τῷ καὶ Ἀρποκρατίῳ, compare *P.Athen.* 35.1.

2 στρατ[η(γῶν)]: For other examples of this less common abbreviation, see *P.Alex.Giss* 60.2; BGU 13.2237.2, 13.2249.1.

– Ἀρσι[(νοίτου) Θεμιστ(ου) καὶ) Πολ(έμωνος) μερίδ(ων)]: Compare BGU 11.2075.1, 13.2240.1–2, 13.2241.1 Although the line appears at first glance to be exceedingly long, when abbreviation is taken into account it comes out to only 28 characters, less than the 29 characters of line 9.

3 Μιεῦτο[ς]: From Μιεῦς, a variant of the common Egyptian name Miusis, “fierce looking lion,” which is most frequently attested in the first century CE in the area around Thebes.⁶ This particular Mieus does

⁴ Bryen (n. 3) 19. On the itinerary which petitions follow in the administrative apparatus see also B. Kelly, *Petitions, Litigation, and Social Control in Roman Egypt* (Oxford 2011). Complainants could also petition the prefect, a higher ranking official (see, e.g., *P.Oxy.* 65.4481).

⁵ J.E.G. Whitehorne and G. Bastianini, *Strategi and Royal Scribes of Roman Egypt: Chronological List and Index* (2nd ed.; Florence 2006) 41.

⁶ www.trismegistos.org/name/10621.

not appear to show up elsewhere in the papyrological record. This variant of the name is only attested in the Arsinoite nome.

– τοῦ: This could introduce a patronymic, as in e.g. *P.Mich.* 5.299.5, 305.8, but use in the formula definite article + καί, meaning “also known as” (see note on lines 1–2 above), cannot be ruled out.

5 Ταορ[σεῦς]: The sequence Ταορ- occurs most frequently in the female names Ταορσεῦς (Taorseus, “the one of the guardian(s)”) and Ταορνοῦφης (Taornouphis, “the one of the good guardian”), both common in the Arsinoite nome at this time.⁷ Of these two possibilities, Ταορσεῦς better fits the lacuna and following traces.

9 [συμ]βιώσει: συμβιώσει “marriage” is by far the most likely word here, since the petition stems from a union gone wrong. A search of the DDbDP reveals that συμβίωσις appears most frequently in the dative case with a preposition, usually ἐν as in, e.g., *P.Mil.Vogl.* 2.71.10, *CPR* 1.25.19. The phrase τῇ συμβιώσει occurs most often in marriage contracts (e.g., *P.Stras.* 3.131.15, *P.Hamb.* 3.220.3, *SB* 24.16256.19), and while it is not attested in any petition, it does occur fairly regularly in divorce agreements (*P.Lips.* 1.27.29, *P.Oxy.* 43.3139.10). The word συμβίωσις, however, occurs in petitions in other cases (e.g., *SB* 16.12627.7–8).

10 τὴν ἐμὴν ἀπουσίαν[v]: Most commonly in the phrase κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀπουσίαν, “during my absence” (as, e.g., in *P.Col.* 8.234.5), although the preceding word disallows the preposition here. The participial form λαβομένη would fit in the lacuna and is attested in the same sense in *P.Tebt.* 2.332.9 (λαβόμενοι / τῆς ἐκκοιτείας μου). The rest of the lacuna may contain a particle or prefix to the verb.

11 ὑφείλατο: for ὑφείλετο: For other examples of this spelling see e.g. *P.Fay.* 107.2, *P.Gen.* 2.1.3.18, *PSI* 8.883.10. The use of first and second aorist endings for both types of aorist is a widespread feature of Greek papyri.⁸

14 μετέλαβον: For the word in the sense “learn” and introducing an indirect statement, see *P.Mich.* 864.17, *SB* 24.16267.4, *P.Polit.Iud.* 7.8, *P.Oxy.* 55.3807.37.

⁷ www.trismegistos.org/name/6066 (Taorseus) and www.trismegistos.org/name/1284 (Taornouphis).

⁸ E. Dickey, “The Greek and Latin Languages in the Papyri,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology*, ed. R.S. Bagnall (New York 2011) 156.

15 Τεφερσάϊν: From Τεφερσάϊς, a variant of the common Egyptian name Tnephersais, “the one with the good fate.” The name most frequently appears in the second century CE in the Arsinoite nome.⁹ *P.Mil. Vogl.* 3.185 records a certain Tephersais as divorcing in Tebtynis in the division of Polemon in 139 CE. She was about 20 at the time. Still, the name is common enough that in the absence of corroborating internal evidence in the papyrus, it is likely that nothing more than simple homonymy is at work here.

18 βαστάξα[σ]αν πλεῖστα ἃ ἐπὶ τοῦ ῥητοῦ δηλώσωι: The verb βαστάζω literally means “to carry off,” but often by extension “to steal” (e.g. in *BGU* 1.157.8, 2.454.12, 3.769.4, 11.2068.9–10). Compare the use of the relative clause here to the petition *BGU* 3.769.4 (Arsinoite nome, 172 CE): ἐβάσταξαν πάντα ἃ εἶχ[ον] “they stole all that I owned.” Also note the use of the same phrase in *PSI* 5.463 (Arsinoite nome, 158–160 CE), also a petition, in which the petitioner describes stolen items that he will list on the appointed day (ἃ ἐπὶ τοῦ ῥητοῦ δηλώσω, *PSI* 5.463.14). Other examples of the use of relative clauses in papyri include *BASP* 47.71.3 and *BGU* 1.179.9.

19 δηλώσωι: Alternatively, one might read δηλῶσαι, but the phrase ἐπὶ τοῦ ῥητοῦ tends to prefer a first person verb (e.g. in *P.Tebt.* 2.303.12–13 and *PSI* 5.463.14). Furthermore, it is unclear what δηλῶσαι could be doing syntactically.

– ὅθεν κύριε ἀξιῶ ἀχθῆναι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ σε: This language is also formulaic in petitions (e.g. in *BGU* 13.2240.14–15, *P.Mich.* 3.174.17–19). Compare a similar phrase in *BGU* 3.769.5–7: διὸ ἀξιῶ [τὴν] ἀναζήτησιν τούτων γενέσθαι (“wherefore I ask that there be an investigation of these things”).

⁹ www.trismegistos.org/name/1433.

AN ORDER TO THE POLICE OF BAKCHIAS MENTIONING THE *EPISTRATEGOS*¹

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Abstract. — Edition of a second-century order to the *arabotoxotai* and *archephodoi* of Bakchias to escort a letter-carrier coming from the *epistrategos*.

Keywords: *arabotoxotai*, *archephodoi*, Bakchias, letter-carrier, *epistrategos*

The papyrus edited here, dated to the second century CE and now kept in Giessen, reflects official communication among the *epistrategos*, a colleague who was probably the *strategos*, and the local security personnel of the village of Bakchias, to whom an order is addressed. Further, it is a new witness to the cooperation of two kinds of security official previously known to operate out of that village, the *archephodoi* and *arabotoxotai*, the latter responsible in the first instance for overland traffic with the north through the desert. The letter's address recalls the well-known genre of the warrant (also "summons" or "order to arrest"),² which these same police officials are usually charged with executing, but the rest of the formulary does not match (see line 3 with the commentary). The absence of salutations, epistolary prescript, and sender's name are still contiguous with the brief, generic communication of the warrants, issued by a central authority, in that case the office of the *strategos*, in regular contact with its peripheral subordinates.

¹ I thank Nikolaos Gonis for bringing this papyrus to my attention and Olaf Schneider for permission to publish it and the accompanying image, on which the edition is based. Two anonymous readers of *BASP* and Peter van Minnen offered invaluable criticisms; all remaining errors are my own.

² The term is adopted following the arguments of P. Schubert, "Warrants: Some Further Considerations on Their Typology," *BASP* 55 (2018) 253 n. 2. For lists of attestations see A. Bülow-Jacobsen, "Orders to Arrest: P.Haun. inv. 33 and 54 and a Consolidated List," *ZPE* 66 (1986) 95–98, supplemented by T. Gagos and P.J. Sijpesteijn, "Towards an Explanation of the Typology of the So-Called 'Orders to Arrest,'" *BASP* 33 (1996) 95–96, N. Gonis, *P.Oxy.* 74.5001–5012 introd., G. Azzarello, *P.Poethke* 5 introd., and *P.Cair.Preis.*² 5 introd. Fundamental studies are U. Hagedorn, "Das Formular der Überstellungsbefehle im römischen Ägypten," *BASP* 16 (1979) 61–74; Gagos and Sijpesteijn op. cit. 77–95; Schubert op. cit. 253–274. For further literature see also M. Zellmann-Rohrer, "A New Summons from Bakchias," *ZPE* 205 (2018) 213–216.

The body of the message mentions a letter-carrier (ἐπιστολάφορος) who has come from the *epistrategos*, with instructions for the security officials to escort him (παρὰπέμψατε) in some relation to the city of Memphis (see line 4 with the commentary). If the issuer is indeed the *strategos*, the most economical assumption would be that the letter-carrier was headed north from Arsinoe-Krokodilopolis to Memphis via Bakchias. The chain of communication would have begun with the *epistrategos*, probably the one of the Heptanomia and Arsinoite nome, perhaps while in the latter nome or its capital. He then dispatched a letter by courier to travel overland. Safe conduct for this journey was arranged by a subordinate official, probably the *strategos* from the nome capital, the next leg being the trip to Bakchias, where an escort would presumably have been provided by the security personnel addressed in the letter for the riskier leg through the desert to the north.

The interest of the *epistrategos* in getting an urgent message through to Memphis is not specified, but it may have related to the *conventus* of the prefect. The judicial functions of the *epistrategos* are well-known in general, which included receiving petitions and presiding over trials.³ Trials conducted by the *epistrategos* of the Heptanomia and Arsinoite are attested at Antinoopolis and in the Arsinoite.⁴ An example is the petition *P.Fam.Tebt.* 37 (167 CE), in which the petitioners had asked the *epistrategos* to order the *strategos* to make an arrest, which a subscription of the *epistrategos* duly prescribes.⁵ The *strategos* in turn, the likeliest candidate for authorship of the present letter, instructs a petitioner to petition the prefect at Memphis based on a letter of the *epistrategos* in *P.Bremen* 37 (ca. 117–120 CE), while the submission of petitions directly to the *epistrategos* at Memphis is attested by *SPP* 20.9 (ca. 157–161 CE).⁶

P.Iand. inv. 503 H × W = 6.2 × 11.8 cm Bakchias, second century CE

A slip of light brown papyrus, complete at top and right with margins, the surface badly damaged. The text is written in a proficient cursive hand on the front along the fibers, which can be assigned to the second century,⁷

³ J.D. Thomas, *The Epistrategos in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt*, vol. 2 (Opladen 1982) esp. 111–159.

⁴ Thomas (n. 3) 131.

⁵ Thomas (n. 3) 118.

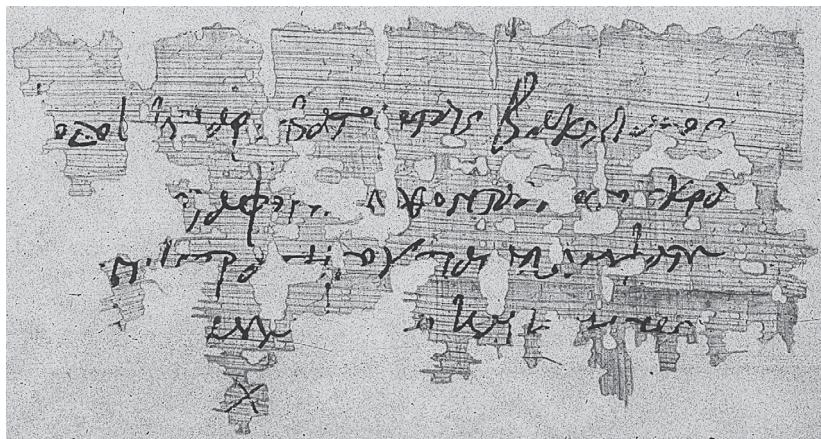
⁶ See further Thomas (n. 3) 188, 200–201.

⁷ By comparison to the published images of the Arsinoite warrants *SB* 18.14014 (Theadelphia) and 16.12707 (Tebtynis), and P.Smithsonian Inst. inv. A217858, ed. Zellmann-Rohrer (n. 2, esp. 214 n. 8, Bakchias), all dated to the second century CE.

a date consistent with the titulature of the *epistrategos* (see the commentary to lines 2–3). The back is obscured by the modern mount, but it is presumably blank. The papyrus belongs to a lot purchased by Carl Schmidt at Madinat al-Fayyūm in 1926.⁸

[ἀρχε]φόδοι[ς] καὶ ἀραβοτοξόταις Βακχιάδος·
[τὸν ἐπιστο]λαφόρον ἐλθόντα ἀπὸ τοῦ κρα-
[τίστο]υ ἐπιστρατήγου παραπέμψατε
[c. 5] . [ἔως] Μέμφ[εω]ς καὶ [.] . . ηνο .
5 [c. 10] χ[]

1 l. ἀραβοτοξόταις



“To the *archephodoi* and *arabotoxotai* of Bakchias: escort the letter-carrier who has come from the most excellent *epistrategos* ... as far as Memphis and ...”

1 [ἀρχε]φόδοι[ς]: For the office see *P.Oxy.* 74.5000.4–5 n. The *archephodoi* are the usual addressees of warrants (Hagedorn [n. 2] 64–65 and Zellmann-Rohrer [n. 1] 215), and those of Bakchias are attested in this capacity twice: *P.Smithsonian Inst. inv.* A217858, ed. Zellmann-Rohrer, *op. cit.* (2nd cent. CE) and *P.Cair.Preis.*² 5 (2nd/3rd cent. CE).

⁸ Information from the Giessen Papyrus Projekt, which also presents a facsimile of an index card with a partial transcription by K. Kalbfleisch (<http://bibd.uni-giessen.de/papyri/images/piand-inv503-transkription.jpg>).

The *archephodoi* of Bakchias are also the recipients of a notification of substitution in the *sitologia* upon the death of a liturgist, *P.IFAO* 1.24 (late 2nd cent. CE). They are mentioned as carrying out the expected policing duties in the petition *P.Mich.* 10.581 (ca. 126–128 CE) but come in for censure in the petitions *BGU* 3.908 (101–102 CE), where they are said to have participated in an assault on some citizens of Arsinoe-Krokodilopolis wrongly impressed into the liturgy of the *sitologia* in Bakchias, and *BGU* 11.2063.15 (ca. 157–162 CE) as the jailers of a *georgos* wrongly assigned some additional public land by the *komogrammateus* of Bakchias. Another petition complains of a robbery at the hands of these officials possibly in league with the *arabotoxotai* (see the following note) or their predecessors under the title οἱ πρὸς τῇ πύλῃ: *P.Mich.* 6.421 (ca. 41–68 CE).

– ἀραβατοξόταις (l. ἀραβοτοξόταις): The spelling in ἀραβα- is paralleled in *P.Hamb.* 3.225.39 (2nd/3rd cent. CE) and *SB* 3.7244.6 (mid 3rd cent. CE). This is the first official communication addressed jointly to the *arabotoxotai* and the *archephodoi*. These security personnel are the addressees of one warrant, *P.Mert.* 1.29, which also happens to be from Bakchias. The *arabotoxotai* were posted in the first instance at toll-stations in the Arsinoite, among which Bakchias commanded the north-east point of entrance and egress for overland journeys towards Memphis (cf. line 4 below). Their title originally derived from a connection with trade routes passing through Arabia, i.e. the eastern part of Egypt between the Nile and the Red Sea, and they possibly fell under the control of the ἀραβάρχαι based in that region, though the only sure attestations are in the Arsinoite and Herakleopolite, appearing as early as 86 BCE in *BGU* 18.1.2750–2751. See the commentary of P. Sarischouli in *BGU* 18.1, pp. 121–122 (App. IV); D. Hennig, “*Arabotoxotai* und *Eremophylakes* im römischen Ägypten,” *Chiron* 34 (2004) 267–284; D. Nappo, “Il ruolo dell’arabarchia nella fiscalità egiziana,” in E. Lo Cascio and G.D. Merola (eds.), *Forme di aggregazione nel mondo romano* (Bari 2007) 287–288; and for the tolls, M. Cottier, “The Customs Districts of Roman Egypt,” in T. Gagos and A. Hyatt (eds.), *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fifth International Congress of Papyrology, Ann Arbor 2007* (Ann Arbor 2010) 141–148. Sarischouli also gives references for Ἀραβεῖς as a kind of desert police.

The explanation of Hennig for the role of the *arabotoxotai* at Bakchias in the warrant *P.Mert.* 1.29, that the issuer knew of no other local forces available, cannot apply in this case, where the usual *archephodoi* also

appear. The reason may be the continuation of the journey of the letter-carrier through the desert regions usually patrolled by the *arabotoxotai*, who are paid in grain for escorting an official in the Herakleopolite: *BGU* 18.1.2750 (86 BCE), 7 (τοῖς σηματομένοις συνακολουθεῖν] τῷ Κάστορι ἀραβοτοξόταις) and 12–13 (τοῖς συνακολουθοῦσι] ἡμῖν ἀραβοτοξόταις). A more general relation between the *epistrategos* and the *arabotoxotai* is indicated by *P.Amh.* 2.77 (139 CE or later; with F. Mitthof, “Betrügerische Zollbeamte und der *procurator usiacus*,” *ZPE* 159 [2007] 256–260), in which an *arabotoxotes* stationed at Soknopaiou Nesos petitions the *epistrategos* to complain of corruption among customs officials.

– Βακχιάδος: On the well-known village (modern Kawm al-ʿAtl) see recently E. Giorgi and P. Buzi (eds.), *Bakchias: Dall’archeologia alla storia* (Bologna 2014); S. Pernigotti, “Bakchias: evidenze ed esigenze archeologiche,” in A. Casanova, G. Messeri, and R. Pintaudi (eds.), *E si d’amici pieno: Omaggio di studiosi italiani a Guido Bastianini per il suo settantesimo compleanno*, vol. 1 (Florence 2016) 283–288; W. Clarysse, s.v. Bakchias in *Fayum: A Gazetteer of the Fayum Area* https://www.trismegistos.org/fayum/fayum2/392.php?geo_id=392; and Zellmann-Rohrer (n. 2) 213 n. 3 with references to further literature; and for its police officials, the previous two notes.

2 [τὸν ἐπιστο]λαφόρον: Read by the suggestion of Peter van Minnen. For the official post in Graeco-Roman Egypt in general see S. Remijsen, “The Postal Service and the Hour as a Unit of Time in Antiquity,” *Historia* 56 (2007) 130–138; for internal references to letter-carriers in private letters, P.M. Head, “Named Letter-Carriers among the Oxyrhynchus Papyri,” *Journal for the Study of the New Testament* 31 (2009) 282–296. The dispatch of *archephodoi* themselves as letter-carriers is attested in *P.Petaus* 27.15–16 (ca. 182–187 CE).

2–3 κρα[τίστο]υ ἐπιστρατήγου: For the official see the introduction and Thomas (n. 3) *passim*; the title κράτιστος (Lat. *vir egregius*) was applied by ca. 110–120 CE (*ibid.* 44–47). The *epistrategos* relevant to Bakchias would have been the one of the Heptanomia and Arsinoite, for whom see *ibid.* 29–33, 40.

3 παραπέμψατε: For the sense “escort” see LSJ s.v. 3 and e.g. *P.Cair.Zen.* 4.59585.11–12 (mid 3rd cent. BCE), where the cognate noun *παραπομπή* is also used. The use of this verb indicates that the text is not a warrant: in an Arsinoite context ἀναπέμψατε or ἐκπέμψατε would

be expected (Hagedorn [2. 1] 62), although this verb is used for the rendition of persons in a more general sense in Ptolemaic and Roman petitions (*M.Chr.* 12.8–9 [ca. 241 BCE], *P.Polit.Iud.* 9.35 [132 BCE], *P.Stras.* 1.5.17 [262 CE]) and an official letter to *eirenarchai*, *P.Oxy.* 17.2107.8 (262 CE).

4 [c. 5] . : Possibly [ἐκεῖθε]ν, that is, Bakchias from the perspective of the author of the order, the point from which the police officials are to send the letter-carrier onward, probably to Memphis (see the following note).

– [ἔως] Μέμφ[εω]ς: The toponym is read by the suggestion of Peter van Minnen. The construction with ἔως is paralleled in *SB* 1.5216 (101 or 68 BCE?), in which an *archiatros* instructs *nekrotaphoi* to release a corpse to two of his subordinates and “accompany them as far as Ptolemais” (συνκαταστήσατε αὐτοῖς ἔως Πτολεμαῖδος, 8–9). Absent further qualification, the city is probably meant here rather than the village of the same name, especially as the latter, far to the south of Bakchias in the *meris* of Polemon (Calderini, *Diz.geogr.* 3:262–263; *Suppl.* 1:195, 2:119; the designation “the little Memphis” [Μέμφις ἡ μικρά] is now to be added: G. Baetens and W. Clarysse, “A Quarrel at the Beer Shop of Little Memphis and a Murder,” *APF* 62 [2016] 402), has no clear connection with Bakchias, while Bakchias would be an obvious control-point at the boundary of the Fayum on an overland route to the city of Memphis to the north.

– [.] . . ηνο . : Read perhaps [σ]ήμηνον (Peter van Minnen), assuming an anomalous shift from plural to singular imperative, of some guidance to be given to the letter-carrier or notification to the issuer of the order of his safe passage.

FRAGMENT OF A LAND LEASE

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Abstract. — Edition of a papyrus fragment of a land lease from AD 215/216–234/235 (P.Haldeman 1), probably in the form of a *hypomnema*. The tenant proposes the lease agreement to a woman named Herois, the landowner.

Keywords: Greek papyrus, land lease, *hypomnema*, Arsinoite Nome, Herois

This papyrus consists of seventeen lines of a land lease, incomplete on all sides.¹ The writing runs along the fibers and the fragment is glued to cardstock. P.Haldeman 1 falls within the graphic range of scripts of the late second to early third centuries AD. Three different hands occupy the fragment: Hand 1 in lines 1–12, Hand 2 in lines 13–14, and Hand 3 in lines 15–17. Hand 1 exhibits ligatures, but the ductus is relatively slow and careful in comparison with more cursive scripts. The hand is bilinear and has round strokes rather than angular ones (esp. μ , ω , α , δ). Small hooks occur at the end of some letter forms (η , ρ) and the *iota* typically has a slight right-leaning curve at its base. The *pi* has an extended bar on both sides and curved verticals, with the right vertical consistently leaning to the bottom right. The *kappa*'s vertical stroke hooks left at the top (line 8), and the *delta*, with its long right oblique that extends over the whole letter, does not close when alone or ligatured. The *theta* tends

¹ Image of P.Haldeman 1 (below) is by courtesy of Archives and Special Collections, James P. Boyce Centennial Library, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky. The fragment came to Southern Baptist Theological Seminary when John H. Haldeman (1915–1990), who almost certainly possessed the fragment sometime before September 9, 1967, donated it in December 1981. A *Miami Herald* article from 1967 describes an exhibition of Bibles that Haldeman was scheduled to display. The article's description of "a fragment of a Greek papyrus of about 200 A. D." matches the 1982 Haldeman Inventory and Appraisal document's description of P.Haldeman 1 as a Greek papyrus fragment "said to date from 200 AD." Adon Taft, "Spotlight to Shine on the Bible," *The Miami Herald*, September 9, 1967; Lewie H. Miller, Jr., "Inventory and Appraisal of Haldeman Collection of Bibles and Theological volumes" (Archives and Special Collections, James P. Boyce Centennial Library, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary; July 1, 1982), 19. Archives and Special Collections houses Greek (12), Coptic (7), and Arabic (30) papyri, as well as Greek (8–9), Coptic (14–15), and Arabic (2) ostraca. – I would like to thank Daniel Gurtner, Roberto Carrera, David Martinez, Peter van Minnen, and the two anonymous reviewers for their insightful comments and suggestions at various stages of this edition.

to remain slightly open, whether on the bottom or top. Although many of the letters fit well in the late second century (e.g., ν, α, π, δ, τ, υ [l. 15]), the form of the *epsilon* reveals that the lease must be early third century rather than late second.² Overall, one could characterize Hand 1 as a rounded semi-formal script. Hand 2, messier and less controlled than Hand 1 (and Hand 3), tends to keep letters open (α, ο, ρ) where they would normally close. Two *rhos* and one *pi* dip significantly below the line. Hand 2 possesses lighter ink than Hand 1 and 3. Also, the horizontal bar over the *pi* is shorter in width than Hand 1, and the vertical bars are straight rather than right-leaning toward the bottom.

The Arsinoite nome is the most likely place of origin, because P.Haldeman 1 resembles the form and content of many similar land leases. The likelihood of the restoration of ἐὰν φαίνεται μισθῶσαι in line 12, the signature in line 13, the restoration of [μεμίσιθω]μαι ὥς πρόκειται in lines 13–14, and the date following the signature indicate that the land lease was probably crafted along the lines of a *hypomnema*.³ Many details of this contract are lost (e.g., the initial address, the βούλομαι μισθῶσασθαι request from tenant to landlord, the amount and location of the land, the amount and date of payment, the length of the lease, the location of the delivery of rent). Despite this, the extant content as a whole conforms to Roman-era Fayumic land leases. Land leases most comparable to P.Haldeman 1 include *P.Amh.* 2.90 (AD 159), *P.Amh.* 2.91 (AD 159), *SB* 16.12983 (AD 161–169), *P.Fam.Tebt.* 47 (AD 195), *P.Tebt.* 2.377 (AD 210), *SB* 6.9562 (AD 214), and *P.Strasb.* 5.465 (AD 230).⁴

² For this form of *epsilon*, see, e.g., *P.Gen.* (2) 1.16 (AD 207); *P.Oxy.* 19.2227 (207–210 or 219–221); *P.Giss.* 40 (ca. 215); *BGU* 1.321 (AD 216); *BGU* 1.322 (AD 216); *SB* 16.12785 (AD 220); *P.Oxy.* 17.2104 (AD 222); *P.Bub.* 1.1 (after 224); *P.Bub.* 1.2 (after 224); *P.Bub.* 1.3 (after 224); *P.Tebt.* 2.288 (AD 226); *P.Oxy.* 44.3175 (AD 233); *P.Fay.* 63 (AD 240). See example 27 ε (*P.Oxy.* 45.3243 from AD 214/215), in H. Harrauer, *Handbuch der griechischen Paläographie* (Stuttgart 2010) 1.153. The present author was not able to find any pre-200 instances of this form of ε by searching with PapPal and papyri.info.

³ See, J. Herrmann, *Studien zur Bodenpacht im Recht der graeco-aegyptischen Papyri* (München 1958) 25, 31–33; H. Müller, *Untersuchungen zur μισθωσις von Gebäuden im Recht der gräko-ägyptischen Papyri* (Köln 1985) 55–57.

⁴ To varying degrees many other Fayumic land leases primarily spanning the second and third centuries resemble P.Haldeman 1. E.g., *BGU* 2.661 (AD 140); *P.Strasb.* 5.362 (149–150); *CPR* 1.31 (AD 153); *P.Mil.Vogl.* 3.131 (AD 165); *P.Mil.Vogl.* 3.133 (AD 165); *P.Mil.Vogl.* 3.144 (AD 166); *P.Berl.Leihg.* 1.19 (AD 221–226); *P.Tebt.* 2.378 (AD 265); *P.Cair.Isid.* 99 (AD 296) *P.Cair.Isid.* 100 (AD 297).

P.Haldeman 1

H × W = 9.6 × 5.1 cm

Arsinoite nome (?),
AD 215/216–234/235

1 ἀ]λλὰ . [
 ἐ]τος ἔρ[γα
 ἐκ τοῦ ἰδ]ίου το[ῖς δέουσι καιροῖς,
 βλάβος μηδ]ὲν ποι[ῶν
 5 ἀπο]δώσ[ω
] . [. . .] . ϕαι . [
]ϕ τῶν δημ[οσίων πάντων ὄντων πρὸς
] Ἡρωῖδα καὶ μ[ετὰ τὸν χρόνον παραδώσω
] τὸ μὲν (ἤμισυ) μέρος [ἀπὸ συνκομιδῆς
 10 τὸ δὲ] λοιπὸν ἀπὸ ἀνα[παύματος
 καὶ] καθαράς ἀπὸ θρύ[ου καλάμου ἀγρώστεως
 δεί]σης πάσης ἐὰ[ν φαίνεται μισθῶσαι
 (m. 2)] . αἰος Οὐρος π[μεμίσ-]
 θω]μαι ὥς πρό[κειται
 15 (m. 3) (ἔτους)]δ Μάρκ[ο]υ Αὔρηλί[ου
] . []πταγο[
] . οσ[

1 ἀ]λλὰ . [: Based on comparison with the listed comparanda and consideration of the space in the right margin (ca. 14–20 letters), a fuller reconstruction reads: [ἀ]λλὰ κ[αὶ ἐπάναγκον ἐπιτελέσω] or [ἀ]λλὰ ἐ[πάναγκον ἐπιτελέσω]. The tenant states his obligation to fulfill certain conditions of the rental agreement.

2 ἐ]τος ἔρ[γα: Probably reads [τὰ κατ' ἐ]τος ἔρ[γα πάντα ὅσα καθή-κει]. The tenant enumerates his duties to include all proper agricultural procedures.⁵ For examples, see *P.Amh.* 2.90.13–14 (AD 159); *P.Tebt.* 2.377.21–22 (AD 210); *P.Strasb.* 5.465.16 (lacuna after ὅσα; AD 230).

3 ἐκ τοῦ ἰδ]ίου το[ῖς δέουσι καιροῖς: The tenant indicates that his labor will be at his own cost and according to proper seasonal agricultural practices. For examples, see *P.Amh.* 2.91.13 (AD 159); *P.Fam.Tebt.* 47.13–14 (AD 195); *SB* 6.9562.15 (AD 214); *P.Berl.Leihg.* 1.19.26–27 (AD 221–226).

⁵ Herrmann (n. 3) 125.

4 βλάβος μηδ]έν ποι[ῶν: The agreement includes a no-damage clause regarding the maintainance of the land. See examples in *P.Amh.* 2.91.13 (AD 159); *P.Fam.Tebt.* 47.14–15 (AD 195); *P.Tebt.* 2.377.22–23 (AD 210); *SB* 6.9562.15–16 (AD 214).

5 ἀπο]δώσ[ω: The tenant agrees to pay rent to the landlord in a certain month of the year (e.g., μηνὶ Παῦνι). The object of payment tends to immediately precede ἀποδιδόναι, whether in kind or money. The text probably reads τὸ ἐκφόριον (“the rent in kind”), since the measurement for the rent in kind is likely recorded in lines 6–7 (see line 6 commentary). A tentative reconstruction reads: ἐκφόριον ἀπο]δώσ[ω μηνί, followed by the name of the month.

6] . [. .] . ραῖ . [: Too fragmentary to reconstruct, this line must contain measurement stipulations for the payment in kind. The probable ρ visible at the beginning of line 7 likely forms the end of the measurement type, e.g., μέτρῳ τετραχοινίκῳ, μέτρῳ ἑξαχοινίκῳ. See, *SPP* 20.21.21 (AD 215); *SB* 5.7665.14 (AD 225); *BGU* 7.1644.22 (before AD 294).

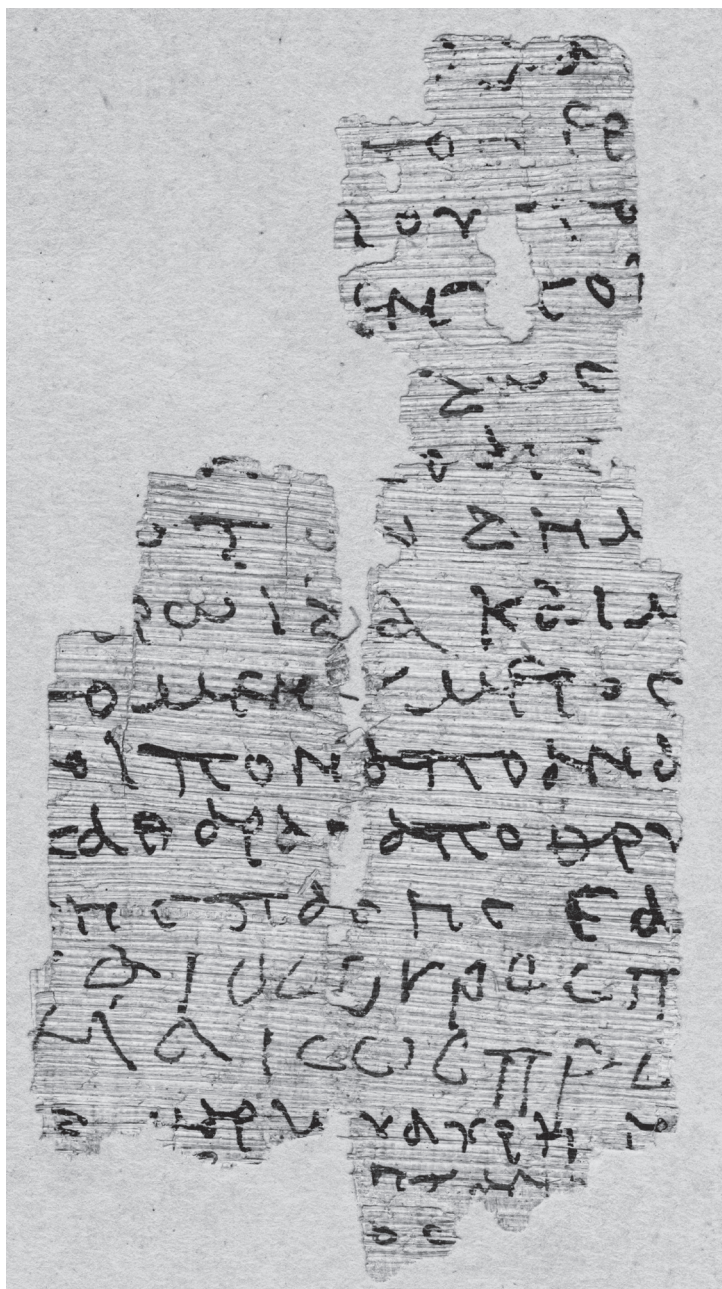
7–8] ρ τῶν δημ[οσίων πάντων ὄντων πρὸς |] Ἡρωῖδα καὶ μ[ετὰ τὸν χρόνον παραδώσω.⁶ The δημοσίων reading is based on public expense clauses which land leases regularly contain. The phrase endeavors to ensure that the two parties cover the payment of all public dues involved in the agreement. A regular arrangement is that the lessee pays for the public expenses relating to transportation, but the landowner pays for the rest.⁷ Other contracts simply state that the landowner bears all the public expenses. More probably, *P.Haldeman* 1 contains a public expense clause here in which the landowner bears all the public expenses, since the text lacks the δὲ ἄλλων typical of the split-duties variety. See for comparison, *P.Mich.* 9.565.13–15 (AD 215–216); *P.Tebt.* 2.378.23–24 (AD 265); *P.Cair.Isid.* 99.21–22 (AD 296); *P.Cair.Isid.* 100.15–16 (AD 297).

The female name Ἡρωῖς occurs most frequently from the first to third centuries AD according to the extant papyrological evidence.⁸ In

⁶ The word πρὸς could occur at the end of line 7 or the beginning of line 8.

⁷ For the split-duties construction, i.e., τῶν δημοσίων φορέτρων [to lessee], τῶν δὲ ἄλλων δημοσίων πάντων [to landowner] (with minor variations), see, e.g., *P.Amh.* 2.90.18–20 (AD 159); *P.Amh.* 2.91.17–19 (AD 159); *P.Fam.Tebt.* 47.21–24 (AD 195); cf. also *P.Berl.Leihg.* 1.19.32–35.

⁸ The name also occurs in the first century BC and the fourth century AD. E.g., *SB* 8.10092.1 (99–75 BC); *P.Köln* 1.54.3 (4 BC); *P.Mil.Vogl.* 3.186.2, 9, 14 (AD 99); *P.Stras.* 6.505.7, 8 (AD 107–115); *BGU* 9.1891.30 (AD 133); *P.Berl.Leihg.* 1.14.13 (AD 138–180); *P.Meyer* 9.7, 11 (AD 147); *BGU* 9.1898.73, 96, 100, 202 (after AD 172).



Courtesy of Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Archives and Special Collections, James P. Boyce Centennial Library: Papyrus Haldeman 1

P.Haldeman 1, the name “Herois” occurs directly in between the mention of public fees (τῶν δημ[οσίων; line 7) and the beginning of the return clause (καὶ μετὰ τὸν χρόνον; line 8). As the party who bears all the public dues, Herois must be considered the landowner. Not enough information remains in this lease to identify this Herois with any known person that bears the same name during late second to mid-third centuries.

The second section of line 8, καὶ μετὰ τὸν χρόνον παραδώσω], begins the return clause in which the tenant agrees to deliver the land back to the landowner.⁹

9–10] τὸ μὲν (ἥμισυ) μέρος [ἀπὸ συνκομιδῆς | τὸ δὲ] λοιπὸν ἀπὸ ἀνα[παύματος: The tenant divides the land into two sections that he mentions in turn (τὸ μὲν (ἥμισυ) μέρος, τὸ δὲ λοιπόν), but it is not entirely clear what type of crop is in view in either case. A normal arrangement involves wheat (πυρὸς) and grass (χόρτος), but this may or may not be the case with P.Haldeman 1. See, e.g., *SB* 16.12983 B.4–6 (AD 161–169); *P.Fam.Tebt.* 47.26–28 (AD 195).

Damage obscures the text in between μὲν and μέρος, but the partially obstructed form is likely a symbol for “1/2” (ἥμισυ). Among the variety of symbols for ἥμισυ, *BGU* 1.119.2 (AD 175) and *BGU* 1.298.8 (AD 175) provide possible models for the partially visible text of P.Haldeman 1.¹⁰ The position of the character conforms to the land lease pattern found elsewhere (τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ μέρος) and it reasonably fits some of the possible symbols for ἥμισυ. Comparable leases have either ἥμισυ or (ἥμισυ), e.g., *P.Fam.Tebt.* 47.26 (full word; AD 195), *P.Amh.* 2.90.15 (symbol; AD 159).

11–12 καὶ] καθαρὰς ἀπὸ θρύ[ου καλάμου ἀγρώστεως | δεί]σης πάσης: The tenant promises to return the leased property in a certain condition of cleanliness once the lease’s time period ends. The entire phrase is standard phraseology. See, e.g., *P.Amh.* 2.91.23–24 (AD 159); *P.Fam.Tebt.* 47.28–29 (AD 195); *P.Stras.* 5.465.26–27 (AD 230).

July 24); *BGU* 9.1899.32, 54 (after AD 172); *P.Mich.* 4.224.94, 279, 638, 1234, 1427, 1729, 2004, 4327, 5062, 5216, 5271 (after Nov. 16, AD 173); *P.Mich.* 4.225 1337, 2281, 2692, 2986 (after Mar. 26, AD 175); *BGU* 1.116 r° 2.21 (AD 189); *P.Hamb.* 3.203.12 (AD 189); *SB* 24.15987.15 (ca. AD 208); *P.Cairo Isid.* 2.4, 11, 26 (AD 298); *P.Cairo Isid.* 97.6 (AD 308); *SB* 16.12692 69, 71, 72 (AD 339).

⁹ Herrmann (no. 3) 128.

¹⁰ For ἥμισυ symbols, see, F. Bilabel, “Siglae,” in *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 2A (Stuttgart 1923) 2307. For images of *BGU* 1.119 and *BGU* 1.298 see <http://berlpap.smb.museum/00810/> and <http://berlpap.smb.museum/00812/>, respectively.

12 ἐὰν φαίνεται μισθῶσαι: This clause addressing the landowner's consent is standard.¹¹

13–14] . αἰος Οὐρος π[μεμίσθω]μαι ὥς πρό[κειται]:¹² The phrase μεμίσθωμαι ὥς πρόκειται or an equivalent expression regularly occurs at the end of land lease documents in which the tenant affirms the previously enumerated stipulations.¹³ Thus, this signature derives from the tenant rather than the landlord.

Line 13 appears to record the name of the tenant, which could be the Roman Γάιος or Greek [Πτολε]μαῖος. Rarer names are also possible (e.g., Ἑρμαῖος, Λιμναῖος).¹⁴ The initial partial letter fits well with the horizontal of a *gamma*, which favors Γάιος. The following Οὐρος poses a challenge, since Οὔρος would be completely unique. Οὐ<ῆ>ρος, though still very rare in Egypt (e.g., *P.Yale* 3.137.163 [216–217]), makes more sense. Such a messy, unprofessional hand may be more prone to make such a spelling mistake. So, a fuller but more tentative reconstruction reads,] Γάιος Οὐ<ῆ>ρος Π[.

15 (ἐτους)]δ Μάρκ[ο]ν Αὐρηλί[ου]: Since the regnal year at beginning of the line could be year 4, 14, or 24, and since the imperial titulature Marcus Aurelius occurs with multiple emperors, a number of dates are possible for P.Haldeman 1.¹⁵ The paleography of the hands eliminates the possibility of a second or late third century date (see above). If the text reads, “Year 4,” then 220/221 (Elegabalus) and 224/225 (Severus Alexander) are possible. If the text reads, “Year 14,” then the date is 234/235 (Severus Alexander). Finally, if the text reads, “Year 24,” the date is 215/216 (Caracalla). To determine which date is most likely in the short span of 215/216–234/235 on the basis of paleography alone is too precarious, so possible dates fall within the range of 215/216–234/235.

16] . []πτανο[: The first partially visible letter in line 16 poses difficulties. Because options range from a standalone β, ζ, or ξ to any number of ligatures, and not enough context is supplied by the surrounding text, precise identification is not possible. The text of line 16 as a whole

¹¹ See Herrmann (n. 3) 31; Müller (n. 3) 55.

¹² Despite the non-standard form of the initial characters, the reconstruction of μεμίσθω]μαι ὥς πρό[κειται makes the best sense of the document's context and the characters in line fourteen.

¹³ Herrmann (n. 3) 32–33.

¹⁴ There is also the possibility that the name is a unique theophoric(?) Διοσϋρος, but the *delta* is paleographically less likely than *alpha*.

¹⁵ P. Bureth, *Les titulatures impériales dans les papyrus, les ostraca et les inscriptions d'Égypte (30 a.C.– 284 p.C.)* (Brussels 1964) 77–110, 124.

does not conform to imperial titlature, as one might expect. Most likely is Ἑπτανομίας (“of the Heptanomia”), which would form part of a note at the end of the lease. The Heptanomia reading is consistent with the proposed Fayumic provenance.

17] . οσ[: It is possible that this refers to the tenant again, but the text is too fragmentary to make that determination with any degree of confidence.

A more comprehensive but tentative reconstruction based on the above analysis and various comparanda listed results in the following text and translation.

1	ἀ]λλὰ κ[αὶ ἐπάναγκον ἐπιτελέσω τὰ κατ' ἔ]τος ἔρ[γα πάντα ὅσα καθήκει ἐκ τοῦ ἰδ]ίου το[ῖς δέουσι καιροῖς, βλάβος μηδ]ὲν ποι[ῶν καὶ ca. 10–15
5	ἐκφόριον ἀπο]δώσ[ω μηνὶ ca. 11–16] . [. .] . ραι . [ca. 15–20 -χοινίκ]ω, τῶν δημ[οσίων πάντων ὄντων πρὸς] Ἡρωῖδα. καὶ μ[ετὰ τὸν χρόνον παραδώσω] τὸ μὲν (ἥμισυ) μέρος [ἀπὸ συνκομιδῆς
10	τὸ δὲ] λοιπὸν ἀπὸ ἀνα[παύματος καὶ] καθαρὰς ἀπὸ θρύ[ου καλάμου ἀγρώστεως δεί]σης πάσης. ἐὰ[ν φαίνεται μισθῶσαι.
(m. 2)	] Γάιος Οὐ<ῆ>ρος Π[ca. 9–15 μεμίσ- θω]μαι ὥς πρό[κειται
15 (m. 3)	(ἔτους)]δ Μάρκ[ο]υ Αὐρηλί[ου] . [Ἑ]πτανομ[ίας] . οσ[

“... but [I will of necessity complete all] the annual operations [that are proper] at my own expense in the [appropriate times], doing no [damage] and ... [rent in kind] I will pay [in the month of ...] ...-choinix-measure, [all] the public dues [being the responsibility] of Herois. And after [the time period I will hand over ...] half after the ... harvest, the rest after the ... fallow, and free from rush, [reed, and mule-feeding grass (and)] waste of every kind. If [it seems good to lease.]

(Hand 2) I, Gaius Verus P..., have leased as written above.

(Hand 3) Year 4 [or 14 or 24] of Marcus Aurelius ... of the Heptanomia ...”

A LOAN REPAYMENT FROM THE REVOLT OF THE FULVII¹

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Abstract. — Edition of a Greek documentary papyrus (P.CtYBR inv. 4642) recording the repayment of a loan during the revolt of the Fulvii brothers, Macrianus and Quietus, in 260–261. It shows that the traditional (maximum) interest rate of 12% was applied even during their revolt.

Keywords: interest rate, loan, *apoche*, Fulvii, Macrianus, Quietus

P.CtYBR inv. 4642 is housed at the Beinecke Library in New Haven, Connecticut. It forms a part of Yale University's most recent major acquisition of papyri, a series of purchases from 1996 to 1998 brokered by Galerie Nefer, Zürich. Editions of other papyri from this collection have lamented the apparent absence of documentation from this purchase.² The Beinecke confirms that no documentation exists beyond a receipt and an invoice.³ The notorious Frieda Tchacos-Nussberger signed a dealer's invoice for the lot of papyri to which P.CtYBR inv. 4642 belongs, listed only as "one lot of papyri from Egypt," on the 15th of January, 1997. They were added to the Beinecke's collection in an accession of five boxes dated to the 7th of February of that year. Only "[Egypt]" is recorded for their findspot, and no provenance is included. All papyri from the reign of the Fulvii with known provenance are from the Oxyrhynchite, Hermopolite, and Arsinoite nomes, and other papyri from Yale's Nefer lots originate from the Arsinoite and Heracleopolite nomes.⁴

¹ For the opportunity to work on this papyrus I am indebted to Ann Ellis Hanson of Yale University. I am also grateful to Ann and to Peter van Minnen of the University of Cincinnati for their comments and critique on my work. I am alone responsible for any remaining errors of transcription and interpretation.

² For example, Andrew Connor on P.CtYBR inv. 4635 in *BASP* 55 (2018) 21–37 and William Johnson on P.CtYBR inv. 5019 in *ZPE* 199 (2016) 7–15.

³ I am grateful to Ellen Doon of the Beinecke Library for sending me these documents even at the height of the coronavirus crisis, a comforting sign that scholarship continues in a changed world. I also appreciate the help of Professor Robert Babcock of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, formerly the curator of early books and manuscripts at the Beinecke, for confirming the narrative of the purchase, as well as the advice of Drs. Brendan Haug, Stephen Emmel, and Ruth Duttonhöfer.

⁴ Connor (n. 2) 22 and Johnson (n. 2) 7.

The left (1.2 cm) and bottom (7.0 cm) margins on the front are complete, while the text is broken off at the top and right. Judging by the number of letters missing from the imperial titulature in lines 6–9, roughly two-thirds to three-quarters of the horizontal width of the papyrus is lost. The lower half of the front is left blank, as is the entirety of the back. The upper half of the front of the papyrus contains twelve lines of text in two distinct documentary hands, of which the first line is preserved only in traces. Hand 1 is slanted and loose and appears in the first nine lines. Hand 2, more cramped and angular, appears in the last three lines. The compressed appearance of Hand 2 may suggest that its writer intended to leave the large amount of space that remains on the page for later entries but never finished filling it in. This hypothesis is explored below.

The text that survives consists of several numbers, the claimed imperial titulature of the Fulvii brothers, and fragments of legal language frequently found in contractual agreements and loan receipts. The cleaner and more careful Hand 1 likely represents a scribe writing on behalf of a creditor acknowledging the repayment of two (or more) loans. Hand 2 represents the creditor personally logging the repayment. The diction, especially ἀ[ποχή and ὁμολόγη[σα in lines 5 and 6, is typical of receipts of loan repayments, and the quantities recorded represent money, not goods or property. The most common and highest legal interest rate on a loan in Roman Egypt was 12% per annum (although other rates have been found).⁵ The amount stated by Hand 1 in line 3 and repeated by Hand 2 in line 10 almost certainly represents a principal of 1,900 drachmas plus 12% annual interest of 228 drachmae for a total of 2,128. The ἑκατὸν εἴκ[οσι of line 12, however, suggests another loan of 1,000 drachmae at 12% interest whose payment may still be outstanding. This other loan is presumably the ἄλλων of line 4. The compression of Hand 2 – despite the large amount of blank space below it – perhaps suggests that the creditor may have intended to log his debtor's further repayments below the first one(s) recorded in lines 10–12, but this never occurred. The loans and their repayment were probably conducted in tetradrachms, as suggested by the divisibility of all quantities in the document by four.

Rather more interesting than the fragmentary contents is the unusual historical context of this papyrus. It is one of the few surviving attestations of the self-declared reign of Macrianus and Quietus, a pair of brothers

⁵ P. Temin, "Financial Intermediation in the Early Roman Empire," *Journal of Economic History* 64 (2004) 705–733, www.jstor.org/stable/3874817, 720.

who usurped the Roman throne in the East. When the emperor Valerian was imprisoned by the Persians, his son, the co-emperor Gallienus, was far in the West, and the Eastern legions offered the throne to the elderly Macrianus Major, who, on account of his age and bad health, passed it to his sons Macrianus Minor and Quietus.⁶ Control of the Egyptian bread-basket allowed the usurpers to feed and fund their armies for a time, but their revolt was put down after about fourteen months when Macrianus Minor supposedly overextended himself into Europe.⁷ The brothers' revolt is poorly attested in documentary papyri: only 24 papyri in the Duke Database of Documentary Papyri contain their names. P.CtYBR inv. 4642 is seemingly the only document from their reign that describes a cash loan. That the traditional 12% annual interest on a cash loan still applied is therefore a minor addition to our knowledge of the Fulvii's revolt. Their ability to maintain the loan market at its usual levels may relate to the service of Macrianus Major as πρότερον ... ἐπὶ τῶν καθόλου λόγων ... βασιλεύς,⁸ enabling the Fulvii to control the treasury and mint coins of high quality, despite the reservations of some bankers about the coinage's legitimacy.⁹

This papyrus dates to the month of Hathyr (late October or November), 260 or 261. Macrianus and Quietus only ruled as usurpers for approximately fourteen months (late August 260 through October/November 261), so the year on any papyrus dated to their reign must be either α or β (that is, the first or second year of the reign), corresponding to 260/1 and 261. According to Paul Legutko's dating chart, the last surviving dated document for Macrianus and Quietus is from October 30, 261, the third day of Hathyr, year β .¹⁰ Their revolt was put down shortly thereafter. Macrianus and Quietus reigned for the entirety of the month of Hathyr in their first regnal year and for only a short period in the same month of their second year. It is therefore more likely that a document from their reign dated to Hathyr is from year α (260/1), not year β (261), but the latter cannot be ruled out.

⁶ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 7.10.4–8.

⁷ *Historia Augusta*, *Tyranni Triginta* 12–14.

⁸ Eusebius, *Ecclesiastical History* 7.10.5.

⁹ P.A. Legutko, "The Revolt of Macrianus and Quietus and Its Effect on Alexandrian Coinage, AD 260–263," *Numismatic Chronicle* 162 (2002) 135–168, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/42668205>, 135–137 and 144–147.

¹⁰ Legutko (n. 9) 145. The papyrus is *P.Strasb.* I.6.37.

P.CtYBR inv. 4642

H × W = 14.5 by 6.0 cm

AD 260/1

	<i>traces</i>	[	ca. 25 ξ-]
	πὶ [τ]όκῳ ἄλλῃ[ς (δραχμὰς)		ca. 20]
	(γίνονται) (δραχμαὶ) Ἐρκη, μ[		ca. 25]
	περὶ ὧν ἄλλων [		ca. 25]
5	των· κυρία ἡ ἀ[ποχή	ca. 10	καὶ ἐπερωτη-]
	θεὶς ὁμολόγη[σα. (ἔτους) α (or β) Αὐτοκρατόρων Καισάρων]		
	Τίτου Φουλο[υίου Ἰουνίου Μακριανοῦ καὶ Τίτου]		
	Φουλουίου Ἰουν[ίου Κυήτου Εὐσεβῶν Εὐτυχῶν]		
	Σεβαστῶν Ἀθῦρ [date (m.2)	ca. 10	ἀπέσχον]
10	τὰς δραχμὰς δι[σχιλίας ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι ὀκτὼ καὶ ἐπερ(ωτηθεὶς)]		
	ὁμολόγησα [	ca.30]
	ἑκατὸν εἴκ[οσι]
	<i>vacat</i>		

“[...] another [*x* drachmas] at interest [...] totaling 2,128 drachmae, [...] concerning other [...]. The receipt is valid [...] and when I was ask[ed], I concurr[ed. Year 1 (or 2) of the Imperatores Caesares] Titus Ful[vius Junius Macrianus and Titus] Fulvius Jun[ius Quietus Pii Felices] Augusti, Hathyr [(*date*) ...

[I received] two [thousand one hundred twenty-eight] drachmas, [and when I was asked,] I concurred [...] one hundred twe[nty (drachmas).”

2 The restoration is precarious, but if correct, it suggests multiple loans to be repaid at interest, agreeing with the most likely interpretation of the subscription (see introduction).

3 Perhaps μένοντός μοι τοῦ λόγου or μ[ὴ ἐλαττουμένου μου, though both are too short to fill the lacuna. An interlinear hook similar in appearance to an *iota* hovers over the *beta* of Ερκη; this is presumably the thousands mark.

4 Perhaps περὶ ὧν ἄλλων [ὀφείλεις.

4-5]των: These lines refer to a different outstanding loan of, possibly, 1,000 drachmas at 12% interest, to be connected with the 120 drachmae in line 12. The case ending may belong to γραμμά]των, referring to the “document” stating the other loan, but πάν]των following another noun denoting debts (such as δανείων) is also possible.

5 In the lacuna probably ὥς (or καθὼς) πρόκειται, but ἀπλῆ, δισσῇ, τρισσῇ (etc.) γραφεῖσα are also possible.

5–6 The gender of the participle [ἐπερωτη]θεὶς shows that the creditor is a man.

6–9 For the imperial titlature see P. Bureth, *Les titulatures impériales dans les papyrus, les ostraca, et les inscriptions d'Égypte* (Brussels 1964) 119–120.

8 Κυήτου: Or Κυιήτου, but the spelling without the *iota* is more common.

9–12 The lacuna in line 11 may have read μένοντός μοι τοῦ λόγου περὶ τῶν or μὴ ἐλαττουμένου μου περὶ τῶν, continuing either with the interest alone (120 drachmas) or with χιλίων immediately before the line-break to represent the principal (1,000 drachmas) plus the interest. In that case, the subscription had this effect: “I received 2,128 drachmae (in repayment), and when I was asked, I concurred, while retaining my claim over the (outstanding debt of) (one thousand?) one hundred twenty drachmas.”

COPTIC OSTRACA RELATING TO BISHOP ABRAHAM OF HERMONTHIS AT COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

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Abstract. — This article presents a first edition of twelve Coptic ostraca at Columbia University in New York that relate to Bishop Abraham of Hermonthis (ca. 590–621) and originate from a dump created by Édouard Naville at Deir el-Bahri in 1893. The finds from this dump are known from photographs that Harry Burton took before their division between collections in Cairo and New York, and from Elisabeth O’Connell’s study in *BASP* 43 (2006) on the provenance and modern history of West Theban ostraca at Columbia University. The pieces edited here were selected from Martin Krause’s copy of Burton’s photographs, after which their present location and inventory numbers were established by means of O’Connell’s study and papyri.info.¹

Keywords: Coptic, ostraca, Abraham of Hermonthis, Western Thebes, Columbia University

In Memory of Frau Dr. Brigitte Krause-Becker († August 19, 2015)

The (Sahidic) Coptic ostraca at the Rare Books and Manuscripts Library at Columbia University include over a dozen texts relating to Bishop Abraham of Hermonthis (ca. 590–621).² They originated from the bishop’s residence, the Monastery of St. Phoibammon at Deir el-Bahri, but were

¹ I thank the Brigitte und Martin Krause-Stiftung, and Professor Krause personally, for two travel grants to visit Münster, which enabled me to consult Krause’s copy of the Burton photographs, and Jane Siegel, librarian at Columbia University’s Rare Book and Manuscript Library, for permission to publish the selected ostraca. In addition, I am grateful to Jennifer Cromwell, to whom nos. 7 and 12 (O.Col. inv. 970 and 1372) were originally assigned, and which she was close to submitting for publication, but kindly ceded to me (personal communication, October 2019). Finally, I thank the anonymous referees and Jitse Dijkstra for their constructive remarks.

² On the ostraca at Columbia University, see E.R. O’Connell, “Ostraca from Western Thebes: Provenance and History of the Collections at the Metropolitan Museum of Art at Columbia,” *BASP* 43 (2006) 122–128. For Bishop Abraham and his correspondence, see R. Dekker, *Episcopal Networks and Authority in Late Antique Egypt: Bishops of the Theban Region at Work* (Leuven 2018) 86–92 (biographical data), 314–315 (a list of documents relating to Bishop Abraham, which does not include the ostraca from Naville’s dump); J.-L. Fournet, “Sur les premiers documents juridiques coptes (3): les « archives » d’Apa Abraham,” in A. Boud’hors and C. Louis (eds.), *Études coptes XV: dix-septième journée*

found in the dump that Édouard Naville created in 1893, when he cleared the monastic remains, in order to uncover the mortuary temple of Queen Hatshepsut on behalf of the Egypt Exploration Fund.³ Under the direction of Herbert E. Winlock, the Metropolitan Museum of Art (MMA) Egyptian Expedition cleared Naville's dump in 1927–1928.⁴ Before the ostraca were divided between the Egyptian Museum in Cairo and the MMA in New York in 1930, Harry Burton took twenty-five photographs, each showing dozens of ostraca, 1354 ostraca in total.⁵ Whereas the group in Cairo was transferred to the Coptic Museum in 1939, those in New York were sold to Columbia University in 1958 and accessioned by A. Arthur Schiller, professor of law at Columbia University. In her important study on the provenance and history of ostraca from Western Thebes in New York, Elisabeth O'Connell established that they received the accession numbers 64.2.1–65.3.112.⁶

Before presenting a first edition of twelve of these ostraca, this article discusses the process of identifying texts relating to Bishop Abraham on Burton's photographs and establishing their present whereabouts in two parts. The first section discusses earlier research done by Martin Krause and his wife Brigitte Krause-Becker. Krause obtained copies of Burton's images, so that he could include them in his doctoral dissertation on Bishop Abraham,⁷ Krause-Becker published ostraca with figurative and ornamental decoration that were visible on the same images.⁸ Due to circumstances,

d'études (Paris 2018) 199–226; J.-L. Fournet, *The Rise of Coptic: Egyptian versus Greek in Late Antiquity* (Princeton 2020) 126–127, 133–147.

³ E. Naville, *The Temple of Deir el Bahari*, vol. 2 (London 1896) 5; cf. *O. Deir el-Bahari*, pp. 51, 53; O'Connell (n. 2) 123–124.

⁴ For the excavation report of 1927–1928, see H.E. Winlock, *Excavations at Deir el Bahri (1911–1931)* (New York 1942) 154–167. On the location of the dump, a quarry on the north side of the causeway to the temple, see pp. 154–155 and the site map; cf. O'Connell (n. 2) 123.

⁵ Photos 1–25 (MMA negative nos. M10C 14–M10C 38); cf. O'Connell (n. 2) 124–125, 127: “ca. 1330 ostraca.” On Burton, best known for photographing Tutankhamun's tomb, see B. Schwarz, “Harry Burton's Photographs of the Metropolitan's Excavations at Deir el-Bahari,” *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 42 (2007) 173–183.

⁶ O'Connell (n. 2) 125–126; cf. A.A. Schiller, “Coptic Ostraca,” *Columbia Library Columns* 8 (1959) 24–27; A.A. Schiller, “Checklist of Coptic Documents and Letters,” *BASP* 13 (1976) 104.

⁷ M. Krause, *Apa Abraham von Hermonthis: ein oberägyptischer Bischof um 600* (unpublished doctoral dissertation; Berlin 1956) vol. 1 (general study), vol. 2 (edition of 114 Coptic ostraca).

⁸ B. Krause-Becker, “Figürliche und ornamentale Zeichnungen auf koptischen Ostraka um 600,” in *Festschrift Johannes Jahn zum XXII. November MCMLVII* (Leipzig 1957) 33–39, figs. 13–15, 17–22. Since the MMA does not have records confirming the exact provenances of the ostraca sold to Columbia University, this article provided O'Connell

Krause did not have the opportunity to establish whether the pieces he was interested in were in Cairo or New York, and therefore could not publish them. The second section describes the process of identifying Bishop Abraham's documents at Columbia University by means of Burton's photographs, the accession numbers established by O'Connell, and papyri.info.⁹

Earlier Research by Krause and Krause-Becker

After completing his PhD dissertation on Bishop Abraham at the Humboldt-Universität, then located in Soviet-occupied East Berlin, Krause became aware of other relevant material. In 1957 he saw transcriptions and images of texts unknown to him among Walter Crum's papers at the Griffith Institute in Oxford.¹⁰ The papers included a set of Burton's photographs of the ostraca from Naville's dump, which Winlock sent to Crum in 1929, in order that the latter could use them for the compilation of his Coptic dictionary.¹¹ Krause obtained copies of Burton's photographs and permission from William Hayes, director of the Egyptian Department at the MMA (1952–1963), to publish texts on the basis of the images.¹² However, it was extremely difficult to recognize Bishop Abraham's documents among the dozens of ostraca on each photograph, which measured 15 × 20.5 cm and showed one side of the pieces only, and to establish whether they were in New York or Cairo.

Krause-Becker was trained as an art historian in Leipzig, where she obtained her doctoral degree on the image of the sun god sitting on a lotus

([n. 2] 125) with circumstantial evidence that a number of them came from Naville's dump. It is mentioned in *O.Deir el-Bahari*, p. 160; G. Wilfong, "Western Thebes in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries: A Bibliographic Survey of Jême and its Surroundings," *BASP* 26 (1989) 121.

⁹ The identification of relevant ostraca in the Coptic Museum cannot be done by digital means. Several pieces photographed by Burton reappear on the images belonging to S. Kent Brown's catalogue *Coptic Ostraca in the Coptic Museum* (Cairo 2009), occasionally without an inventory number.

¹⁰ M. Krause, "Die Disziplin Koptologie," in R. McL. Wilson (ed.), *The Future of Coptic Studies: First International Congress of Coptology* (Leiden 1978) 12.

¹¹ Crum, *Dict.* xivb ("Win = ostraca from Winlock's excavations 1927–8, in Cairo Museum"), 543b s.v. ⲱⲁ, 715b s.v. ⲣ ⲁⲛⲧ, first listed by Krause-Becker (n. 8) 37, n. 5; M. Krause, "Die Kirchenvisitationsurkunden: ein neues Formular in der Korrespondenz des Bischofs Abraham von Hermonthis," in D. Apelt, E. Endesfelder, and S. Wenig (eds.), *Studia in honorem Fritz Hintze* (Berlin 1990) 235, n. 13.

¹² M. Krause, "Zum Recht der koptischen Urkunden," *OLZ* 53 (1958) 9, n. 3; Krause-Becker (n. 8) 37, n. 5.

flower.¹³ In her article on ostraca with drawings from Deir el-Bahri she located all pieces at the MMA and created a provisional numbering, since the actual inventory numbers could not yet be established.¹⁴

1958 was an eventful year: Krause was in Butana (in Sudan) until March, and in Egypt in April;¹⁵ he obtained his second doctoral degree in Leipzig in October;¹⁶ he organized an exhibition on Egypt at the Bode-Museum, as part of the wider exhibition “Schätze der Weltkultur von der Sowjetunion gerettet” by the Staatliche Museen at East Berlin, and during the opening of this event in November, he and Krause-Becker fled to West Germany;¹⁷ Krause entrusted Burton’s images to Krause-Becker’s aunt who lived in West Berlin;¹⁸ and in November, Krause obtained a position at the Deutsches Archäologisches Institut in Cairo, where he worked on the edition of the Nag Hammadi texts together with Pahor Labib, then curator of the Coptic Museum, until February 1963.¹⁹

Upon his return, Krause and Krause-Becker settled in Münster, where he finished his *Habilitation* in 1965, and became professor of Coptology at the Westfälische Wilhelms-Universität of Münster in 1970.²⁰ He occasionally had the opportunity to transcribe Burton’s images in West Berlin and partly published an ostrakon for a *Festschrift* dedicated to Fritz Hintze, his *Doktorvater* in Berlin,²¹ but Krause only finally retrieved the photographs

¹³ B. Krause-Becker, *Der Gott auf der Blume: die Geschichte eines antiken Bildmotivs in der abendländischen Kunst* (unpublished doctoral dissertation; Leipzig 1955).

¹⁴ Krause-Becker (n. 8) 33, 37, n. 5, and 38, n. 11, Figs. 13 (unidentified), 14 (O.Col. inv. 948), 15 (O.Col. inv. 1334), 17 (O.Col. inv. 1337), 18 (O.Col. inv. 536), 19 (O.Col. inv. 952), 20 (O.Col. inv. 1363?), 21 (O.Col. inv. 965), and 22 (O.Col. inv. 954). The identifications are based on the descriptions and images available at papyri.info. Raffaella Cribiore and Jennifer Cromwell will include these ostraca in their edition of Coptic school texts at Columbia University.

¹⁵ J.M. Robinson, *The Nag Hammadi Story*, vol. 2 (Leiden 2014) 914–915.

¹⁶ M. Krause, *Das Apa-Apollon-Kloster zu Bawit: Untersuchungen unveröffentlichter Urkunden als Beitrag zur Geschichte des ägyptischen Mönchtums* (unpublished doctoral dissertation; Leipzig 1958).

¹⁷ Personal communication (18 January 2019). On the exhibition, see G.R. Meyer, *Schätze der Weltkultur von der Sowjetunion gerettet* (Berlin 1958).

¹⁸ Personal communication (18 January 2019).

¹⁹ J.M. Robinson (ed.), *The Facsimile Edition of the Nag Hammadi Codices*, vol. 15 (Leiden 1984) 12; Robinson (n. 15) 915. Krause actually came to Cairo to study texts relating to Bishop Abraham at the Coptic Museum; cf. M. Krause, “Coptic Texts from Western Thebes: Recovery and Publication from the Late Nineteenth Century to the Present,” in G. Gabra and H.N. Takla (eds.), *Christianity and Monasticism in Upper Egypt*, vol. 2 (Cairo 2010) 71.

²⁰ The biographical data is available online at <https://www.uni-muenster.de/IAEK/forschen/gesch/index.html> (accessioned on 2 May 2020).

²¹ *SB Kopt.* 3.1380: “Ostrakon Win 26” in Krause (n. 11) 229–232 (one side only; inscribed with instructions from Bishop Abraham). The present location of the ostrakon is still unknown. It is visible on Burton no. 9.

in 1990, once Germany was unified. At about the same time, the new German government returned property that the Deutsche Demokratische Republik government had previously nationalized, and as a result, Krause-Becker became the owner of the family company, Hesse und Becker Verlag in Leipzig. After selling the publishing house, Krause-Becker and Krause created the Brigitte und Martin Krause-Stiftung, in order to support research in the Humanities, particularly in the field of Coptic Studies.²²

After his retirement from the position in Münster, Krause started to revise his dissertation on Bishop Abraham and planned to supplement it with ostraca from Naville's dump.²³ Krause established that the items at the Cairo Museum were assigned the inventory numbers 4552–4629, and he knew from O'Connell's study that the pieces in New York had been sold to Columbia University.²⁴ Nevertheless, it was difficult to establish which of the ostraca photographed by Burton relate to Bishop Abraham and whether they were in Cairo or New York.

Identification of Ostraca from Naville's Dump at Columbia University

In 2018 Krause invited me to work with him on the identification and localization of relevant texts, and to establish whether Bishop Abraham's ostraca from Naville's dump were available for publication. As for the Coptic material in New York in general, three ostraca are published,²⁵ Jennifer Cromwell has submitted for publication her edition and discussion of O.Col. inv. 574 in a forthcoming article,²⁶ and Rafaella Cribiore and Cromwell are preparing the edition of Coptic school texts in the Columbia collection.

²² For information about the foundation, see <https://www.deutsches-stiftungszentrum.de/stiftungen/brigitte-und-martin-krause-stiftung> (accessioned on 2 May 2020).

²³ Krause (n. 19) 77, n. 1.

²⁴ Krause (n. 19) 64.

²⁵ O.Col. inv. 1366 (Burton no. 3), ed. R. Mairs, "O.Col. inv. 1366: A Coptic Prayer from Deir el-Bahri with a Quotation from Tobit 12:10," *BASP* 43 (2006) 63–70; O.Col. inv. 949 (Burton no. 2), ed. R. Cribiore, "Homer on a Puzzling Ostrakon," *BASP* 45 (2012) 41–44; O.Col. inv. 964 (Burton no. 4), ed. N.A. Salem, "Statement of Witnessing to a Deed of Gift Written in Black and Red Ink on Limestone," *ZPE* 184 (2012) 289–292. On the Coptic ostraca in the Columbia collection in general, see R. Cribiore, "The Coptic School Exercises in the Collection of Columbia University," in B. Palme (ed.), *Akten des 23. Internationalen Papyrologenkongresses* (Vienna 2007) 127–130.

²⁶ J. Cromwell, "'Forgive Me, Because I Could Not Find Papyrus': The Use and Distribution of Ostraca in Late Antique Western Thebes," in J. Lougovaya and C. Caputo (eds.), *Using Ostraca in the Ancient World: New Discoveries and Methodologies* (forthcoming) appendix.

I started the search by selecting texts on Burton's images that seemed to read "Bishop," "(A)pa Abraham," and the bishop's usual greeting formula "First, I greet your sonship. May the Lord bless you."²⁷ The next step was to locate the twenty-four selected texts in New York or Cairo. The identification of ostraca at Columbia University was facilitated by the descriptions and images provided by the Papyrological Navigator (PN) of papyri.info.²⁸ Until May 2019, the metadata at papyri.info even included references to Burton's images.²⁹ I checked all the ostraca within the range established by O'Connell (Acc. 64.2.1–65.3.112) and identified fourteen of the twenty-four ostraca as certainly or possibly relating to Bishop Abraham, twelve of which are included in the following edition.³⁰

Edition

The texts written on the selected ostraca include an undertaking by a candidate for the priesthood, almost certainly addressed to Bishop Abraham in view of the standard phrases used (1); a letter addressed to the bishop (2); seven letters from the bishop (3–9); letters mentioning a bishop or Apa Abraham, perhaps the bishop (10–11); and a list of liturgical vessels belonging to a deceased (?) namesake, which was perhaps meant to inform the bishop that the consecrated objects were in good hands after their distribution (12). Nine texts are written on limestone.

In the edition the measurements are based on the data provided at papyri.info.³¹ Most proposed dates refer to the duration of Abraham's episcopate, but no. 4 is dated to the 610s, when the recipient, the priest Patermoute, was in office.

²⁷ Krause (n. 7) vol. 1, 29–31; Dekker (n. 2) 152. The greeting formula was adopted by Abraham's secretary, the priest Viktor, as well; see E. Garel, "The Ostraca of Victor the Priest Found in the Hermitage MMA 1152," in T. Derda, A. Łajtar, and J. Urbanik (eds.), *Proceedings of the 27th International Congress of Papyrologists*, vol. 2 (Warsaw 2016) 1041.

²⁸ E.g. O.Col. inv. 538, at <http://papyri.info/apis/columbia.apis.538> (accessed on 2 May 2020).

²⁹ O'Connell (n. 2) 126, observes that material from Naville's dump was accidentally linked to the hermitage of Epiphanius instead of Deir el-Bahri. This is the case with nos. 2, 5, 9, and 11, judging from the metadata originally provided at papyri.info, but no longer available since May 2019. On Epiphanius' hermitage, see Dekker (n. 2) 106–110.

³⁰ O.Col. inv. 574 will be published in Cromwell (n. 26), and Raffaella Cribiore and Jennifer Cromwell will include O.Col. inv. 925 in their edition of Coptic school texts (cf. n. 14 above).

³¹ The measurements at papyri.info represent W × H, but the edition adopts the conventional order: H × W.

1. *Undertaking by Aaron, a Newly Ordained Priest*

O.Col. inv. 947
Acc. 64.11.278

10 × 13 cm

Deir el-Bahri
ca. 590–621

This limestone ostrakon, which is visible on Burton no. 4, has large flat surfaces on the front and back, both of which are damaged to the left, right and at the bottom. The text is written with black ink, consisting of twelve lines on the front and ten lines on the back, and is occasionally hard to read, as the ink has faded in several places.

After having asked a bishop to be ordained priest to a church, the name of which is lost, Aaron promises to comply with the ecclesiastical regulations (ll. 1–14). Aaron's declaration is signed by Aaron himself, a lector, three guarantors and a scribe (ll. 14–44).

Bishop Abraham's name is not preserved, but the undertaking must be addressed to him, in view of striking parallel texts that were certainly drawn up for him, and the provenance of the ostrakon.³² The declaration is written in a practiced hand with closely-spaced sloping majuscules and a limited use of superlinear strokes, resembling "Hand A," which Walter E. Crum attributed to the priest Viktor, Bishop Abraham's secretary.³³ The subscriptions were written with a thinner pen and in different hands than the main body of text. Whereas Aaron's subscription displays upright majuscules, the other statements are written in a slightly sloping script. At least in l. 17 subscriptions are separated by a staurogram.

Front

[- - -] πβ [- - -]
[Ϡ α] ΝΟΚ ΑΡΩΝ ΕΙΣΤΑΙ ΜΠΕΝ[ΕΙΩ]Τ ΕΤΟ[ΥΑΑΒ ΝΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΣ]
[ΧΕ] ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΑΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΕ[Ι ΜΜΟΚ ΕΤΡΕΚΧΕΙΡΟΔΟΝΕΙ]
[ΜΜΟ]Ι ΜΠΡΕΣΒ`Υ'(ΤΕΡΟΣ) ΕΠΤΟΠΟΣ ΜΠ . [ca. 8 Ϡ ΝΟΥ ϠΟ]
5 [ΝΖΕ]ΤΟΙΜΟΣ ΕΤΡΑΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΝΕΝΤ[ΟΛΗ ΜΝ ΝΚΑΝΩΝ ΜΝ]
[ΝΕΠΙC]ΤΗΜΗ ΑΥΩ ΝΤΑΣΩΤΜ Ν[С]Α [ΝΝΟC ΕΡΟΙ ΑΥΩ ΝΤΑ-]
[ΖΥΠ]ΟΤΑΣCΕ ΝΑΥ ΑΥΩ ΕΝΙΒΩΚ ΕΜΑ Ν[ca. 6 ΑΧΝ ΨΙ-]
[ΝΕ] ΕΙΨΑΝΒΩΚ ΔΕ ϠΟ ΝΑΠΟΚΛΗΡΟC ΑΥ[Ω Ϡ ΝΑΕΙΡΕ ΚΑΤΑ]
[Ν]ΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΝΤΜΝΤΟΥΗΒ ΑΥΩ ΧΕ Ν[ca. 14]

³² *O.Crum* 29–37, *O.Lips.Copt.* 12 (= *O.Crum Ad.* 7), *O.Moscow Copt.* 45, and *O.Berlin P.12489*, which correspond to nos. 1–12 in Krause (n. 7) vol. 2, and *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* 2.7. Krause (n. 12) 10, n. 7, refers to the present ostrakon, when he observes: "Zwölf Texte sind in meiner Dissertation, Teil II, Kap. I, Texte zur Ordination ausgewertet, hinzu kommt noch ein Ostrakon aus Winlocks Grabung."

³³ Based on *O.Crum* 71 in *O.Crum*, Pl. 1 and xiv; cf. Dekker (n. 2) 113–114.

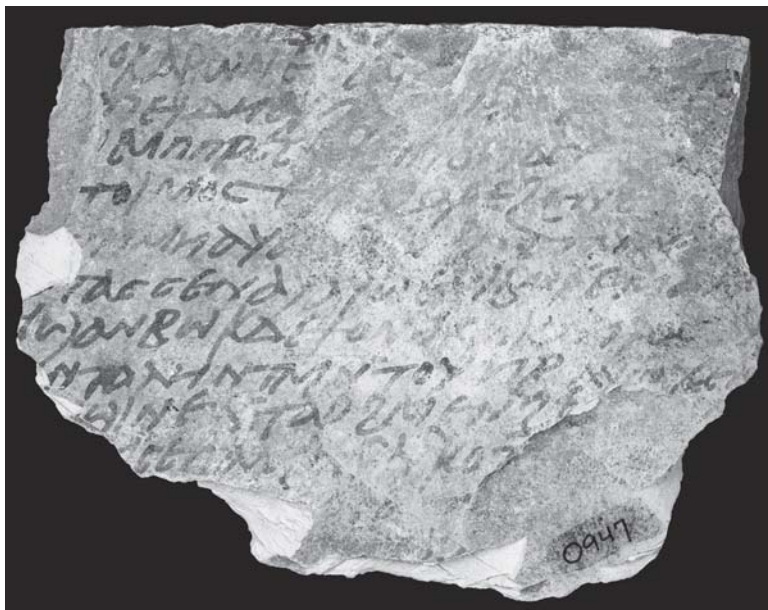


Fig. 1a: O.Col. inv. 947, front (courtesy of the RBML, Columbia University).

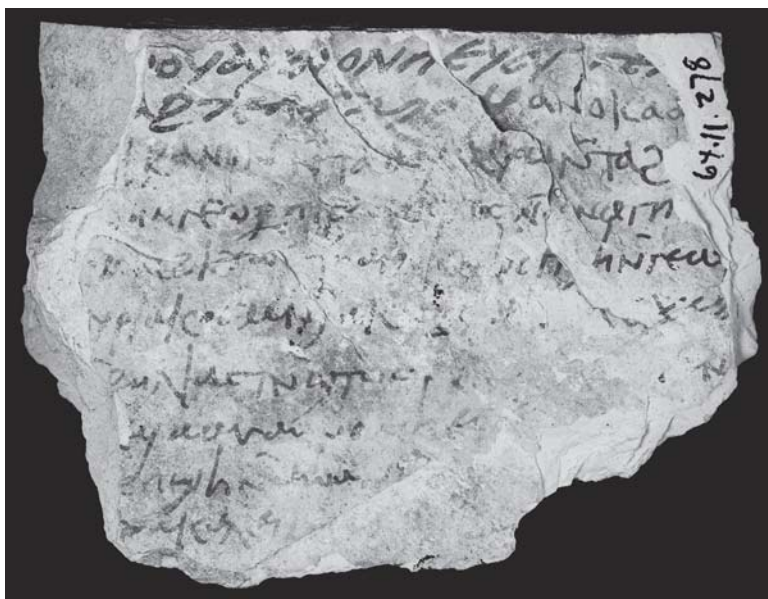


Fig. 1b: O.Col. inv. 947, back (courtesy of the RBML, Columbia University).

1 πϣ : No text is expected before α]ηοκ αρων in l. 2. It is probably a later addition.

2 Ⳛ : Most parallel texts start with a staurogram instead of a simple cross.

– πϣ[ειω]τ ετο[γααβ νεπισκοπος]: There is no space for πϣ[ειω]τ ετο[γααβ απα αβραζαμ πεπισκοπος], as in *O.Crum* 29.2–3, 30.3–5, 33.3–4, 35.2–3, *O.Lips.Copt.* 12.3–4, *O.Moscow Copt.* 45.3–4.

3 α]παρκαλε[ι μμοκ: Reconstructed after *O.Crum* 30.5–6, 32.3, 33.5–6, *O.Lips.Copt.* 12.5, and *O.Moscow Copt.* 45.5. There is not enough space for παρκαλε[ι ντεκμῆτειωτ as in *O.Crum* 29.4–5, 31.5–6, *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* 2.7.5–6, and O.Berlin P.12489.1–2 (ed. Krause [n. 7] vol. 2, 11).

3–4 ετρεκχειροδονει μμο]ι: Reconstructed after *O.Crum* 29.5–6 (with μμον), 32.3–4, 33.6–7, *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* 2.7.6–7, and O.Berlin P.12489.2 (followed by the names of newly ordained deacons). Alternative readings are ετρεϣχειροδονει μμοι, “to ordain me” (*O.Crum* 34.4), and ακχειροδονει μμοι, “You ordained me” (*O.Crum* 30.6–7, *O.Moscow Copt.* 45.6).

4 μππρεσβϣ(τερος): The μ is corrected out of an ε. Whereas most undertakings relate to the ordination of deacons, the present text, *O.Crum* 36 and *O.Lips.Copt.* 12 mention candidates for the priesthood.

– ε]πτοπος μπ . [: Unfortunately, the name of the patron saint of the *topos* is lost. The *topoi* attested in Bishop Abraham’s documents were dedicated to St. Viktor (*O.Crum* 30.7–8), St. Georgios (*O.Crum* 32.4 with μα), Apa Leontios (*O.Crum* Ad. 9 = *O.Lips.Copt.* 13.12–13), Apa Theodoros (*O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* 2.16.9–10), Apa Ioannes (*O.Crum* 310.2), and Apa Iezekiel (O.Berlin P. 12497; ed. Krause [n. 7] vol. 2, 77).³⁴

4–5 Ⳛνοϣ Ⳛο ηζε]τοιμος ετραζαρεζ: Reconstructed after *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* 2.7.8–10, *O.Lips.Copt.* 12.6–7, *O.Moscow Copt.* 45.7–8 (with ζα]τοιμος), *O.Crum* 30.8–9 (with ζα]ιτοιμος), and *O.Crum* 32.5 (with τενοϣ and ετραροεις).

³⁴ Recently reedited by F. Krueger, *Andreas von Hermonthis und das Kloster des Apa Hesekei* (unpublished doctoral dissertation; Berlin 2018); cf. F. Krueger, “The Papyrological Rediscovery of the Monastery of Apa Ezekiel and Bishop Andrew of Hermonthis (6th Century): Preliminary Report on the Edition of the Coptic Ostraca at the Leipzig University Library,” *Journal of Coptic Studies* 21 (2019) 78, n. 11.

5–6 ΝΕΝΤ[ΟΛΗ ΜΝ ΝΚΑΝΩΝ ΜΝ ΝΕΠΙC]ΤΗΜΗ: Reconstructed after *O.Crum* 30.9–11, *O.Lips.Copt.* 12.7–8, and *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* 2.7.10–15 (ΕΠΙCΤΗΜΗ ΝΙΜ).

6–7 ΑΥΩ ΝΤΑCΩΤΜ Ν[C]Α [ΝΝΟC ΕΡΟΙ ΑΥΩ ΝΤΑΖΥΠ]ΟΤΑCCE ΝΑΥ: Reconstructed after *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* 2.7.15–16 and *O.Crum* 29.7–9 (with plural forms). *O.Crum* 31.12–15 reads: ΑΥΩ [Ε]CΩΤΜ ΝCΩΚ ΑΥΩ ΝCΑ ΝΝΟC ΕΡ[ΟΙ] ΚΑΤΑ ΝΚΑΝΩΝ ΑΥΩ ΝΤΑΖΥ[ΠΟ]ΤΑCΕ ΕΝ[ΝΟC], “and to obey you and those superior to me in accordance with the rules and to subject myself to the superiors” (ΕΡ[ΟΙ] is first reconstructed in Krause [n. 7] vol. 2, no. 7).

7–8 ΑΥΩ ΕΝΙΒΩΚ ΕΜΑ Ν[ca. 6 ΑΧΝ ΨΙΝΕ]: The Negative Third Future ΕΝΙΒΩΚ is spelled here in the same way as in *O.Lips.Copt.* 12.19 and *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* 2.7.10. The regular form in Theban documents is ΝΝΕΙ-, as in *O.Crum* 30.22–23, 33.14–15, and 34.14–15; ΝΝΙ-: *O.Crum* 31.36–37 and 33.14–15; cf. P.Bal., pp. 113 (82a: Ε for Ν in verbal prefixes), 180 (152B: ΕΝΕ- for ΝΝΕ-). The expression is usually followed by ΕΜΑ ΑΧΝ ΨΙΝΕ (*O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* 2.7.10–11, *O.Crum* 31.37–38; with ΕΧΝ: *O.Lips.Copt.* 12.19, *O.Moscow Copt.* 45.21, *O.Crum* 30.23), and once by ΕΜΑ ΕΦΟΥΗΥ ΑΧΝ ΨΙΝΕ, “to a distant place without asking” (*O.Crum* 34.15–17). Another alternative is ΜΑΝΒΩΚ ΕΨΩΜΜΟ ΑΧΝ ΨΙΝΕ, “I will not go abroad without asking” (*O.Crum* 29.18–19). Ν[does not fit with any of these options.

8–9 ΤΝΑΕΙΡΕ ΚΑΤΑ Ν]ΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΝΤΜΝΤΟΥΗΒ: The parallel text of *O.Crum* 33.9–11 reads: ΕΤΡΑΕΙΡΕ ΚΑΤΑ ΝΕΝΤΟΛΗ ΝΤΜΝΤΟΥΗΗΒ ΑΥΩ ΚΑΤΑ ΝΚΑΝΩΝ. Cf. *O.Crum* 36.15–16: ΤΜΝΤΟΥΗΒ ΕΤΜΚΑΤΑΦΡ[Ο]ΝΕ. The ο in ΕΝΤΟΛΗ is corrected out of an incomplete α.

9–10 ΑΥΩ ΧΕ Ν[ca. 14 ΑΧ]Ν ΨΙΝΕ: In the parallel texts the words ΑΧΝ ΨΙΝΕ only appear in the “I will not go without asking”-clause, which is already reconstructed in ll. 7–8. Either the clause was accidentally repeated or a different promise was made, perhaps a longer variant of ΑΥΩ ΧΕ Ν[ΤΑΤΜΡ ΖΩΒ ΑΧ]Ν ΨΙΝΕ, “and that I will not do anything without asking.”

10–11 ΝΤΑΡ ΖΜΕ ΝΖΟ[ΟΥ Ε]!Ν[ΗCΤΕΥΕ ΝΤΑΡ ΖΜΕ ΝΖΟΟΥ ΕΙΡΟ]ΕΙC ΕΠΑΜΑ ΝΝΚΟΤ[Κ: Reconstructed after *O.Crum* 30.17–22 and 35.13–16, *O.Lips.Copt.* 12.13–16, and *O.Moscow Copt.* 45.15–17.

Aaron promises to fast and abstain from sexual activity during the first forty days of his office.³⁵

11–13 αῡω νεζοοῡ νσυ]ναῡ[ε εττηω ετραζαρεζ ερ]φοῡ:
Reconstructed after *O.Crum* 30.20–21 and *O.Crum* 35.16–17, where the phrase is followed by εἰπαμα ννκοτκ, “at my bed,” in both cases. Aaron promises to abstain from sexual activity on the days of communion as well.³⁶

13–14 αῡω ον πεγαγγελ[ιον νκατα μαρκος ντααμ]αῡτε
μμοῡ: Considering the length of the lacuna in l. 14 before ντααμ]αῡτε (ca. 6 letters) the most likely option is the Gospel of Mark, which is mentioned in three other ordination texts (*O.Lips.Copt.* 12.9–10, *O.Moscow Copt.* 45.10–11, *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* 2.7.5). The Gospels of John (ιωζαννης: *O.Crum* 29.11–12, 30.13–14, 37.10–11) and Matthew (μαθθαιος: *O.Crum* 31.21) require too much space, whereas that of Luke does not appear. The text was similar to, but shorter than, *O.Lips.Copt.* 12.8–13: α[ῡω] νταχι πεγαγγελιον ετοῡααβ ν[κα]τα μαρκος ναποστῡθος νс[н]αῡ νεβοτ νταει εζοῡν νταταῡοῡ ετοοτκ ντααμαῡτε μμοῡ, “And I will learn the holy Gospel of Mark by heart in two months, come in, recite it to you and retain it.”

14 ανοκ αα[ρων: The ordinand signs the undertaking first, writing in a different hand and spelling his name with a double α, whereas a different scribe wrote it with one α in l. 2.

14–15 ὡστοιχει ενεיעντολη μν νε]ικανον: Reconstructed after *O.Crum* 34.18–19.

16–17 [ϣ ανοκ ca. 8 π]ωη νγεωρ(ριος) πιελαχιστος
ναναγν[ωστης ὡτωρε μμοῡ: As in *O.Crum* 29.19–23 and 36.19–23, where multiple guarantors are listed as well. π]ωη ν- for πωηρε ν- is occasionally appears in Theban texts, particularly those from the Monastery of St. Phoibammon (*O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* 2.3.5, 6.2, 16.12; cf. *O.Crum* 215.1, *O.Mon.Epiph.* 336.5).

³⁵ Cf. *O.Crum*, p. 9, n. 3; G. Schmelz, *Kirchliche Amtsträger im spätantiken Ägypten nach den Aussagen der griechischen und koptischen Papyri und Ostraka* (Leipzig 2002) 56, n. 121. According to Krause (n. 7), vol. 2, 51–52, §8–9a, the newly ordained clergyman promises to keep vigil for forty days.

³⁶ *O.Crum*, p. 9, n. 3; Schmelz (n. 35) 56, n. 121.

17 αῡω περκ]ριμα ριχωι: In various documents from Bishop Abraham's correspondence guarantors promise to take responsibility for the proper conduct of a newly ordained or appointed clergyman, e.g. in *O.Crum* 36.23–24 (with ριχων), 38.6–7, 45.16–17, etc. If they do not correct him in case of negligence, they are to blame.³⁷

21–22 [† ανοκ - - -] . πωη νιωανη[нс - - - αῡπα]ρακαλει
 μ[μοι αιςζαι ραροου: A scribal note on behalf of the guarantors, as in *O.Crum* 34.20–22: ανοκαβρ[α]μ πιελαχ(ιστος) μπρεσβ(υτερος) αῡπαρακαλει μμοι αιςζαι ραροϩ. The scribe's filiation was probably followed by his title.

2. Request to Bishop Abraham to Bless Sent Goods

O.Col. inv. 693
 Acc. 64.11.32

10.5 × 7 cm

Deir el-Bahri
 ca. 590–621

This reddish-brown ribbed pottery fragment, attested on Burton no. 12, is incomplete at the top and on the left, and inscribed on the outside only. The letter, of which the right half of eleven lines remain, was written in black ink in a practiced hand with regular, slightly sloping majuscules. The scribe uses superlinear strokes in a regular way and writes the τ above the ω in ειωτ (in ll. 1, 6, and 9).

In the letter a certain David starts by greeting Bishop Abraham, the latter's secretary Viktor, and the brethren of the Monastery of St. Phoibamon, and then requests the bishop to bless certain goods. The contents and the manner in which ειωτ is written recall *O.Crum* 90, a request from Abbot Ioannes to Bishop Abraham to bless the bread sent to him, and *O.Lips.Copt.* 9, Abraham's reply. Since David uses the plural form "our" when greeting Viktor, he is apparently writing on behalf of others and could be a monastic superior, just like Ioannes.

x + 1 [ca. 9]ειωτ' ε[τογααβ]
 [αῡω †ωινε επ]ενμεριτ ν̄-
 [сон απα βικ]τωρ μν̄ νεκ-
 [ωηρε κατ]α ραν μν̄нсω'с'
 5 [νοεικ αιτ]ννοογσογ ν̄-
 [τεκμντει]ωτ' αρι πνα̂ ν̄-

³⁷ Cf. Krause (n. 7) vol. 2, 99.

[ΧΙΤΟΥ ΝΓ]ΣΜΟΥ ΕΡΟΥ ΖΝ
 [ΝΕΚΒΙΧ Ε]ΤΟΥΑΒ // ΟΥΧΑΪ
 [+ ΤΑΑΣ ΜΠΕΝΜ]ΕΡΙΤ ΝΕΙΩ'Τ' Ε-
 10 [ΤΟΥΑΒ ΑΒΡΑ]ΖΑΜ ΠΕΠΙΣΚ(ΟΠΟΣ)
 [ΖΙΤΝ] ΔΑ(ΥΕΙ)Δ

10 ΠΕΠΙΣΚ ostr. 11 ΔΑΔ ostr.

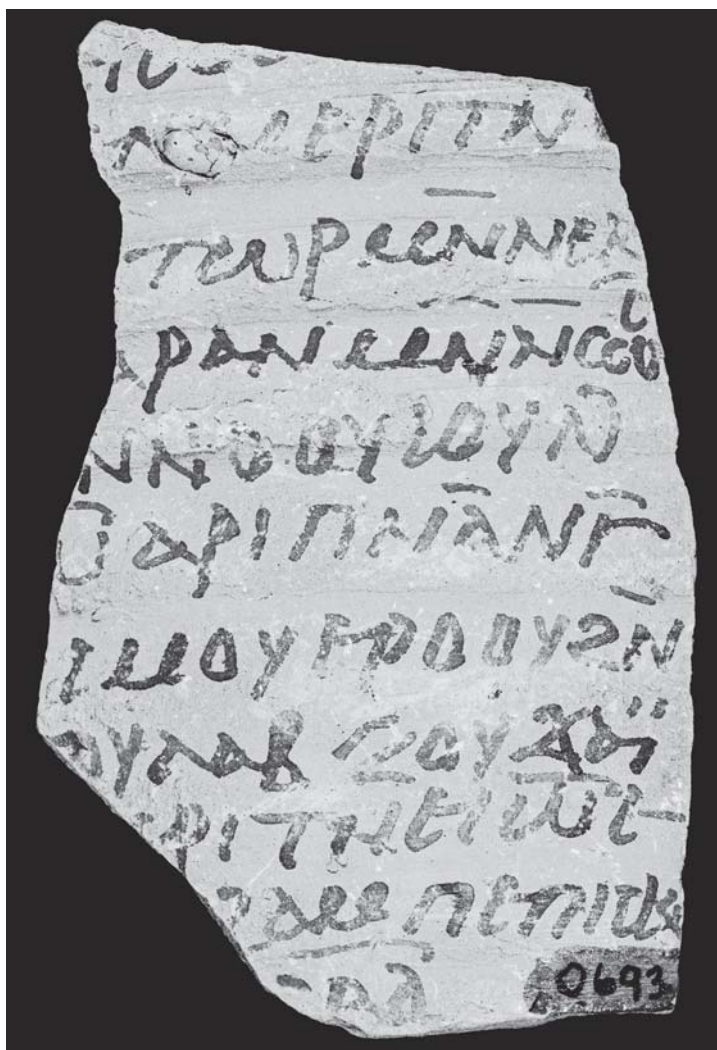


Fig. 2: O.Col. inv. 693 (courtesy of the RBML, Columbia University).

“... holy father and we greet our beloved brother Apa Viktor and your sons by (their) names. Furthermore, as for the loaves of bread, I send them to your fatherhood. Please take them and bless them with your holy hands. Farewell.

+ Give it to our beloved holy father Abraham, the bishop; from David.”

x + 1 [ca. 9]ειω`τ´ ε[τογααβ]: Possible readings are **ΝΤΕΚΜΝΤ**ειω`τ´ ε[τογααβ], “your holy fatherhood” (*O.Crum* 104.1–2) or **ΠΕΝΧΟΕΙC** Νειω`τ´ ε[τογααβ], “our holy, fatherly lord” (cf. *O.Crum* 50.3). In both cases, a greeting formula must have preceded, which implies that one or more lines are lost at the beginning of the text.

2–3 [αγω †ψινε επ]ενμεριτ ν[con: Reconstructed after *O.Crum* 50.6, 52.5–6, 90.4–5, *BKU* 2.316.5–6. Another possibility is]ειω`τ´ ε[τογααβ αγω εττ(αιη) μν π]ενμεριτ ν[con, “holy and revered father and our beloved brother,” considering *O.Crum* 104.1–2: **ΤΕΚΜΝΤ**ειω`τ´ ετογααβ αγω ετταιη μν παcon, “your holy and revered fatherhood and my brother.”

3–4 **ΝΕΚ**[ψηρε κατ]α ραν: The monks at the Monastery of St. Phoibammon are usually referred to as **ΝΕΤΝΜΜΑΚ ΤΗΡΟΥ**, “all those who are with you” (*O.Crum* 49.3, 90.5–6, 104.3). The possessive pronoun in the usual expression **κατα νεγραν** (*O.Crum* 104.3) is omitted in our text.

5–6 [νοεικ αιτ]ννοογcoy ν[τεκμντει]ω`τ´: The **с** is incomplete without the horizontal upper stroke. The direct object **-coy** must refer to a lost short noun. The reconstruction is an abridged version of *O.Crum* 90.6–7: **ΕΙC** **ΝΕΙΟΕΙΚ** **ΑΙΤΝ** **ΝΝΟΟΓCOY** **ΝΤΕΤΝΜΝΤ**ειω`τ´, “behold these loaves of bread, I sent them to your fatherhood.”

6–7 **ΑΡΙ ΠΝΑ** ν[χιτογ ν[cmoy εροoy: Our text is more elaborate than *O.Crum* 90.8: **ΑΡΙ ΠΝΑ** **ΝΤΕΤΝCΜ**[oy] **ΕΡΟΟY** **ΝΑΝ**, “Please bless them for us.”

3. Letter from Bishop Abraham to the Priest Georgios

O.Col. inv. 371
Acc. 64.2.202

5 × 6.5 cm

Deir el-Bahri
ca. 590–621

The small limestone flake, displayed on Burton no. 1, is inscribed on both sides with a letter from Bishop Abraham to the priest Georgios,

counting seven lines on each side. On the front the beginnings of all lines and the end of the last line are missing, whereas the text on the back is incomplete at the upper right and the lower left corners.

The scribe wrote in black ink in oblong, sloping majuscules, which are usually separate, and he used superlinear strokes in an ordinary way. However, the use of a high dot after the first word of a new line, instead of before it (l. 3), is irregular. The script resembles “Hand A,” which is ascribed to the priest Viktor (see no. 1), but looks more sloppy, since there is limited space between the lines and some letters (τα- in l. 10 and εροκ in l. 11) are overwritten with darker ink.

Bishop Abraham sends a deacon to the priest Georgios with the urgent request to finish reading the Catholic Epistles and to send them to the monastery, so that Abraham’s “(spiritual) children” may benefit from them.

Front

[Ϡ ωορ̄π̄ μεν] †ωιν-
[ε ετεκμ̄ντ̄]ωηρε πχο-
[εις εφεσμο]γ εροκ εις · ψ-
[. . . παια]κ(ονος) αιτ̄ν̄νοογϣ
5 [νακ μπ̄ρ̄ρ̄] πατροογω
[αρι πνα] η̄τωω ν-
[καθολ]ικον

Back

ναι χο[ογσογ ε-]
ρογν εναω[ηρε]
10 μπ̄ρ̄ω τα[ρεπχοεις]
σμογ εροκ [ταας]
[μπ]αωηρε η̄ρεϣ[ρ̄ ροτε]
[ππρεс]в(γτερος) γεωργιος ριτн
[αβραζα]η̄ πεπιςκ(οπος)

4 παια]κ ostr. 13 [ππρεс]в ostr. 14 πεπιςκ ostr.

“+ First, I greet your sonship. May the Lord bless you. Behold the deacon Ps[. . .], I sent him to you. Do not be careless. Be so kind as to read the Catholic Epistles. As for these, send them to my children. Do not delay, so that the Lord may bless you.

Give it to my God-fearing son, the priest Georgios; from Abraham, the bishop.”



Fig. 3a: O.Col. inv. 371, front (courtesy of the RBML, Columbia University).

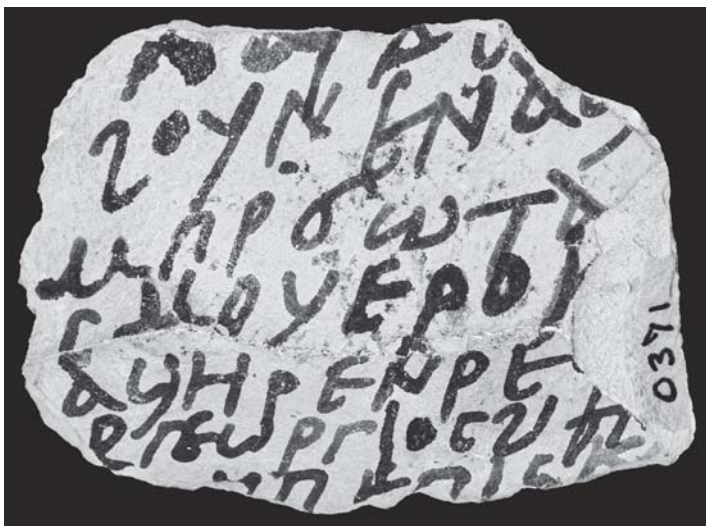


Fig. 3b: O.Col. inv. 371, back (courtesy of the RBML, Columbia University).

1–3 The greeting $\omega\rho\bar{\pi}\ \mu\epsilon\bar{\nu}\ \dagger\omega\iota\bar{\nu}\epsilon\ \epsilon\tau\epsilon\kappa\mu\bar{\nu}\tau\omega\eta\rho\epsilon$ and the blessing $\pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\rho\epsilon\varsigma\mu\omicron\gamma\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\kappa$ frequently appear in letters from Bishop Abraham.³⁸

3–4 $\Psi[\dots]$: Among the names attested in Bishop Abraham’s correspondence ($\Psi[\alpha\iota]$ in *O.Crum* 54.11, $\Psi[\alpha\bar{\nu}]$ in *O.Crum* 80.5, and $\Psi[\alpha\tau\epsilon]$ in *O.Lips.Copt.* 13.1), $\Psi[\alpha\tau\epsilon]$ fits the lacuna best, but other names like $\Psi[\gamma\rho\omicron\varsigma]$ are possible as well.

5 $\mu\pi\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}$] $\mu\alpha\tau\rho\omicron\omicron\gamma\omega$: The usual expression is $\mu\pi\bar{\rho}\bar{\rho}\ \alpha\tau\rho\omicron\omicron\gamma\omega$. The inclusion of the definite article seems to be unique.

6–7 $[\alpha\rho\iota\ \pi\eta\alpha]\ \eta\bar{\gamma}\omega\omega\ \eta[\kappa\alpha\theta\omicron\lambda]\iota\kappa\omicron\bar{\nu}$: Partly reconstructed after *O.Crum* 67.3–5: $\alpha\rho\iota\ \pi\eta\alpha\ \eta\gamma\omega\omega$, “Be so kind as to read.” Our text refers to the Catholic Epistles, which appear in book lists from the Theban region (e.g. *SB Kopt.* 1.12.29, *O.Vind.Copt.* 149.3), rather than to the rare $\pi\alpha\varsigma\kappa\eta\tau\iota\kappa\omicron\bar{\nu}$, a book on ascetic practices (*O.Crum* 250.5–6); cf. Förster, *WB* s.v. καθολικός and ἀσκητικόν.³⁹

8 $\eta\alpha\iota\ \chi\omicron[\omicron\gamma\varsigma\omicron\gamma]$: The reconstruction is based on the assumption that the text refers to “the Catholic epistles.” For more requests for Biblical books, see e.g. *O.Frange* 72–74.

10 $\mu\pi\bar{\rho}\delta\omega$: In the bishop’s correspondence this exhortation reappears in *O.Crum* 56.3, 66.4–5, *O.Medin.Habu Copt.* 145.5, and O.Berlin, P. 12495.6 (ed. Krause [n. 7] vol. 2, no. 54).

10–11 $\tau\alpha[\rho\epsilon\pi\chi\omicron\epsilon\iota\varsigma]\ \varsigma\mu\omicron\gamma\ \epsilon\rho\omicron\kappa$: Bishop Abraham uses this phrase in nos. 8–9, *O.Crum* 67.10–11 (addenda on p. 87; Krause [n. 7] vol. 2, no. 95), 126.10–11 ($\tau\alpha\rho\epsilon$ -), and *O.Crum Ad.* 45.10–11 ($\tau\alpha\rho\iota$ -).

12 $\bar{\eta}\rho\epsilon\epsilon\iota[\bar{\rho}\ \gamma\omicron\tau\epsilon]$: The bishop uses this expression for another priest (*O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* 1, EA 24949; Krause [n. 7] vol. 2, no. 52, back, 8–9), a village headman (*O.Crum* 61.21), someone called Apa Viktor (*O.Crum* 75.2–3), and an unspecified group of people (*O.Crum* 59.2).

13 $[\pi\pi\rho\epsilon\varsigma]\beta(\gamma\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma)\ \rho\epsilon\omega\rho\gamma\iota\omicron\varsigma$: Priests called Georgios do not appear in other known documents relating to Bishop Abraham, but a certain Georgios was ordained deacon (*O.Crum* 32.4).

³⁸ Garel (n. 27) 1041.

³⁹ G.W.H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon* (Oxford 1961) 690 and 245a s.v.

4. *Letter from Bishop Abraham to the Priest Patermoute*

O.Col. inv. 538
Acc. 64.2.357

8.7 × 12.3 cm

Deir el-Bahri
610s

This large limestone flake, visible on Burton no. 3, is inscribed on both sides, the writing surfaces of which are somewhat irregular. Small fragments are missing at the top left, on the right and at the bottom of the front, and on the right of the back. The black ink in which the letter is written has faded at several places on both sides and has run out on the front at the end of ll. 3–5. The letter consists of nine carefully ruled lines on the front and eight lines on the back, which tend to curve upward. They are written in a practiced hand, in neat, sloping majuscules. The left end of the τ is long and bent downward, a feature that cannot be attributed to a particular scribe. Superlinear strokes are used in a regular way, except in l. 15 ($\alpha\beta\rho\alpha\alpha\bar{m}$ *pap.*), and a high dot separates the body of the letter from the final greeting (l. 13). The writer avoids irregularities in the writing surface by leaving blank spaces in ll. 5–7.

Bishop Abraham orders the priest Patermoute to contact Lord Paulos directly about an answer from Paulos that is important for a trial involving Iakobos. The day before, Abraham requested a meeting with Paulos at a place that the latter could decide, but Paulos apparently did not reply. Patermoute should arrange their meeting and come to Abraham quickly, while the questioning (by the bishop) has already started.

Patermoute is identified with the well-attested priest who was in office in the 610s.⁴⁰

Front

[Ϡ ϣορπ] μεν ϣωινε ετεκμ̄ν[τ-]
[ϣη]ρε πχοεις εδεσμοϣ ερο[κ]
αρι πνα ν̄τ ϣισε νακ ν̄βωκ
[ε]πκϣρος παϣλος ν̄παρ ακ(αλει) [μμοϣ]
5 μπιναϣ ξε ᾱιςϣᾱι ναϣ ν̄ϣ[αϣ]
ετρенаπαντα εροϣ [ϣμ]
[π]μα ετ̄q̄ναχοос ξε [κ-]
[ν]αχι τα[ποκ]ρ-
[ι]σις [νζηтϣ]

⁴⁰ Dekker (n. 2) 162–163.

Back

- 10 ΤΑΡΙΑΠΑ[ΝΤΑ]
 ΕΡΟQ ΝΓΤΑΖΟΪ
 ΜΠΝΑΥ ΝΧΝΟΥ ΨΟΡ[Π Ν-]
 [Ν]ΔΙ ΧΕ ΤΕΧΡΙΑ ΤΕ · ΟΥΧΑ! [ΤΑΑΣ]
 ΜΠΑΤΕΡΜΟΥΤΕ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤ[(ΕΡΟΣ) ΖΙΤΝ]
 15 ΑΒΡΑΑΜ ΠΕΠΙCΚ(ΟΠΟΣ) ΜΟΝΟΝ
 [Ν]ΤΟΚ ΤΑΖΟΪ ΖΝ ΟΥΒΕΠΗ ΕΜΑ Ν-
 [† Ζ]ΑΠ ΤΕΧΡΙΑ ΤΕ ΝΙΑΚΩΒΟΣ

15 ΠΕΠΙCΚ ostr.

“+ First, I greet your sonship. May the Lord bless you.

Be so kind and take the trouble to go to Lord Paulos and summon him instantly – for I wrote to him yesterday, that we might meet him in the place where he would say: ‘You will receive the answer there,’ so that I would meet him –, and meet me at the moment of questioning before them, for it is necessary. Farewell.’

Give it to Patermoute, the priest; from Abraham, the bishop.

But meet me in court quickly! It is important to Iakobos!”

4 ΠΚΥΡΟΣ ΠΑΥΛΟΣ: Lord Paulos does not reappear in Bishop Abraham’s correspondence, but the Lords Kouloul (*O.Crum* 65.4), Asper (*O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* 2.34.12), and Serapion (Paris, Louvre inv.?, SN 156, back; transcr. *Crum, Notebook* 84, 57) are indirectly involved in cases of adjudication. Paulos was an urban official, perhaps even a pagarch, rather than a local magistrate.⁴¹

5–7 The scribe avoided a diagonal irregularity in the writing surface, resulting in blank spaces: ΜΠΙΝΑΥ *vac.* ΧΕ, ΕΤΡΕΝ- *vac.* -ΑΠΑΝΤΑ, and ΕΤQ- *vac.* -ΝΑΧΟΟΣ.

7–9 [Π]ΜΑ ΕΤQΝΑΧΟΟΣ ... [ΝΖΗΤQ]: The pronominal preposition [ΝΖΗΤQ] has a double function: it includes the resumptive pronoun required by the relative clause and functions as an adverbial complement in the clause “You will receive the answer there.”

⁴¹ In P.CtYBR inv. 72, front, 7 and 10, a Greek account of contributions to the Persian official Astragatour (ca. 620s), the individuals identified as “lords” appear to be pagarchs, including Strategios of Thebes and Liberios of Edfu; ed. N. Kruit and K.A. Worp, “A Seventh-Century List of Jars from Edfu,” *BASP* 39 (2002) 48–49; cf. Dekker (n. 2) 67.

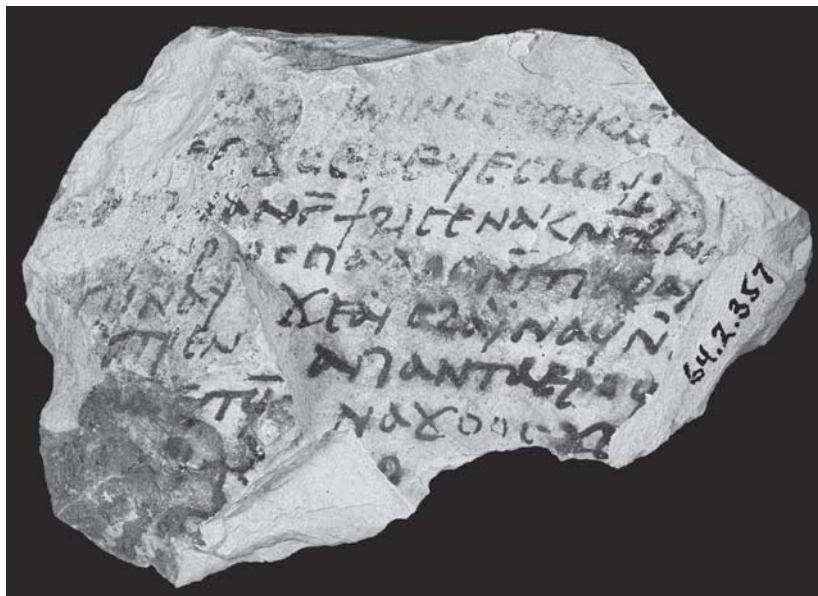


Fig. 4a: O.Col. inv. 538, front (courtesy of the RBML, Columbia University).

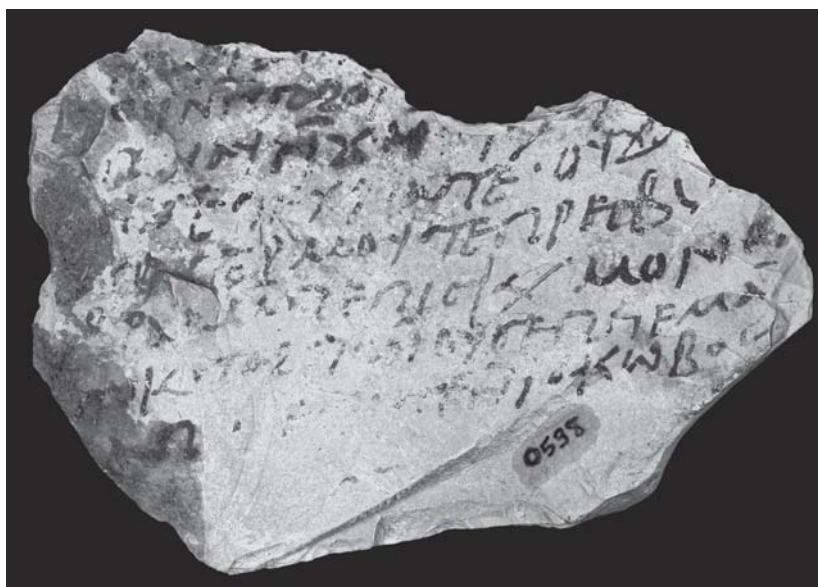


Fig. 4b: O.Col. inv. 538, back (courtesy of the RBML, Columbia University).

12 ΠΝΑΥ ΝΧΝΟΥ: The Ν is blotted but evident on account of the superlinear stroke.

15 ΑΒΡΑΑΜ: The episcopal scribe spelled the name thus, without a ς, in *O.Crum* 65.17, 70.10, *O.Mon.Epiph.* 399.14, *O.Berlin P.12495.11* (ed. Krause [n. 7] vol. 2, no. 54), and *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* 2.34.11 (to the bishop).

15–16 ΜΟΝΟΝ [Ν]ΤΟΚ ΤΑΖΟΪ ΖΝ ΟΥΒΕΠΗ: Bishop Abraham recapitulates his message, that Patermoute should meet him quickly. For the combination of ΜΟΝΟΝ with a (negative) imperative to make the order more urgent, see *O.Vind.Copt.* 271.10: ΜΟΝΟΝ ΣΠΟΥΔΑΖΕ, “But be diligent!”; *O.Frange* 770.9: ΜΟΝΟΝ ΜΠΡΩ, “But do not delay!”

16–17 ΜΑ Ν[† Ζ]ΑΠ: The term appears as a synonym for δικαστήριον, “court,” in a worldly sense in *P.KRU* 105.19–20: ΧΕ ΕΝΕΛΑΥΕ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΒΜ ΒΟΜ ΝΕΝΕΚΕ ΝΑΦ ΖΜ ΔΙΚΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ Η+ ΜΠΕΜΤΟ ΕΒΟΛ ΜΜΑ Ν† ΖΑΠ, “in order that no one can bring him into court or in the presence of a court.” In *P.KRU* 112.4 it refers to the place where, or rather the moment when, God will show mercy at the last judgement: ΖΜ ΠΜΑ ΝΤΙΖΑΠ, “at the moment of judgement.”⁴² See also Crum, *Dict.* 694b s.v. ΖΑΠ. In our text the term does not refer to a special court building, but to the place where the bishop will hold the questioning.

5. Letter from Bishop Abraham to the Deacon Viktor

O.Col. inv. 442
Acc. 64.2.276

5.7 × 9.7 cm

Deir el-Bahri
ca. 590–621

This reddish-brown ribbed pottery fragment, displayed on Burton no. 17, is incomplete on the top and bottom. The front bears a brief message written in black ink in a neat, practiced hand with slightly sloping majuscules. In the letter Bishop Abraham instructs the deacon Viktor to give certain people a particular liturgical vessel.

⁴² E. Garel, *Les testaments des supérieurs du monastère de Saint-Phoibammôn à Thèbes (VII^e siècle) : édition, traduction, commentaire*, vol. 2 (unpublished doctoral dissertation; Paris 2015) 182 (text of *P.KRU* 105), 184 (translation), 186 (commentary).

x + 1 εἰν . [ca. 9]
 † ΟΥΛΙΒΙΚΟΣ ΝΑΥ
 ΤΑΑΣ ΜΠΑΩΗΡΕ
 ΒΙΚΤΩΡ ΠΑΙΑΚ(ΟΝΟΣ)
 5 ΖΙΤῆ̅ ΑΒΡΑΖΑΜ
 [π]εῖ[ε]λα[χιστος]

x + 4 ΠΑΙΑΚ ostr.

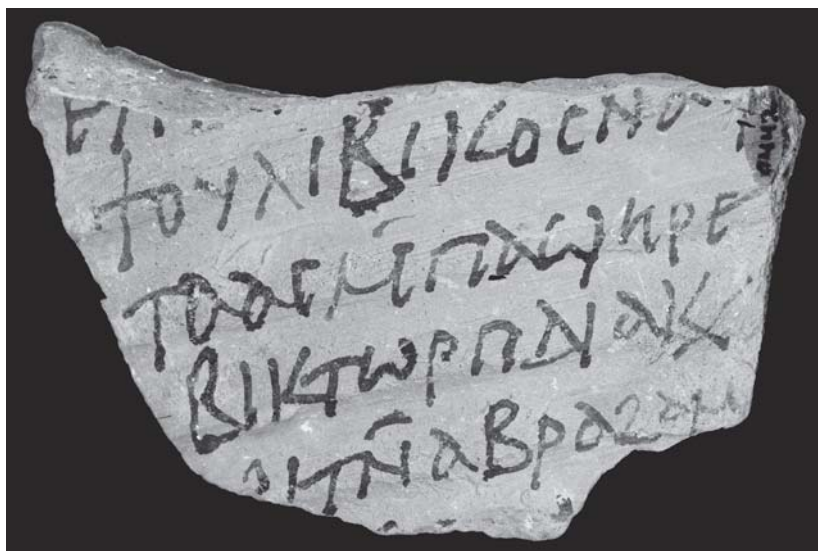


Fig. 5: O.Col. inv. 442 (courtesy of the RBML, Columbia University).

“... give them a *libikos*-vessel.

Give it to my son Viktor, the deacon; from Abraham, this most humble one.”

x + 2 ΛΙΒΙΚΟΣ: For the probability that the term is a combination of λείβω and βίκος, a “vessel” for “pouring,” see *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* 2.39, p. 292; cf. Förster, *WB* 471, n. 8. It could refer to a basin used for liturgical washing, similar or identical to a λέβης, “basin.”⁴³

4 ΒΙΚΤΩΡ ΠΑΙΑΚ(ΟΝΟΣ): *O.Crum* 58.8–9 is addressed to a deacon named Viktor as well.

⁴³ Lampe (n. 39) 794b; Schmelz (n. 35) 109.

6. *Circular Letter on Who Is to Be Excluded from Holy Communion*

O.Col. inv. 932
64.11.263

8.5 × 9.2 cm

Deir el-Bahri
ca. 590–621

This limestone flake, displayed on Burton no. 5, was inscribed on both sides with a circular letter from Bishop Abraham to the clergymen and laymen in his diocese on people who were to be excluded from holy Communion. Whereas the end of the letter and the address on the back are quite well preserved, except at the damaged bottom, the ink of the lines on the front has faded considerably, leaving traces of eight lines. The letter is written in black ink in a practiced hand with sloping majuscules, perhaps by “Hand A” or Viktor (see no. 1), who wrote multiple circular letters (*O.Crum* 71–73, *O.Crum Ad.* 1).

Front

[. .] [ca. 3]
[Μ]ΠΑΤΕΠΛΑΟΣ . . [ca. 4]
[ca. 6] ΕΡΟΟΥ [ca. 5]
[ca. 6] . . Υ . . ΠΕ [. .] .
5 [ca. 3] ΠΕΤΝΑ
[ϞΖΙ]ΒΟΛ ΜΠΩΑ
[ΠΕΤ]ΝΑΜ[ΑΥ]ΛΙΖ[Ε]

Back

ΝΟΥ . [.] Μ ϞΖΙΒΟΛ ΜΠΩΑ
ΑΝΟΚ ΡΩ ΕΙΩΙΝΕ ΝΣΑ
10 ΠΕΟΟΥ ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΜΝ Π-
ΟΥΧΑ! ΜΠΛΑΟΣ ΕΨΗ-
Ζ ΓΑΡ ΝΤΖΕ ΧΕ ΠΣΩΤΜ ΣΟΤΠ ΕΠΤ'ΑΓΟ ΕΥΘΥΣΙΑ'
ΤΑΑΣ ΜΠΕΚΛΗΡΟΣ ΜΝ
ΠΛΑΟΣ ΤΗΡΩ ΖΙΤΝ ΑΒΡΑΖΑ-
15 Μ ΠΕΙΕΛΑΧΙΣΤ(ΟΣ) + Ι(ΗΣΟΥ)Σ ΠΕΧ(ΡΙΣΤΟ)Σ
ΝΑ ΝΑΝ . . [.] Μ
[ca. 6] . .
. . Α

11 ΠΛΑΑΣ ostr. 15 ΠΕΙΕΛΑΧΙΣΤ ostr. ΙϞ ΠΕΧC ostr.

“... the people had not yet ... them ... As for him who will be(come) ..., he will be excluded from the holy Communion. ... As for him who will mistreat a ..., he will be excluded from the holy Communion. I seek



Fig. 6a: O.Col. inv. 932, front (courtesy of the RBML, Columbia University).

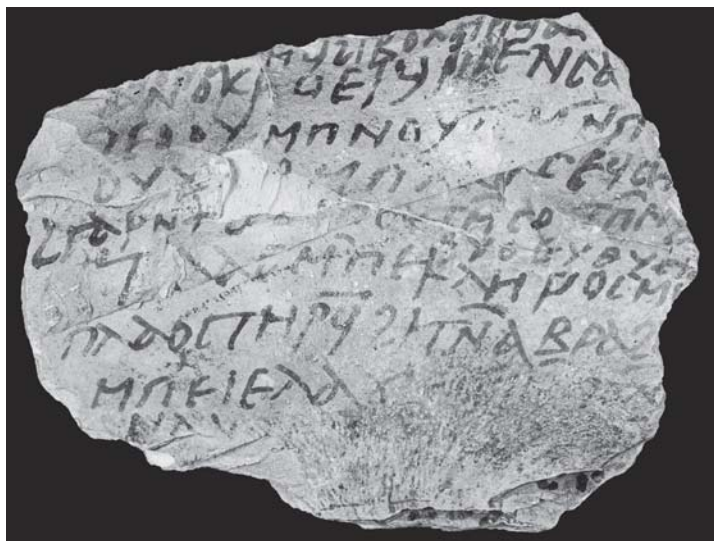


Fig. 6b: O.Col. inv. 932, back (courtesy of the RBML, Columbia University).

after the glory of God and the well-being of the people. For it is written thus: ‘To obey is better than to sacrifice (1 Sam 15:22).’

Give it to the clergymen and the entire congregation; from Abraham, this most humble one.

+ Jesus Christ, have mercy on us ...!’

2 [Μ]ΠΑΤΕΡΛΑΟΣ . . [ca. 4]: The bishop may refer to an incident that took place before people assembled for a liturgical service, as his letter is addressed to clergymen and laymen (ll. 11).

5–6 ΠΕΤΝΑ [ϣΖΙ]ΒΘΛ ΜΠΩΔ: In general, persons to whom the description will apply are to be excluded from the holy Communion. They are readmitted by the bishop after showing repentance; cf. Dekker (n. 2) 52.

7–8 [ΠΕΤ]ΝΑΜ[ΑΥ]ΛΙΖ[Ε] ΝΟΥ . [.] Μ: Another circular letter discusses the mistreatment of ΝΖΗΚΕ, “the poor” (*O.Crum* 71.1) and ΠΕΤΖΙΤΟΥΩΦ, “his neighbor” in a general sense (*O.Crum* 71.3 *et passim*). In our text it is unclear who or what was mistreated.

11–12 ΕΦΘΗΖ ΓΑΡ ΝΤΖΕ ΧΕ: To make his message more authoritative, Bishop Abraham quotes from the Scriptures, as he does in *O.Crum* 71.6, 73.4.16, 74.14, 485.8–9, and *O.Moscow Copt.* 80.19; cf. Dekker (n. 2) 195–196.

14–15 ΖΙΤΝ ΑΒΡΑΖΑΜ ΠΕΙΕΛΑΧΙΤ(ΟC): The present text is the only circular letter that includes an address. Abraham occasionally refers to himself as “this most humble one” (no. 5, *O.Crum* 59.5) or “this most humble bishop” (nos. 8–9, *O.Crum* 60.10–11).

15–16 + Ι(ΗCΟΥ)C ΠΕΧ(ΡΙCΤΟ)C ΝΑ ΝΑΝ: This is the only letter from Bishop Abraham that includes a prayer, only part of which is preserved. The full form may have been Ι(ΗCΟΥ)C ΠΕΧ(ΡΙCΤΟ)C ΝΑ ΝΑΝ ΝΑΓΑΠΗ ΖΑΜΗΝ, “Jesus Christ, have mercy on us! Amen!” (*O.Frange* 93.1, 98.1), or something similar.

7. Letter from Bishop Abraham to Papnoute

O.Col. inv. 970
Unaccessioned

6.7 × 9 cm

Deir el-Bahri
ca. 590–621

This limestone flake, displayed on Burton no. 3 is inscribed on both sides, which are complete, apart from minor damage at the bottom of the front and on the upper left of the back. It bears a letter from Bishop

Abraham to a certain Papnoute, consisting of the actual message in seven lines on the front and the address in five lines on the back, written in black ink in a regular hand with sloping majuscules. At papyri.info the letter is attributed to David (“Hand D”), the secretary of Bishop Abraham, and Viktor in ca. 620s, but in view of the shapes of the \mathfrak{M} and the \mathfrak{Z} , “Hand A” or Viktor is a more likely (see no. 1).⁴⁴

In the letter Abraham asks Papnoute to come immediately.

Front

ⲫ ⲱⲣⲡ ⲙⲉⲛ
 ⲫⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲕⲙⲛⲧ-
 ⲱⲛⲣⲉ ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ ⲉⲓⲉ-
 ⲥⲙⲟⲩ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲁⲣⲓ ⲡⲛⲁ ⲛⲉ-
 5 ⲫⲓⲥⲉ ⲛⲁⲕ ⲛⲉⲓ ⲉⲗⲟⲩⲛ
 ⲛⲧⲁⲟⲛⲧⲉ ⲙⲡⲉ-
 ⲗⲱⲃ ⲙⲡⲣⲟ[ⲱ]

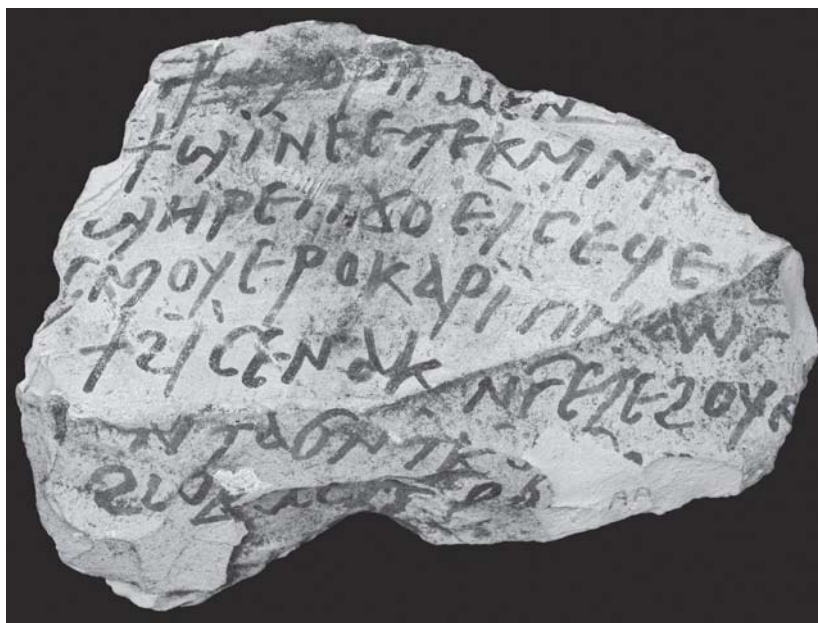


Fig. 7a: O.Col. inv. 970, front (courtesy of the RBML, Columbia University).

⁴⁴ <http://papyri.info/apis/columbia.apis.970> (accessed on 2 May 2020). *O.Crum* pl. 1 makes a comparison between “Hand A” (*O.Crum* 71) and “Hand D” (E. 301) possible. On David and letters ascribed to him, see Garel (n. 27); Dekker (n. 2) 115–116.

Back

[т]ααc ᾠπαωηρε
 ἡρεϙρ̄ ροτε πα-
 10 πνουτε ριτῆ
 αβραам πεπιc-
 κοποc

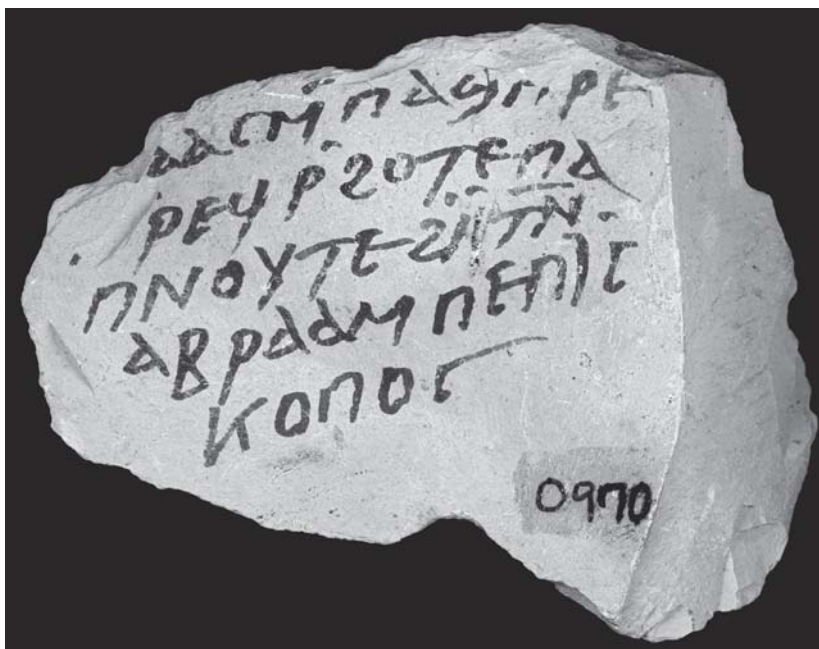


Fig. 7b: O.Col. inv. 970, back (courtesy of the RBML, Columbia University).

“+ First, I greet your sonship. May the Lord bless you. Please take the trouble to come in, so that I can find you about the matter. Do not delay!

Give it to my God-fearing son Papnoute; from Abraham, the bishop.”

6-7 ἡτααcητῆ ᾠπερωβ: The expression reappears in *O.Medin. Habu Copt.* 145.4-5. Papnoute was a layman, perhaps a local official. If he were a clergyman, the bishop would have included his title, as in our no. 3.

11 αβραам: For the name spelled thus, without a ρ, see no. 4.15.

8. *Request from Bishop Abraham to Send Good Wheat*

O.Col. inv. 591
Acc. 64.2.410

7.2 × 8.3 cm

Deir el-Bahri
ca. 590–621

The limestone flake, displayed on Burton no. 5, is inscribed on both sides, which provide smooth writing surfaces. It is incomplete on the right and bottom left of the front, and on the left and right of the back. The text consists of nine lines on the front and seven more on the back, written in black ink that has faded in the upper part of both sides. The script is practiced, with sloping majuscules. It could be “Hand A” (see no. 1). The lower lines on the front tend to shrink, those on the back become larger.

The bishop is being polite to the recipient, apparently a layman of high social standing, whose name is lost. Abraham first expresses his best wishes towards the recipient and his household, before asking a favor, to send good wheat, probably for the sake of the poor, “so that the Lord may bless” the recipient.

Front

ⲡ ⲱⲣⲡ ⲙⲉ[ⲛ ⲡⲱⲛⲉ ⲉⲧⲉⲕ-]
[ⲙ]ⲛⲧⲱⲛⲣⲉ ⲉⲧⲛ[ⲁⲛⲟϥ ⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ]
[ⲉ]ⲩⲉⲥⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲁ[γⲱ ⲛⲩⲁγⲁⲛⲉ]
ⲙⲙⲟⲕ ⲉⲙ ⲡⲉⲧⲛ[ⲁⲛⲟϥ ⲛⲓⲙ ⲙⲛ]
5 ⲡⲉⲧⲱⲟⲟⲡ ⲛⲁⲕ [ⲧⲛⲣⲩ ⲛⲣⲱⲙⲉ ⲙⲛ]
[ⲛ]ⲧⲃⲛⲟⲟϥ ⲁ[γⲱ ⲛⲩⲁⲣⲉⲉⲣ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ]
[ⲉ]ⲡⲉⲑⲟⲟϥ ⲛ[ⲓⲙ ⲉⲡⲉⲓⲁⲛ ⲁγ-]
[ⲧⲁ]ⲙⲟⲓ ⲭⲉ [- - -]
[.]ⲉⲧⲩ[- - -]

Back

10 [- - -] . [.] . ⲟϥ ⲡⲉⲣⲟ-
[- - - ⲁⲣⲓ ⲡⲛ]ⲁ ⲛⲓⲧⲛⲛⲟⲟϥ ⲡⲉ-
[- - - ⲱⲱ]ⲩⲧ ⲛⲥⲟϥⲟ ⲉⲛⲁⲛⲟϥ[ⲩ]
[- - - ⲉ]ⲛⲕⲉ ⲧⲁⲣⲓⲡⲭⲟⲉⲓⲥ
[ⲥⲙⲟϥ ⲉⲣⲟⲕ ⲧ]ⲁⲥ ⲙⲡⲁⲱⲛⲣⲉ ⲛⲣⲉ[ⲩ-]
15 [ⲣ ⲉⲟⲧⲉ ca. 4] ⲉⲓⲧⲛ ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲉⲁⲙ
[ⲡⲓⲉⲁ]ⲭ(ⲓⲥⲧⲟⲥ) ⲛⲉⲡⲓⲕⲟ[ⲡⲟⲥ]

16 [ⲡⲓⲉⲁ]ⲭ ostr.

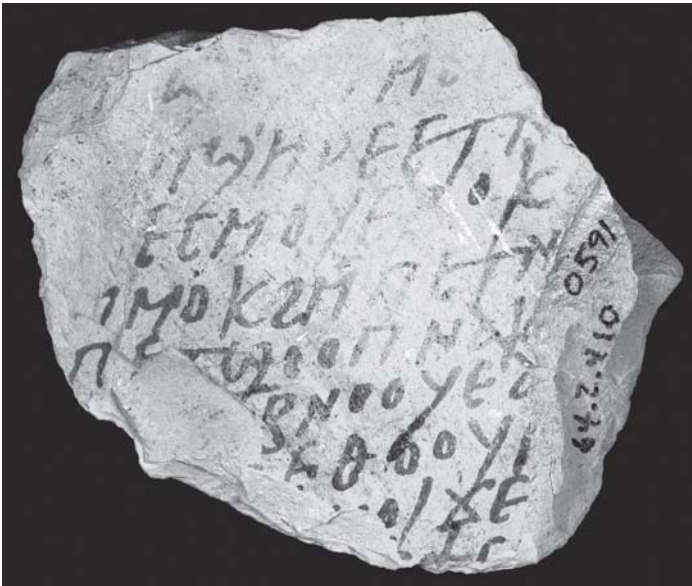


Fig. 8a: O.Col. inv. 591, front (courtesy of the RBML, Columbia University).

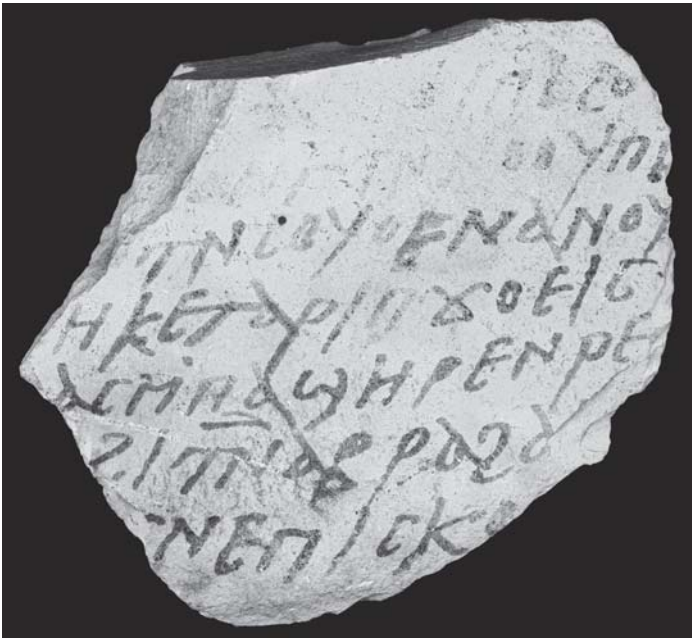


Fig. 8b: O.Col. inv. 591, back (courtesy of the RBML, Columbia University).

“+ First, I greet your good sonship. May the Lord bless you and fortify you in all good together with all that you have, people and cattle, and may He keep you from all evil. Since I was informed that ... Please send ... measure of good wheat ... poor, so that the Lord bless you.

Give it to my fearing sonship ...; from Abraham, this most humble bishop.”

1–2 **TEKM]NTΩHP E TN[ANOYC**: Reconstructed after *O.Crum* 281.1–2 (probably from Bishop Abraham, considering the greeting formula and the attribution to “Hand A”).

3–4 **α[ΥΩ ΝΦΑΥΞΑΝΕ] ΜΜΟΚ ΖΜ ΠΕΤΝ[ΑΝΟΥΦ ΝΙΜ**: This phrase reoccurs in multiple episcopal documents, e.g. *O.Crum* 84.9–11, 278.4–6, 279.10–11, *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* 2.5.2–3; cf. Forster, *WB* 124.

4–6 **ΜΝ ΠΕΤΩΟΠ ΝΑΚ [ΤΗΡΦ ΝΡΩΜΕ ΜΝ Ν]ΤΒΝΟΟΥΕ**: This phrase usually follows after **ΠΧΟΕΙΣ ΕΦΕΣΜΟΥ ΕΡΟΚ**, e.g. in *O.Crum* 75.5–7, 259.2–4, 269.4–5 (without **ΝΡΩΜΕ ΜΝ ΝΤΒΝΟΟΥΕ**), and 279.7–9.

6–7 **α[ΥΩ ΝΦΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΡΟΚ Ε]ΠΕΘΟΟΥ Ν[ΙΜ**: A similar phrase is found in *O.Crum* 84.6–8: **ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΝΑΖΑΡΕΖ ΕΡΟΦ ΕΠΕΘΟΟΥ ΝΙΜ**, “God will keep him from all evil.”

7–8 **ΕΠΕΙΔΗ ΑΥΤΑ]ΜΟΙ ΧΕ**: As in Bishop Abraham’s circular letters, e.g. *O.Crum* 71.1 and 72.1.

12 **ΩΩ]ΦΤ ΝΣΟΥΟ ΕΝΑΝΟΥ[Φ**: A grain measure (“handful”) attested in e.g. *O.Crum ST* 259.4–5, 303.11–12; cf. *Crum, Dict.* 611b.

13 **[- - - Ζ]ΗΚΕ**: Likely possibilities are **[ΝΝΖ]ΗΚΕ**, **[ΖΑ ΝΖ]ΗΚΕ** or **[ΕΤΒΕ ΝΖ]ΗΚΕ**.

13–14 **ΤΑΡΙΠΧΟΕΙΣ [ΣΜΟΥ ΕΡΟΚ]**: See nos. 3 and 9.

9. Letter from Bishop Abraham

O.Col. inv. 745
Acc. 64.11.85

7.5 × 8 cm

Deir el-Bahri
ca. 590–621

This limestone flake, visible on Burton no. 10, is inscribed with seven lines on the front, eight lines on the back and two more lines on the left hand side, written perpendicular to the other lines and containing the

name of the sender, Bishop Abraham. The black ink on both sides has faded to such an extent that the letter is barely legible, apart from common expressions. The message was written by a practiced hand in sloping majuscules.

Front

[ca. 5] . . .
 [ca. 4] Τ ΝΑΙ [. .]
 [ca. 2] Μ ΑΡ Ν Ν . .
 [ca. 3] Μ Α Κ Α -
 5 [ρ Ι Ο] Ϛ Ε Ϛ Ϛ Ο Ο Υ
 Ε Κ . . Ε . Α Λ Λ Α
 Ϛ Ϛ Ο Ρ Ψ Ε Ϛ Ο Υ [Ο]

Back

[Ε Μ] Ι Χ Α Η Λ Π -
 [.] . . Ϛ Ν Α Ε !
 10 . . Ν Ψ . [- - -]
 Α Ρ Ι Τ Α Κ Α Π Η [Ν Γ - - -]
 Ϛ Ω Σ Μ Α Ν [ca. 7 Τ Α Ρ Ε -]
 Π Χ Ο Ε Ι Σ Ϛ Μ [Ο Υ Ε Ρ Ο Κ Τ Α Δ Σ]
 Μ Π Α Ψ Η [Ρ Ε Ν Ρ Ε Ϛ Ρ Ϛ Ο Τ -]
 15 Ε Π Κ Υ Ρ [Ο Σ - - -]

Left side, perpendicular to the text on the front and back

Ϛ Ι Τ Ν Α Β Ρ Α Ζ Α Μ Π Ε [Ι -]
 [Ε] Λ Α Χ (Ι Σ Τ Ο Σ) Ν Ν Ε Π Ι [Σ Κ Ο Π Ο Σ]

17 [Ε] Λ Α Χ ostr.

“ ... let us ... Makarios is worse than ... but ... he is more difficult than Michael the ... he will come ... Please ... that the Lord may bless you.

Give it to my God-fearing son, Lord ...; from Abraham this most humble bishop.”

4-6 Μ Α Κ Α [ρ Ι Ο] Ϛ Ε Ϛ Ϛ Ο Ο Υ Ε -: As the writable surface on the front is less broad than on the back and few letters are lost, the lines should be connected easily. If the letter is about unpleasant persons, the mention of a man called Makarios is more likely than a reference to a deceased person.

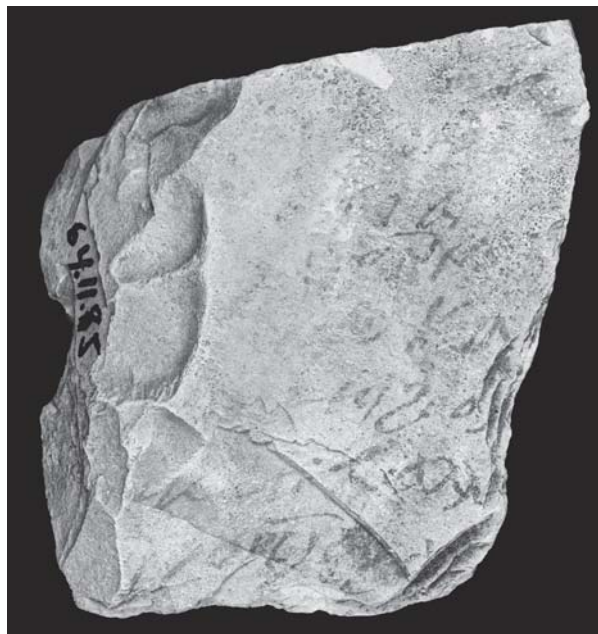


Fig. 9a: O.Col. inv. 745, front (courtesy of the RBML, Columbia University).

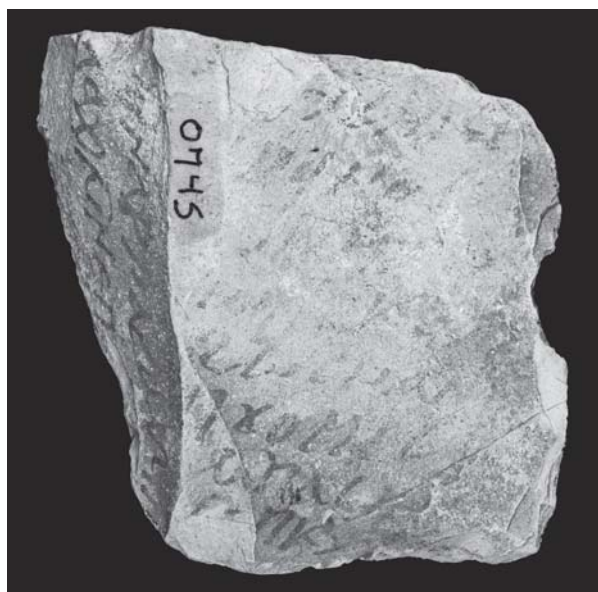


Fig. 9b: O.Col. inv. 745, back (courtesy of the RBML, Columbia University).

7–8 ϣϣοϣ̄ εϣοϣ[ο εμ]!χαηλ: In view of εϣοϣ[ο ε- and the space for ca. two letters before χαηλ, the name Michael is more likely than Chael. A priest called Michael is indeed attested in Abraham's correspondence, as the recipient of *O.Crum* 70, but in general, the name Chael is much more common; cf. Till, *Prosopographie* s.v. Chaël and Michael.

12–15 ταρε]πχοεις ϣμ[οϣ εροκ ταας]: ἡπαϣη[ρε ἡρεϣρ̄ ϣοτ]ε See nos. 3 and 8.

15 πκυρ[οc - - -]: On persons addressed as “lord” in Abraham's documents, see no. 4.

10. Letter Mentioning an Offering and a Bishop

O.Col. inv. 583

6 × 7 cm

Deir el-Bahri

Acc. 64.2.402

ca. 590–621

This limestone ostrakon appears on Burton no. 5 and is inscribed on both sides. On the front a considerable part of the text has broken off, so that only the first four lines remain, whereas the eight lines on the back are incomplete on the left and below. The scribe used a fine pen and brown ink when writing his letter in a book hand with carefully formed, slightly sloping majuscules with vertical appendices at the upper ends of the κ, τ, ϣ, and ϣ. Other features include superlinear strokes at regular places, multiple *diaereses*, an apostrophe in l. 2 and an arched stroke above the α in προσφορᾶ (l. 3).

The angry sender starts his letter to a male recipient without any greeting formula, while making a clear statement, introduced by “the Lord knows that ...” (l. 1). It appears that the sender first failed to come in the evening and then spoke too much, and that the sender will no longer rely on him for liturgical services, such as offerings, which may imply that the recipient is a clergyman and the sender a higher religious authority. If he was a bishop, perhaps Bishop Abraham himself, the mention of a “father, the bishop” in l. x + 12 must have been part of a citation from the recipient.

Front

ⲡ πχοεις ϣο[ο]ϣ[η χε - - -]
 ⲛⲁⲓ ⲛⲕⲉϣⲟⲡ' ⲉⲓⲧⲉ [- - - ⲉⲓⲧⲉ]

προσφορὰ ν̄θ̄ ν̄[- - -]

ἐχε ν̄[- - -]

ca. 5 lines missing

Back

x + 5 [- - -] ρογζε ᾠπεκζε

[ε- - - -] ν̄ζητ̄ ρι πτοογ

[- - -] ναψε ν̄ψαχε

[- - -] μ ν̄ταχε πείψαχε

[- - -] αλλα ν̄†ναεψ̄μ-

x + 10 [βομ αν ε- - - -] αἰσωτ̄μ̄ χε ακ-

[χοος χε - - -] . εἰωτ̄ πεπισκο(πος)

[- - -] ωτ̄ [. . .] πα-

x + 11 πεπισκο ostr.

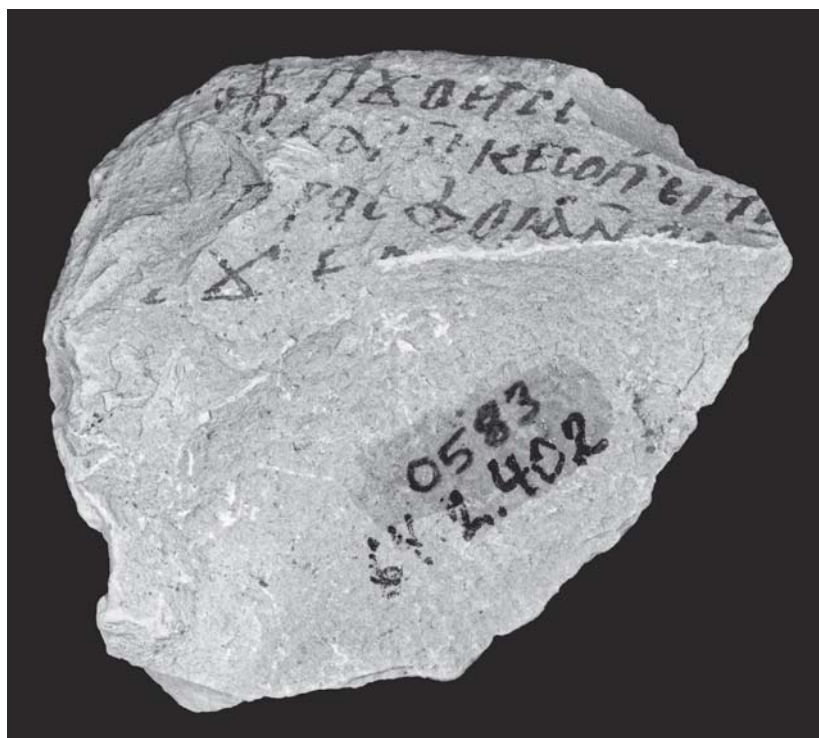


Fig. 10a: O.Col. inv. 583, front (courtesy of the RBML, Columbia University).



Fig. 10b: O.Col. inv. 583, back (courtesy of the RBML, Columbia University).

“+ The Lord knows that ... for me again, either a ... or an offering like ... evening, you did not find ... north on the mountain ... the words are many ... and I will say this word ..., but I will not be able to ... I heard that you ... father, the bishop ...”

1 πχοεις σφ[ο]γ[η]ν χε: This phrase is particularly common in letters from monks, e.g. Mark (*O.Frange* 779.4) and Frange (*O.Frange* 51.7); cf. *O.Frange*, p. 71 (index, *sub* 10).

1–3 [- - -] ναϊ νκεσπ' ειτε [- - - ειτε] προσφορâ: The lost noun in l. 2 and the “offering” should fall in the same category, that of liturgical services, which the sender probably may not perform “for me again.”

x + 6–7]ρογζε μπεκζε [ε- - - -] νζητ ζι πτοογ: The sender's failure to come in the evening and stay at a location in the mountain recalls Bishop Abraham's orders to clergymen to celebrate the Eucharist at

hermitages. If they do not obey, they will be excluded from the holy Communion (*O.Mon.Epiph.* 154.9–10). Ashai and Ioseph are excluded from the clergy for not having performed liturgical services at the hermitages at the “great festival” or Easter (*O.Crum* 60). Hello’s declaration to Bishop Abraham reveals that he or his father is expected to celebrate the Eucharist in the evening and morning, to sleep in church and tend to the altar lamp from evening till morning (*O.Crum* 41).⁴⁵

x + 9–10 α]λλὰ ἡτῆρναεωσῶμ[σομ αν ε- - -]: The sender may have implied that he will not tolerate (ανεχε?) what has happened.

x + 10–11 αἴσωτῃ δε ακ[χοος δε - - -] . εἰωτ πεπισκο(πος): The sender refers to what the recipient did or said, which somehow involves a bishop. -ο in πεπισκο(πος) is written small.

11. Letter from Iohannes to Apa Viktor

O.Col. inv. 698
Acc. 64.11.37

6.2 × 10 cm

Deir el-Bahri
ca. 590–621?

This reddish-brown ribbed pottery fragment, which features among the ostraca on Burton no. 13, is inscribed on the front only and incomplete above and on the left and right. The remaining eight lines were written in black ink with a thick pen, forming large sloping majuscules that are clear, but not very elegant. The lines are closely spaced. New sections are divided by a high dot (l. 6) or colon (l. 7).

Iohannes sent Apa Viktor a letter mentioning Apa Abraham. This ostrakon was selected as a possibly relevant text, in view of the provenance and the appearance of Apa Abraham and Apa Viktor, whose title may have been lost (ll. 5 and 7).

[- - -] . κα εικ[- - -]
[- - -] ἡωωρπ [- - -]
[- - -] εωκατεχε [- - -]
[- - -] ρωμε ἡζοῦν [- - -]
5 [- - -] πει απα αβραα[μ - - -]
[- - -] οτκ · οὔχαϊ ταας . [- - -]
απα βικτωρ : ζιτ[ν πεκ-]
con ἱζαννη[ς]

⁴⁵ Cf. Krause (n. 2) vol. 2, no. 26.



Fig. 11: O.Col. inv. 698 (courtesy of the RBML, Columbia University).

“... early ... be able to detain ... man inside ... Apa Abraham ... you. Farewell.

Give it to ... Apa Viktor; from his brother Iohannes.”

5–6 ἀπα ἀβραζα[μ - - -]οτκ: Reconstructing ἀπα ἀβραζα[μ πεπίσκοπος] with a verb in the construct state ending in -οτς is considered, but ἀπα ἀβραζα[μ εὐχαρίστα ντο]οτκ, “Apa Abraham is thanking you,” is equally possible (but not necessarily referring to the bishop). The expression εὐχαρίστα ντοτς is attested in *O.Crum* 64.6–7 (letter from Bishop Abraham), 100.5, 249.6.

6–7 οὐχαϊ ταας . [- - -] ἀπα βικτωρ: Although the reading οὐχαϊ ταας ἡαπα βικτωρ would be fine, the lacunae at the end of ll. 5 and 7 indicate that l. 6 is incomplete as well and that Apa Viktor’s name was probably preceded by the title ππρ(εσβύτερος) or “my (beloved) brother.”

7–8 ζιτ[ν πεκ]con ἰζαννη[ς]: Nothing is lost at the beginning of the lines, which are both indented, making it difficult to estimate how much text is lost. The second letter of ἰζαννη[ς] is not ω.

12. *List of Liturgical Vessels Belonging to Apa Abraham*

O.Col. inv. 1372
Acc. 65.3.84

15.3 × 8.6 cm

Deir el-Bahri
ca. 590–621?

This large limestone flake, recorded on Burton no. 3, is inscribed on one side with a list of liturgical vessels belonging to a certain Apa Abraham. There is minor damage in the first line, where the ostracon is chipped, and in ll. 10–11, where the black ink has faded. The number of objects is once placed in the middle of l. 6 and at the end of the lines. The scribe wrote in a clear hand with slightly sloping majuscules.

Apa Abraham must have been a priest to own such vessels. At first, Bishop Abraham was considered, but his title would have been mentioned and his property would remain with Viktor at the Monastery of St. Phoibammon, rather than be returned to “his men” after his death. Nevertheless, the list is included here, as it was stored at the monastery, initially an episcopal residence: just as Bishop Pesynthius of Koptos was informed about the distribution of the late Hello’s property to Theban monks (*P.Pisentius* 22.7–23), the list may have convinced Bishop Abraham that the deceased’s consecrated vessels were entrusted to the right people.⁴⁶

	ⲫ [ⲧ]ⲉⲣⲛⲱ[ϭ]ⲓϭ ⲛⲛϭⲕⲏ-	
	ⲓⲱⲓⲛⲉ ⲛⲓⲁⲡⲁ ⲁⲃⲣⲁⲁⲁⲙ	
	ⲛⲧⲁⲓⲱⲉⲓ ⲉⲧⲟⲟⲧ ⲉⲁⲓⲧⲁ-	
	ⲁⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲛⲉⲓⲣⲱⲙⲉ	
5	ⲧⲣⲁⲡⲉⲁ ⲕⲟⲓ ⲛⲟⲙⲧ	
	ⲁ	ⲁ
	ⲡⲟⲧⲏⲣⲓⲱⲛ ⲛⲃⲁⲣ(ⲱⲧ)	ⲁ
	ⲁⲣⲁ ⲛⲡⲉⲛⲓⲡⲉ	ⲁ
	ⲉⲓⲙⲓⲁⲧⲏⲣⲓⲱⲛ	ⲁ
10	ⲁⲛⲃⲥ ⲕⲟⲓ ⲛⲃⲁⲣ(ⲱⲧ)	ⲁ
	ⲁⲉⲥⲧⲏⲥ ⲛⲁⲃⲁⲃⲏⲉⲓⲛ	ⲁ

7, 10 ⲃⲁⲡ ostr.

⁴⁶ On lists of liturgical objects, see Schmelz (n. 35) 93–102. An international team directed by Jacques van der Vliet (Leiden University) and Florence Calament (Musée du Louvre, Paris), is preparing a re-edition of *P.Pisentius* 22; cf. J. van der Vliet, “Le prêtre Marc, Psan et Pesynthios: un réseau miaphysite autour du monastère d’Épiphane,” in A. Boud’hors and C. Louis (eds.), *Études coptes XIII: quinzième journée d’études* (Paris 2015) 24.

“+ The list of Apa Abraham’s vessels that I obtained and returned to his men:

Small copper paten: 1
 Bronze chalice: 1
 Iron chain: 1
 Censer: 1
 Small bronze lamp: 1
 Glass pitcher: 1”

1–2 [Τ]ΕΓΓΝΩ[Σ]ΙΣ ΣΚΗ[Ο]Υ[Ε]: Reconstructed after *O.Crum* 472.1 (list of objects) and *O.Crum ST* 437.1 (sales account), both from Jeme.

2 ΑΠΑ ΑΒΡΑΖΑΜ: Probably a priest, but not identified as such.

3–4 ΝΤΑΥΕΙ ΕΤΟΟΤ ΕΑΪΤΑΥ ΟΝ ΝΝΕΦΡΩΜΕ: The phrase recalls the “small bequest” that the sender of *P.Pisentius* 22 and his fellow monks received (l. 23: ΠΚΟΥΪ ΝΣΜΟΥ ΝΤΑΝ[ΧΙ]ΤῚ), and the objects that he distributed to the hermitages of Peter, Psan (Epiphanius’ disciple), and the priest Moses (ll. 10, 12, 14). He defends himself against accusations of keeping anything for himself.⁴⁷ In our text consecrated liturgical objects are entrusted to persons associated with Apa Abraham, who are likely to include clergymen and may have been members of a religious community.

5 ΤΡΑΠΕΖΑ: In a liturgical context the term refers to a paten.⁴⁸

6 ᾶ ᾶ: After indenting the number, the scribe placed the amounts at the end of ll. 6–11.

7 ΠΟΤΗΡΙΟΝ ΝΒΑΡ(ΩΤ): Another bronze chalice appears in *P.Bodl.* 1 49.8.⁴⁹

8 ΑΡΑ ΝΠΕΝΙΠΕ: Perhaps the chain from which the censer (ΘΥΜΙΑΤΗΡΙΟΝ in l. 9) was suspended.⁵⁰

11 ΞΕΣΤΗΣ: Whereas silver and bronze pitchers appear in inventories of liturgical objects, glass pitchers are hardly mentioned.⁵¹

⁴⁷ Van der Vliet (n. 46) 24.

⁴⁸ J. Drescher, “Graeco-Coptica,” *Le Muséon* 82 (1969) 98–100; A. Delattre, J. Dijkstra and J. van der Vliet, “Christian Inscriptions from Egypt and Nubia 5 (2017),” *BASP* 55 (2018) 319.

⁴⁹ Schmelz (n. 35) 102.

⁵⁰ On censers, see Schmelz (n. 35) 110.

⁵¹ Schmelz (n. 35) 102–103; cf. Förster, *WB* 555–556 s.v.

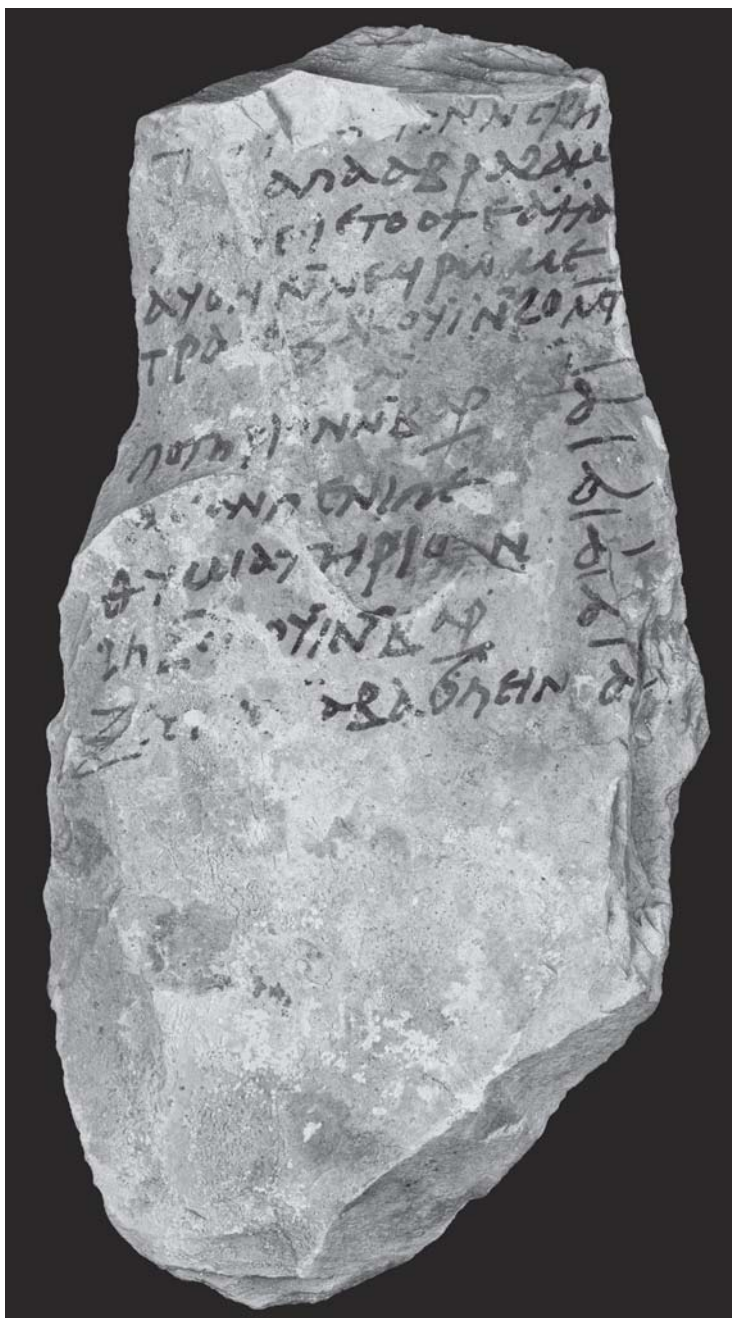


Fig. 12: O.Col. inv. 1372 (courtesy of the RBML, Columbia University).

A LIST OF PAYMENTS (P.MICH. INV. 3553) AND ACCOUNTING PRACTICES AT BAWIT¹

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Abstract. — Edition of P.Mich. inv. 3553, a list of payments in *nomismata* coming from Bawit and dating to the late seventh or eighth century. Comparison of form and content shows that it is probably part of an account that also included P.Mich. inv. 1545, P.Pierpont Morgan Library inv. M 662 B (23b), and P.Sorb. inv. 2638 + 2639.

Keywords: list of payments, account, Bawit

This article offers an edition of P.Mich. inv. 3553 and argues, after comparison of format, palaeography, structure, and content, that it is part of a larger document made up of four other papyri: P.Mich. inv. 1545, P.Pierpont Morgan Library inv. M 662 B (23b), and P.Sorb. inv. 2638 + 2639.²

P.Mich. inv. 3553 was purchased from Maurice Nahman in 1925 and came to the University of Michigan in October 1926.³ It is noteworthy that the other documents with which it is connected here were also bought around the 1920s: P.Mich. inv. 1545 was acquired by the university in 1924, P.Pierpont Morgan Library inv. M 662 B (23b) was bought around 1920 from Nahman too, and P.Sorb. inv. 2638 + 2639 were purchased together during the winter 1918–1919.⁴ Furthermore, P.Mich. inv. 3553,

¹ I express my warmest thanks to Korshi Dosoo for checking and improving the English.

² P.Mich. inv. 1545 has been edited by J. Cromwell, “One Week in January: A Register of Men from Late Antique Egypt,” *JARCE* 51 (2015) 329–349, with corrections by A. Delattre and É. Mazy, “Papyrologica. IX. 84. P. Mich. Inv. 1545: registre de visiteurs ou compte ?” *Cd’É* 94 (2019) 216–220; P.Pierpont Morgan Library inv. M 662 B (23b) by A. Delattre, P. Pilette, and N. Vanthieghem, “Papyrus coptes de la Pierpont Morgan Library I. Cinq documents du monastère de Baouît,” *Journal of Coptic Studies* 17 (2015) 45–51; P.Sorb. inv. 2638 + 2639 by M.-J. Albarrán Martínez, “Nouveaux comptes du monastère d’Apa Apollo à Baouît,” *APF* 62 (2016) 167–175, with corrections presented in the Appendix below.

³ Images are available online: <http://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-4647> (accessed April 6, 2020).

⁴ For acquisition information, see Cromwell (n. 2) 329; Delattre, Pilette, and Vanthieghem (n. 2) 33; M. J. Albarrán Martínez and A. Boud’hors, “À la découverte des papyrus coptes

Several elements point to a Hermopolite provenance, more precisely the monastery of Apa Apollo at Bawit. Toponyms mentioned in the document are located in the Hermopolite nome, most of them already attested in papyri and inscriptions from Bawit: Pmanhabin (l. 11), Pio (l. 12), Simou (l. 31), Tanemooue (l. 39), Midjol (l. 41), and Psintbake (l. 43). Moreover, some people are known from other papyri from Bawit: Mena Peknaau (ll. 15, 19), Theodore Zeth (l. 24), a son of Biktor and Taese from the garden (l. 34) and a son of Serene from the garden (l. 37). The Michigan collection is already known for housing several documents from Bawit.⁶

P.Mich. inv. 3553

26.8 × 11.4 cm

Bawit, late VII–VIII

Recto

→	[]ες	νό(μισμα) α συμ(ίσιον)
	[ψαν]εζμοϋ ---	νό(μισμα) α τρ(ιμήσιον)
	[πα]κο νπαμοϋν ψαλτης	νό(μισμα) α η
	[]χε πα τεϱνη --	νό(μισμα) α γ
5	[]ρ πα ππωμαρεν	νό(μισμα) α γ
	[]κος πα τσεβικ --	νό(μισμα) α τρ(ιμήσιον)
	[]. —	νό(μισμα) α φ(όλλις)
	[]. ———	νό(μισμα) α η
	[]ρος πϱοϱτ ---	νο(μίσματος) Λ
10	[]ε ———	νό(μισμα) α η
	[]οϱτε πα πμα ἡζαβιν	νο(μίσματος) β
	[]. ε πα πιω --	νό(μισμα) α γ
	[ψ]ανεζμοϋ ---	νό(μισμα) α τρ(ιμήσιον)
	[]μων ψαμσαζ ---	νό(μισμα) α β
15	[μ]ηνα πεκνααϱ	νό(μισμα) α φ(όλλις)
	[]νε [π]α τεκρεετς —	νο(μίσματος) β
	[]ης πϱαλιϱ	νό(μισμα) α τρ(ιμήσιον)
	[]πϱῆ γεϱργε ιςϱηρ —	νο(μίσματος) Λ
	[μηη]α πεκνααϱ --	νό(μισμα) α φ(όλλις)
20	[πα πμα ἡ]ϱωλκ ---	νό(μισμα) α α
	[π]ϱη προϱ πϱαπιω	νο(μίσματος) Λ
	[]απολλω πεζα . γ	νό(μισμα) α β
	[]παπα γεϱργε πα πμα <ν>εσαζτ <τ>μη	νό(μισμα) α τρ(ιμήσιον)

⁶ O.Mich.Copt. 17–24; P.Bawit Clackson 1, 4, 14, 72–73; P.Mich.Copt. 14–15, 21; P.Mich. inv. 1545; P.Mon.Apollo 36; SB Kopt. 2.812, 4.1833.

	[	Θ]ΕΟΔΩΡΕ ΖΗΘ --	νό(μίσμα) α γ
25	[	Β]ΙΚΤΩΡ ΠΑ ΠΩΙΚ --	νό(μίσμα) α η
	[	ΝΤ]Ε ΑΠΟΛΛΩ ΠΑ ΠΜΑ ΝΨΙΟΥΡ	νό(μίσμα) α β
	[	]Κ ΠΑ ΠΚΟΛ	νό(μίσμα) α β
	[	ΝΑΠΑ]ΠΩΟΙ ----	νο(μίσματος) L <i>in margine</i> α γ
	[	] . ΡΕ ΝΑΠΑ ΠΩΟΙ ---	νο(μίσματος) L
30	[	ΠΑ]ΙΛΚΟ(ΝΟΣ) ΝΠΜΑ ΝΤΩΣ ΝΑΡΟΓΑΘ	νο(μίσματος) γ''
	[	Ι]ΩΑ(ΝΝΗΣ) ΠΑ ΣΙΜΟΥ	νο(μίσματος) γ''

Verso

↓	[	]ΝΤΕ ΙΩΑ(ΝΝΗΣ) ΩΟΛ ΝΚΑΩ	νό(μίσμα) α γ
	[	Π]ΕΣΑΩΤ ----	νό(μίσμα) α β
	[	ΠΩΝ ΒΙ]ΚΤΩΡ ΤΑΗΣΕ ΠΑ ΤΕΩΝΗ ---	νο(μίσματος) β
35	[	]ΝΕ ΠΑ ΤΕΩΝΗ ---	νο(μίσματος) L γ''
	[	ΠΩ]Ν ΠΙΛΑΤΟΣ ΨΑΛΤΗΣ ---	νό(μίσμα) α β
	[	ΠΩΝ]ΣΕΡΗΝΕ ΠΑ ΤΕΩΝΗ ---	νο(μίσματος) L γ''
	[	Π]ΑΤΡΙΜΟΝ ---	νό(μίσμα) α τρ(ιμήσιον)
	[	] . ΤΕ ΤΑΝΕΜΟΟΥΕ	νο(μίσματος) β
40	[	]ΖΒΙΣ ---	νο(μίσματος) β
	[	Π]ΩΑ ΠΑ ΜΙΧΩΛ	νό(μίσμα) α φ(όλλις)
	[	]ΠΑΜΟΥΝ ΝΛΟΚ ΨΑΝΕΖΜΟΥ	νο(μίσματος) β
	[	ΘΕΟ]ΔΟΣΕ ΠΑ ΨΙΝΤΒΑΚΕ ---	νο(μίσματος) γ''
	[	ΠΩ]Ν ΔΑΓΕΙΤ ΨΑΝΕΖΜΟΥ	νό(μίσμα) α η
45	[	]Ε ΙΩΝΔΘΑΜ --	νο(μίσματος) L
	[	ΠΑ ΠΜΑ]ΝΠΑΗΣΕ ---	νό(μίσμα) α β
	[	] . ΠΚΟΥΤΟΥ	νό(μίσμα) α η
	[	]ΤΕ ΝΩΝ ΠΟΥΩΖΕ	νό(μίσμα) α η
	[	Ζ]ΑΤΡΗ ΠΑ ΤΕΩΝΗ	νό(μίσμα) α γ
50	[	Ν]ΤΕ ΠΑΜΙΝ ΠΑ ΤΣΗΣ ---	νο(μίσματος) γ''
	[	]ΛΕ ΠΜΑΝΘΑΜΟΥΛ	νό(μίσμα) α η
	[	ΠΜΑ ΝΠΕ]ΖΡΗΤΩΡ --	νο(μίσματος) L
	[	]ΕΣ ΝΤΕ ΔΑΜΙΑΝΟΣ Ν . . ΝΕΧΗ` . ΕΣ'	νο(μίσματος) γ''
	[	] . ΩΕΝ	νο(μίσματος) γ'
55	[	]ΠΡΑΖΤ -	νο(μίσματος) β

passim ὦ pap., τρ' pap., φ pap. 1 συμ' pap. 4 ΠΑ ΤΕΩΝΗ corr. ex ΨΑΝΕΖΜΟΥ
 5 ΠΠΩΜΑΡΕΝ pap. 9 ΠΠΩΟΩΤ pap. 11 ΝΖΑΒΙΝ pap. 17 ΠΩΑΛΙΥ 25 ΠΩΙΚ pap.
 28 ΠΩΟΪ 29 ΠΩΟΪ pap. 30 [Δ]ΙΛΚΟ pap. 31 [Υ]ΩΑ pap. 32 ΙΩΑ pap. 40 ΖΒΙΣ pap.
 45 ΙΩΝΔΘΑΜ pap. 50 ΠΑΜΙΝ pap. 53 ΝΤΕ pap.

Recto

	“[]es	1 nomisma, 1 simision.
	[] the salt dealer — — —	1 nomisma, 1 trimesion.
	[] Pako of Pamoun the psalmist	1 nomisma, 8 keratia.
	[]dje from the garden — —	1 nomisma, 3 keratia.
5	[]r from the orchard	1 nomisma, 3 keratia.
	[]kos from Tsebik — —	1 nomisma, 1 trimesion.
	[]—	1 nomisma, 1 phollis
	[] — — — — —	1 nomisma, 8 keratia.
	[]ros the keeper of keys (?) — — —	1/2 of a nomisma.
10	[]e — — — — —	1 nomisma, 8 keratia.
	[]oute from Pmanhabin	2/3 of a nomisma.
	[]e from Pio — —	1 nomisma, 3 keratia.
	[] the salt dealer — — —	1 nomisma, 1 trimesion.
	[]mon the awl maker — — —	1 nomisma, 2 keratia.
15	[] Mena Peknaau	1 nomisma, 1 phollis.
	[]ne from Tekreets—	2/3 of a nomisma.
	[]es the <i>shaliu</i>	1 nomisma, 1 trimesion.
	[] son of George Isther —	1/2 of a nomisma.
	[] Mena Peknaau	1 nomisma, 1 phollis.
20	[] from the place of weaving	1 nomisma, 1 keration.
	[] son of Proou the linen thread maker (?)	1/2 of a nomisma.
	[] Apollo the ...	1 nomisma, 2 keratia.
	[] Papa George from the place of the mat weavers	1 nomisma, 1 trimesion.
	[] Theodore Zeth — —	1 nomisma, 3 keratia.
25	[] Biktor from the reservoir — —	1 nomisma, 8 keratia.
	[] in the service of Apollo from the place of Psiour	1 nomisma, 2 keratia.
	[]k from Pkol	1 nomisma, 2 keratia.
	[] of Apa Pshoi — — — —	1/2 of a nomisma. ^{in margine} 1, 3.
	[]re of Apa Pshoi — — —	1/2 of a nomisma.
30	[] the deacon of the bakery of Arouath	3 keratia.
	[] Ioannes from Simou	3 keratia.

Verso

[] in the service of Ioannes, Bundle of reeds	1 nomisma, 3 keratia.
--	-----------------------

	[] the weaver— — —	1 <i>nomisma</i> , 2 <i>keratia</i> .
	[] son of Biktor and Taese from the garden — —	2/3 of a <i>nomisma</i> .
35	[]ne from the garden — — —	1/2 of a <i>nomisma</i> , 3 <i>keratia</i> .
	[] son of Pilatos the psalmist—	1 <i>nomisma</i> , 2 <i>keratia</i> .
	[] Serene from the garden — — —	1/2 of a <i>nomisma</i> , 3 <i>keratia</i> .
	[] Patrimon — — —	1 <i>nomisma</i> , 1 <i>trimesion</i> .
	[]te from Tanemooue	2/3 of a <i>nomisma</i> .
40	[]hbis—	2/3 of a <i>nomisma</i> .
	[] Psha from Midjol	1 <i>nomisma</i> , 1 <i>phollis</i> .
	[] Pamoun of Lok the salt dealer	2/3 of a <i>nomisma</i> .
	[] Theodose from Psintbake—	3 <i>keratia</i> .
	[] son of Daeit the salt dealer	1 <i>nomisma</i> , 8 <i>keratia</i> .
45	[]e Ionatham — —	1/2 of a <i>nomisma</i> .
	[] from the place of Paese—	1 <i>nomisma</i> , 2 <i>keratia</i> .
	[] the leatherworker	1 <i>nomisma</i> , 8 <i>keratia</i> .
	[] sons of Pouohe	1 <i>nomisma</i> , 8 <i>keratia</i> .
	[] Hatre from the garden	1 <i>nomisma</i> , 3 <i>keratia</i> .
50	[] in the service of Pamin from Tses—	3 <i>keratia</i> .
	[]le the camel-driver	1 <i>nomisma</i> , 8 <i>keratia</i> .
	[] the place of Pehretor — —	1/2 of a <i>nomisma</i> .
	[]es in the service of Damianos of ...	3 <i>keratia</i> .
	[]shen	1/3 of a <i>nomisma</i> .
55	[] the fuller —	2/3 of a <i>nomisma</i> ."

2 [ψαν]εζμοϣ: Other salt dealers are mentioned in ll. 4, 13, 42, 44, P.Mich. inv. 1545.1, 18, P.Sorb. inv. 2276.9b, 20,⁷ and in two inscriptions from Bawit: Clédât (n. 8) 100, no. 21 and Maspero (n. 8) 120, no. 398.⁸ Pickled food, in particular salted fish, is common in the Bawit documentation.⁹

⁷ To be edited in A. Boud'hors and A. Delattre (eds), *Coptica Sorbonensia. Documents de la 6^e université d'été de papyrologie copte*.

⁸ J. Clédât, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouît*, vol. 1 (Cairo 1904); J. Maspero, *Fouilles exécutées à Baouît* (Cairo 1931).

⁹ On salted fish at Bawit, see W. Van Neer, W. Wouters, M.-H. Rutschowskaya, A. Delattre, D. Dixneuf, K. Desender, and J. Poblome, "Salted Fish Products from the Coptic Monastery at Bawit, Egypt: Evidence from the Bones and Texts," in H. Hüster Plogmann (ed.), *The Role of Fish in Ancient Time* (Rahden 2007) 147–159.

3 [πα]κο: Only two names end with -κο: Ako, attested once in *CPR* 12.31.1, and Pako, which appears in three Coptic documents from Thebes, namely *O.Brit.Mus.Copt.* 1, Pl. 35, no. 4.6, O.Heerlen BL 305.5,¹⁰ and *P.KRU* 72.31.¹¹

– **ΝΠΑΜΟΥΝ**: Given that this name is in second position and the individual's profession is stated afterward, the preposition **ν**- most likely marks a father-to-son relationship: [πα]κο **ΝΠΑΜΟΥΝ** **ΨΑΛΤΗΣ** “Pako (son) of Pamoun the psalmist.” This form of identification occurs rarely, alternating with the most common **ΠΥΝ** “the son of.” The preposition **ν**- with the same meaning is found in P.Sorb. inv. 2638.9: []λε **ΝΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΣ** **ΠΑ ΤΑΝ`ΣΗΒ`**, “[]le of Kuriakos the teacher;” again in P.Sorb. inv. 2276.6: **ΠΒΛΛΕ** **ΝΠΑΜΟΥΝ** “Pblle of Pamoun.”

4 **ΠΑ ΤΕΩΝΗ**: The garden of Bawit is also mentioned in ll. 34–35, 37, 49, P.Mich. inv. 1545.13, 20–22, P.Sorb. inv. 2639.19, *O.Bawit Fribourg* 1.3–4, 26.3–5, 48.4–5, 58.3, and *P.Bawit Clackson* 19.3, 65.4, 78.2. The ink is more solid and the strokes are thicker than elsewhere in the papyrus, indicating that this sequence was written later, after the papyrus had been erased. Underneath one may distinguish traces of the profession **ΨΑΝΕΖΜΟΥ** “salt dealer;” on salt dealers, see comm. on l. 2 above.

5 **ΠΑ ΠΠΩΜΑΡΕΝ**: The Greek noun **πωμάριον** “orchard,” from Latin *pomarium*, is attested twice in Coptic: in *P.Lond.* 4.1631.2.8, a register dealing, among other products and lands, with **ΜΑΦΣΑΩΦ** **[Ν]ΒΗΝΕ** **ΕΥΤΙ** **ΚΑΡΠΟΣ** **ΖΝ** **ΠΩΜΑΡΙΟΝ** **ΜΝ** **ΠΩΜ** “thirty-seven date palm trees that bear fruit in the orchard and the vineyard,” and *P.Ryl.Copt.* 216.3, a receipt **ΕΤΤΙΜΗ** **ΝΠΚΑΡΠΟΣ** **ΝΠΠΩΜΑΡΝ** “for the price of the crop from the orchard.” A **πωμαρίτης** “fruiterer” is also found in *P.Lond.Copt.* 1.529.14, 1140.6, 9.

6 **ΠΑ ΤΣΕΒΙΚ**: This toponym could be identified with Sembeikhis, a village whose name means “the place of the falcon,” attested at Bawit in *SB* 22.15730.9.¹²

7 []. — : The distance before and after this line shows that it was inserted afterwards, between ll. 6 and 8. The long horizontal stroke was used to clearly join the name to the amount of money.

¹⁰ Edited by P.J. Sijpesteijn, “Drei koptische Ostraka,” *Cd'É* 62 (1987) 273–276, no. 2.

¹¹ Ako: Trismegistos People, Nam_ID 27266; *NB Kopt.* s.v. Pako: Trismegistos People, Nam_ID 7266; *NB Kopt.* s.v.

¹² Trismegistos Places, Geo_ID 7104; M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome hermopolite* (Missoula 1979) 238; Timm 2334.

9 []**ΡΟC**: Crum suggests reconstructing [**ΠΕΤ**]**ΡΟC**.¹³

– **ΠΩΩΤ**: This term usually means “hindrance, impediment, key;” Crum suggests that in this document it refers to a name or title.¹⁴ Given that the last element of identification in this account mostly refers to a profession, it seems more probable that **ΩΩΤ** is a sort of keeper of keys, possibly a janitor (since **ΠΑ ΠΡΟ** refers to a gatekeeper).

11 **ΠΑ ΠΜΑ ΝΖΑΒΙΝ**: The village of Pmanhabin is attested at Bawit in Clédat (n. 8), 113, no. 49.¹⁵

12 **ΠΑ ΠΙΩ**: The presence of **ΠΑ-** shows that Pio is a toponym, probably the same as that in P.Sorb. inv. 2276.1: **ΠΑΘΕΥ ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟC ΠΙΩ** “Patheu Kuriakos (from) Pio.”

13 [**Ψ**]**ΑΝΕΖΜΟΥ**: See comm. on l. 2 above.

14 []**ΜΩΝ**: Crum suggests reconstructing [**ΦΟΙΒΑ**]**ΜΩΝ**.¹⁶

– **ΨΑΜCΑΖ**: Crum proposes translating this profession as “awl maker (?),” probably a carpenter’s toolmaker.¹⁷ It is also attested at Bawit in Clédat (n. 8), 94, no. 2.

15 [**ΜΗΝΑ ΠΕΚΝΑΑΥ**]: Referring to this papyrus, Crum inserts the term **ΚΝΑΑΥ** in his dictionary and remarks on it: “meaning unknown (? trade or office).”¹⁸ However, a man is identified as **ΜΗΝΑ ΠΕΚΝΑΑΥ ΨΑΝΕΖΜΟΥ** “Mena Peknaau the salt dealer” in P.Sorb. inv. 2276.20. Since the profession of this Mena is explicitly stated and **ΠΕΚΝΑΑΥ** is found in the expected place for a patronym, the word **ΠΕΚΝΑΑΥ** must be an anthroponym, only attested in these two documents. The rarity of this name suggests that both texts refer to the same person. Furthermore, the same sequence is more than likely to be reconstructed in l. 19: [**ΜΗΝ**]**Α ΠΕΚΝΑΑΥ**. It would be unlikely for the same person to be mentioned twice in an account such as this – and this never occurs elsewhere in the document. Therefore, in this list, Mena son of Peknaau is probably the person in whose service the listed individuals are.

¹³ Crum, *Dict.* 608b.

¹⁴ Crum, *Dict.* 608b.

¹⁵ Trismegistos Places, Geo_ID 2684; Drew-Bear (n. 12) 231; Timm 1975–1977.

¹⁶ Crum, *Dict.* 379b.

¹⁷ Crum, *Dict.* 379b.

¹⁸ Crum, *Dict.* 113a.

16 [π]α τεκρεετς: The sequence most likely refers to a toponym which could possibly be identified with Tekerkerthothis or Takaladjs, both located in the Hermopolite nome, not previously attested at Bawit.¹⁹

17 πωαλιγ: This word refers to an administrative official concerned with fiscal matters.²⁰ Other *shaliu* are mentioned in *P.Bawit Clackson* 19.5, 25.4, *P.Mon.Apollo* 45.4, 12, 15, Maspero (n. 8), 126, nos. 432, 434 and Clédat (n. 21) 168, no. 2.²¹

18 ιςθνηρ: This is a form of the female name εςθνηρ, mentioned at Bawit in Maspero (n. 8), 141, no. 492.²² The individual is identified by his father's name, George, then that of his mother, Isther.

19 [μνην]α πεκνααγ: See comm. on l. 15 above.

20 [πα πμα ν]ωαλκ: This place is attested in *P.Bawit Clackson* 36.5, *P.Mon.Apollo* 20.18, and P.Sorb. inv. 2637.10.²³ The verb ωαλκ means “weave, stitch” and usually refers to the weaving of palm leaves into baskets. This place name, literally meaning “the place of weaving,” therefore most likely refers to a basketry workshop.

21 προου: The name Proou is attested at Bawit in *P.Bawit Clackson* 21.6, 26.3, *P.Clackson* 40.11 and G. Maspero, *Le musée égyptien. Recueil de monuments et de notices sur les fouilles d'Égypte*, vol. 2 (Cairo 1906) 46, B.²⁴

– παπιω: This sequence is problematic. Given its position, it likely refers to a toponym or profession. The absence of πα- makes it most likely that it concerns a profession. The term παπιω could be made up of σωπε “seize, take” (also for seeds or cereals) and ειααγ (ειω, ιω) “linen” (more likely than ειω “ass”), perhaps referring to a “linen harvester.” It is also possible to identify the first compound as καπ “thread, string, strand” which Crum recognizes in the profession

¹⁹ Tekerkerthothis: Trismegistos Places, Geo_ID 7504; Drew-Bear (n. 12) 271–272; Timm 2567. Takaladjs: Trismegistos Places, Geo_ID 7481; Drew-Bear (n. 12) 263; Timm 2470.

²⁰ Crum, *Dict.* 561a; J. Wegner, “The Bawit Monastery of Apa Apollo in the Hermopolite Nome and Its Relations with the ‘World Outside’,” *JJP* 46 (2016) 183–184.

²¹ J. Clédat, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouît*, ed. D. Bénazeth and M.-H. Rutshawscaya (Cairo 1999).

²² Trismegistos People, Nam_ID 27345; *NB Kopt.* s.v.

²³ Edited by Albarrán Martínez (n. 2) with corrections in the Appendix below.

²⁴ Proou: Trismegistos People, Nam_ID 11800; *NB Kopt.* s.v.

σα πκαπ “rope-maker, seller (?):” the word would therefore refer to the profession of “linen thread maker.”²⁵

22 πεζα . γ: The missing letter (perhaps erased on purpose) is either α or ο. The word looks like an occupation name, but no satisfactory explanation springs to mind and the word is not found in Crum’s dictionary.

23 πα πμα <η>νεσαζτ <τ>μη: This place of origin, “the place of the mat weavers,” was already identified by Crum and has its sole attestation in this papyrus.²⁶

– νο(μίσμα) ʘ *in margine* α γ: The amount α γ does not immediately follow the sigla ʘ, indicating it was probably written afterwards, possibly as a correction. The individuals must have received or paid 1 *nomisma* and 3 *keratia*, instead of the half *nomisma* that was first planned. A similar correction occurs in P.Sorb. inv. 2639.8, where the amount is νό(μισμα) ʘ α ρ’.

24 [θ]εοδωρε ζηθ: Another θεοδωρε ζη[] is mentioned in *P.Bru.x.Bawit* 50.3, probably to be identified with this one. The name Zeth is also attested in *P.Louvre Bawit* 9.7.²⁷

26 []ε απολλω πα πμα νψιογρ: This place could be that “of the eunuch” or “of Psiour.” A man named ἀπ[ολ]λω ψιογ[ρ] is found in *P.Bal.* 315.2, the latter element being either an anthroponym or the term “eunuch.”

27 πα πκολ: The word πκολ is known at Bawit as an anthroponym in *O.Bawit* 34.2, *SB Kopt.* 3.1325.3, and Maspero (n. 8), 63, no. 59, 64, no. 60, 76, no. 149, 116, no. 382, but the presence of the possessive πα- indicates a place of origin instead.²⁸ The toponym may be identified with παπκολ found in Clédat (n. 21), 68, no. 11, an account of which the entries seem to consist of place names. In our account, either the possessive πα- “he from” was omitted before the toponym also beginning with πα or the place name really is just Pkol.

²⁵ Crum, *Dict.* 113a.

²⁶ Crum, *Dict.* 415b.

²⁷ Trismegistos People, Nam_ID 12126; *NB Kopt.* s.v.

²⁸ Trismegistos People, Nam_ID 608; *NB Kopt.* s.v.

28 [**ναπα**] **πῳοι**: The following line allows us to reconstruct the sequence. This element could refer either to the origin of the individual or his function as servant of Apa Pshoi.

29 **ναπα πῳοι**: See comm. on l. 28 above.

30 **ἡπμα ντωϛ ναρογαϑ**: Arouath most likely refers to a toponym or an anthroponym, but neither could be identified.

31 **πα σιμου**: The toponym Simou is attested at Bawit in *P.Lond. Copt.* 1.1130.5 and Maspero (n. 8), 96, no. 252.²⁹

32 **ϣολ ἡκαϣ**: Given that **καϣ** means “reed,” the word **ϣολ** probably refers to a “bundle.”³⁰ This sequence is either the individual’s profession, a “maker of bundles of reeds,” or a reed bed called “Bundle.” Considering the absence of an article and the attestations of a **νοϛ ἡκαϣ** or **μεγάλη καλαμεία** “great reed bed” at Bawit, namely in *O.Bawit* 63.3, *O.Bawit IFAO* 2.4, 5.2, *P.Bru.x.Bawit* 14.1–2, and *P.PalauRib.Copt.* 12.10, the latter explanation seems preferable.

33 [**π**] **εσαϣτ**: This is a variant of the noun **σαρτ** meaning “weaver.” This profession is attested in *P.Mich. inv.* 1545.6, *P.Bawit Clackson* 13.2, *P.Bru.x.Bawit* 33.6, and *P.Sorb. inv.* 2276.6.

34 [**πῳῃ** **βι**] **κτωρ τανσε πα τεϣνη**: Exactly the same sequence occurs twice in *P.Mich. inv.* 1545.20–21, where the entries on two consecutive lines mention individuals whose first names are Petros and Anoup respectively, both **πῳῃ βικτ(ωρ) τανσε πα τεϣ[νη]** “son of Biktor and Taese from the garden.” This shows clearly that Biktor is their father and Taese their mother. It appears that the individual here in l. 34 is another son of Biktor and Taese. Either these three persons were brothers working together at the garden, in a sort of family business for the monastery, or they, together with their parents, are from a place called “the garden.” On the garden, see comm. on l. 4 above.

35 **πα τεϣνη**: See comm. on l. 4 above.

²⁹ Trismegistos Places, Geo_ID 8210; Drew-Bear (n. 12) 328–329; Timm 1984–1992. On *P.Lond.Copt.* 1.1130, see A. Delattre, “La traduction des institutions administratives dans les monastères égyptiens (VII^e – VIII^e siècles),” in F. Colin, O. Huck, and S. Vanséveren (eds.), *Interpretatio. Traduire l’altérité culturelle dans les civilisations de l’Antiquité* (Paris 2015) 226–227.

³⁰ Crum, *Dict.* 557a.

36 **ΠΙΛΑΤΟΣ**: This anthroponym is attested at Bawit in P.Sorb. inv. 2276.3 v^o 7 and Clédat (n. 8), 159, no. 5.

37 [**ΠΩΝ**] **ΣΕΡΗΝΕ ΠΑ ΤΕΩΝΗ**: A man identified as **ΚΥΡΙΑΚΟΣ ΠΩΝ ΣΕΡΗΝΕ ΠΑ ΤΕΩΝΗ** is mentioned in P.Mich. inv. 1545.22. The presence of three sons of Biktor and Taese from the garden, in l. 34 and P.Mich. inv. 1545.20–21, suggests that we could face a similar situation here, where brothers work at the garden. On the garden, see comm. on l. 4 above.

38 [**Π**] **ΑΤΡΙΜΟΝ**: Patrimon is a known reed bed possibly identified as el-Badraman, but not yet attested at Bawit.³¹

39 **ΤΑΝΕΜΟΟΥΕ**: The village of Tanemois, possibly located near Titkois, is well attested at Bawit, namely in P.Coptic Museum inv. 3512.7,³² *P.Lond.* 5.1899.7, *P.Louvre Bawit* 18 v^o 1, *P.Mon.Apollo* 53.4, P.Sorb. inv. 2276.3, *SB* 16.12401 + 22.15595.4a, 20.14246.2 v^o 11, 22.15596.5, 19, Clédat (n. 8), 78, 121, no. 8, and Maspero (n. 8), 49, no. 2, 64, no. 60, 117–118, no. 388.³³

41 [**Π**] **ΨΑ**: The name Psha is attested a few times at Bawit, namely in *CPR* 20.16.3, *P.Bawit Clackson* 2.3, *P.Mon.Apollo* 10.13, *SB Kopt.* 3.1371.11, Clédat (n. 8), 83, no. 2, 98, no. 20, 159, no. 2, Maspero (n. 8), 87, no. 203, Clédat (n. 21), 63, no. 2, and *SB Kopt.* 1.417.2.³⁴

– **ΠΑ ΜΙΧΩΛ**: The village Midjol is known in Greek as Μαγδῶλα Μιρή and in Coptic as **ΜΙΚΤΩΛ**, **ΜΙΓΧΟΛ**, **ΜΙΓΔΩΛ**, or **ΜΙΧΟΛ**.³⁵ It is attested in some documents from Bawit: *O.Bawit Fribourg* 39.3–4, 47.3, *P.Mon.Apollo* 51.7, and J. Clédat, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouît*, vol. 2 (Cairo 1916) 44, no. 2.

42 **ΝΛΟΚ**: This sequence is either an anthroponym or a toponym, but no satisfactory explanation can be offered.

³¹ Trismegistos Places, Geo_ID 3399; Drew-Bear (n. 12) 196–197; Timm 277–278.

³² Edited by A. Hanafi, “Two Unpublished Documents,” in P. Schubert (ed.), *Actes du 26^e congrès international de papyrologie. Genève, 16–21 août 2010* (Genève 2012) 315–318, no. 1.

³³ Trismegistos Places, Geo_ID 7412; Drew-Bear (n. 12) 264–265; Timm 2502.

³⁴ Trismegistos People, Nam_ID 27441; *NB Kopt.* s.v.

³⁵ Trismegistos Places, Geo_ID 5546; Drew-Bear (n. 12) 160–163; Timm 1671–1673.

– **ΨΑΝΕΖΜΟΥ**: See comm. on l. 2 above.

43 **ΠΑΨΙΝΤΒΑΚΕ**: Psintbake is probably to be identified with Tbake. This village is mentioned at Bawit in *O.Crum VC* 111.4, *P.Bru.x.Bawit* 7.2, *P.Mon.Apollo* 50.6, and Clédat (n. 21), 68, no. 11.³⁶

44 **ΨΑΝΕΖΜΟΥ**: See comm. on l. 2 above.

45 **ΙΩΝΑΘΑΜ**: This is the first attestation in a document from Bawit of the rather rare name Ionatham.³⁷

46 [**ΠΜΑ**] **ΝΠΑΗΣΕ**: The place of Paese is attested only in documents from Bawit, namely in *O.Bawit* 12.3–4, 13.2–3 and *O.Bawit IFAO* 40.1. Given that the sequence is located where the place of origin is expected, the reconstruction seems likely.³⁸

47 **ΠΚΟΥΤΟΥ**: The article makes it likely that the word refers to a profession, possibly derived from the Greek σκυτεύς “shoemaker” or more broadly “leatherworker” attested in Coptic as **σκυτε**() in *CPR* 12.12.19, **ΚΟΥΤΕΥΣ** in *O.Sarga* 108.8–9, **ΚΟΥΔΕΟΣ** in *P.Lond.Copt.* 1.1130.8, **ΣΚΥΔΕΥΣ** in *P.Palau-Rib.Copt.* 12.13, **ΣΚΕΤΕΩΣ** in *SB Kopt.* 1.242.88 and **ΚΟΥΤΗΥΣ** in *SB Kopt.* 1.479.9.³⁹

48 [**]ΤΕ ΝΩΝ** **ΠΟΥΩΖΕ**: The presence of **ΝΩΝ** indicates that Pouohe is here intended as an anthroponym rather than the profession **ΟΥΩΖΕ** meaning “fisherman.”⁴⁰ The plural **Ν-** suggests that two brothers were recorded on this single line, which is attested nowhere else in the account.

49 **ΠΑ ΤΕΩΝΗ**: See comm. on l. 4 above.

50 **ΠΑΜΙΝ**: The name Pamin is attested here for the first time at Bawit.⁴¹

– **ΠΑ ΤΣΗΣ**: This may be the toponym Tse, attested at Bawit in Maspero (n. 8), 71, no. 114, 79, no. 152, 81, no. 173.⁴²

³⁶ Trismegistos Places, Geo_ID 3745; Drew-Bear (n. 12) 270; Timm 2045, 2552.

³⁷ Trismegistos People, Nam_ID 14314; *NB Kopt.* s.v.

³⁸ Trismegistos Places, Geo_ID 57028.

³⁹ See Förster, *WB* 439, 740; Delattre (n. 29) 222–223 n. 64.

⁴⁰ Trismegistos People, Nam_ID 27712; *NB Kopt.* s.v.

⁴¹ Trismegistos People, Nam_ID 716; *NB Kopt.* s.v.

⁴² Trismegistos Places, Geo_ID 10583; Drew-Bear (n. 12) 309–310; Timm 2851–2852.

52 [πμα нπε]ρητωρ: The rare name Pehretor is attested as an anthroponym but also as a place name in two ετμοϋλον ostraca: μα нπερητωρ “place of Pehretor” in *SB Kopt.* 1.112.2–3 and πμα περητηεν “the place of Pehreten” in *SB Kopt.* 1.142.3–4.⁴³ In our document, considering that the sequence occurs in last position, it most likely refers to a toponym.

53 ⲡ . . ⲛⲉⲭⲏⲰ . ⲉⲥⲛ: This seems to be a patronym preceded by the preposition н-. The only name that could almost match the remaining letters is Panekheros, an anthroponym that is only attested once, in *O.Bawit* 71.2.⁴⁴

55 ⲡⲣⲁⲛⲧ: Fullers are also mentioned in P.Sorb. inv. 2639.5, *P.Bru.x.Bawit* 33.2, P.Sorb. inv. 2276 v^o 10, 14, Maspero (n. 8), 76–77 no. 149, 90, no. 225, 110, no. 338, 112, no. 354, 132–133, no. 452, and J. Strzygowski, *Catalogue général des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire. Koptische Kunst* (Wien 1904) 118, inv. 32921B + 32921A.

Accounting Practices at Bawit

P.Mich. inv. 3553 is similar in form and content to four other accounts also dating to the late seventh or eighth century, coming from Bawit, and written in the same hand: P.Mich. inv. 1545, P.Pierpont Morgan Library inv. M 662 B (23b), and P.Sorb. inv. 2638 + 2639.⁴⁵

⁴³ Trismegistos People, Nam_ID 30407; *NB Kopt.* s.v.

























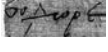



⁴⁴ Trismegistos People, Nam_ID 27402; *NB Kopt.* s.v.

⁴⁵ Other lists coming most probably from Bawit share several characteristics with these, but do not belong to the same record. Besides the fact that they all are written by a different scribe than our own, their form is not entirely the same. P.Sorb. inv. 2637 has dates, numbered lines and amounts of money with double figures, but it is structured by totals and, when a date is inscribed in front of a line, entry numbers and personal names are moved to the right. P.Vindob. inv. K 11381 *recto* is numbered from 105 to 109 and mentions the date Phaophi 28. However, the date is preceded by a horizontal stroke running through the line and is not located in the left margin but lined up with the line numbers so that these, like the individual's name, are moved to the right; in addition, the papyrus bears another document on the *verso*. A detailed study of these two lists should be undertaken, for they display a similar structure, could have been written by the same hand and mention at least one rare patronym that is exactly the same. In P.Sorb. inv. 2587 *verso*, the dates of Mecheir 12 and 13 are mentioned, the lines are numbered from 559 to 563, and amounts of money are sometimes made up of combined figures. However, dates are either lined up with the entry numbers or inscribed in the right instead of the left margin, and another document is on the *recto*. In P.Bru.x. inv. E 9535 *verso* fr. 8, numbers from 885 to 890 are written, but near the left edge of the papyrus and *transversa charta*. A description of these documents is found in Delattre, Pilette, and Vanthieghem (n. 2) 45–46.

























First, the format of these five papyri is similar: they all are written parallel to the fibres on single sheets of papyrus that, where needed, have been flipped over 180 degrees before being written on the other side.

Second, they are written in the same hand.⁴⁶ As shown in Table 1, some letters and ligatures are especially distinctive: the λ ligatured to the preceding letter at the intersection of its two strokes; in the abbreviation $\overset{\circ}{\nu}$ for *nomisma*, the ν starting from the top rather than the baseline, with the ο inscribed directly above it; the article π-, when preceding a profession name or $\omega\bar{\nu}$ “son of,” with a short supralinear stroke on top of it; the long and slightly curved supralinear stroke above the ν of $\omega\bar{\nu}$ “son of.” From a general point of view, this handwriting is characterized by a tendency to go downward when ligaturing letters.

Table 1: Palaeographical comparison of the papyri

	P.Mich. inv. 3553	P.Mich. inv. 1545	P.Pierp. inv. M 662 B (23b)	P.Sorb. inv. 2638	P.Sorb. inv. 2639
α β					
αν					
απολλω					
Γ'					
διακ ^ο					
εν					
επ					
θεοδωρε					
μου					

⁴⁶ Albarrán Martínez (n. 2) 167 already observed that P.Sorb. inv. 2638 + 2639 were written in the same hand.

	P.Mich. inv. 3553	P.Mich. inv. 1545	P.Pierp. inv. M 662 B (23b)	P.Sorb. inv. 2638	P.Sorb. inv. 2639
ὠ					
π					
πΔΛΟΤ					
CH					
TH					
ΩΝ					
2α					
2λλο					

Third, the same dating pattern is displayed in P.Mich. inv. 1545 and P.Pierpont Morgan Library inv. M 662 B (23b); the dates are not preserved in the other papyri. Consecutive dates are abbreviated in a Greek minuscule and inscribed in the left margin near the edge of the sheet. As summarized in Table 2, the dates of Tybi 8, 9, 10, 13, and 15 are preserved in P.Mich. inv. 1545, Phaophi 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, and 17 in P.Pierpont Morgan Library inv. M 662 B (23b). While the missing Phaophi 14 could have been inscribed in the lost lines corresponding to entry numbers 146–149, Phaophi 11 was purposely not recorded. Hence one might wonder whether the other missing dates were ever registered in the account. Tybi 11 and 12 may perhaps be reconstructed somewhere in ll. 12–17 and Tybi 14 in ll. 25–30, as already suggested by the editor.⁴⁷ Given that Tybi 10 is mentioned in l. 11, this would imply that, on Tybi 10 and Tybi 11, only two or three people respectively were recorded. But nowhere else in the account are so few people listed in one day. The likelihood is then that either Tybi 11 or Tybi 12 alone was indicated. Moreover, Tybi 11 corresponds to January 6, which is the feast day of the Epiphany. It is therefore possible, even probable, that Tybi 11 was not

⁴⁷ Cromwell (n. 2) 329–330.

inscribed because, on this feast day, administrative activity was suspended in the monastery. As for the missing date of Tybi 14, given that ll. 28–30 record under the same entry number a father and his two sons, it would have been found in ll. 25–27. This implies that only one and two people respectively were recorded on Tybi 13 and Tybi 14 but once again the structure of the account makes it unlikely. Consequently, Tybi 14 was probably not recorded either. Possibly, Tybi 14 and Phaophi 11 were also feast days. Since they do not correspond to liturgical feasts or to feasts of major saints honoured at Bawit, they were perhaps Sundays. If this is correct, the date preceding Tybi 8 was not Tybi 7, which would have been a Sunday, but Tybi 6. Unfortunately these indications do not allow a precise dating of the account, for the indiction year is not known. They are at least consistent with the Bawit contracts that are explicitly said to have been concluded $\zeta\eta\ \omicron\gamma\zeta\omicron\omicron\gamma\ \nu\epsilon\mu\pi\rho\alpha\kappa\tau\omicron\varsigma$ “on a business day,” which shows that administrative work was avoided on certain days in the monastery.⁴⁸

Fourth, P.Mich. inv. 1545 and P.Pierpont Morgan Library inv. M 662 B (23b) have line numbers in a Greek minuscule at about 2 centimetres from the left edge of the papyrus; the left margins of the other papyri are lost. Numbered lines are only displayed in other documents from Bawit, and therefore could be specific to the monastic administration.⁴⁹ As shown in Table 2, numbers are consecutive, in P.Mich. inv. 1545 from 619 to 650, in P.Pierpont Morgan Library inv. M 662 B (23b) from 113 to 166, with 144 missing, although it is difficult to assess whether this is significant or a mere mistake of the scribe. Some numbers are repeated and shared by people with a family tie or professional relationship, probably because they paid or received the money together, or one of them did so in all their names. Entry numbers 113–166 cover the period from Phaophi 9 to Phaophi 17, and numbers 619–650 that from Tybi 6 to Tybi 15: on average, about five entry numbers a day are recorded. At this rate, and considering that feast days and Sundays were probably not included, the numbering could have started at the beginning of the civil year, on Thoth 1. Numbers in the one hundreds and six hundreds indicate, at least, that the numbering had been running for a minimum of, respectively, about 20 days in Phaophi and 120 in Tybi.

⁴⁸ Published by L.S.B. MacCoull, “The Bawit Contracts: Texts and Translations,” *BASP* 31 (1994) 141–158.

⁴⁹ A. Delattre and N. Vanthieghem, “Les papyrus de Baouît: bilan et perspectives,” to be published in *Baouît (2008–2018). Panorama et perspectives (Paris, June 7–8 2018)*. I thank the authors for sharing this information.

Table 2: Dates and numbering in the papyri

	Line	Date	Numbering	Entries
P.Pierp. inv. M 662 B (23b)	1–6	Phaophi 9: October 6 (7)	113–117	6 individuals (5 numbers)
	6–16	Phaophi 10: October 7 (8)	118–126	11 individuals (9 numbers)
		Phaophi 11: October 8 (9): Sunday		
	17–32	Phaophi 12: October 9 (10)	127–140	16 individuals (14 numbers)
	33–36	Phaophi 13: October 10 (11)	141–145	4 individuals (4 numbers)
	[]–1	[Phaophi 14: October 11 (12)]	[146–150]	[± 5 individuals (5 numbers)]
	2–7	Phaophi 15: October 12 (13)	151–156	6 individuals (5 numbers)
	8–15	Phaophi 16: October 13 (14)	157–162	8 individuals (6 numbers)
P.Mich. inv. 1545	16–21	Phaophi 17: October 14 (15)	163–166	6 individuals (4 numbers)
	1	[Tybi 6: January 1 (2)]	619	±1 individual (1 number)
		Tybi 7: January 2 (3): Sunday		
	2–6	Tybi 8: January 3 (4)	620–624	5 individuals (5 numbers)
	7–10	Tybi 9: January 4 (5)	625–627	4 individuals (3 numbers)
	11–16	Tybi 10: January 5 (6)	628–633	6 individuals (6 numbers)
		Tybi 11: January 6 (7): Epiphany		
	17–23	[Tybi 12: January 7 (8)]	634–639	7 individuals (6 numbers)
	24–32	Tybi 13: January 8 (9)	640–646	9 individuals (7 numbers)
		Tybi 14: January 9 (10): Sunday		
	33–39	Tybi 15: January 10 (11)	647–650	7 individuals (4 numbers)

Fifth, the individuals are identified in a similar manner in all of the papyri. Each line records the name of one person, with the possible exception of the sons of Pouohe in P.Mich. inv. 3553.48. All the individuals are men; some are brothers or fathers and sons. Although the monastic provenance of the document is assured, they could be lay people working in or for the monastery, as well as monks. At least two individuals, George and Anoup, identified as former superiors of the monastery in P.Pierpont Morgan Library inv. M 662 B (23b).2, 21, were monks. The individuals

are identified by one to three elements of identification. They are first recorded by their first name, with the single exception of Papa Gerontse whose title comes first in P.Pierpont Morgan Library inv. M 662 B (23b).⁵⁰ When stated, family ties (patronym, metronym, papponym, or brother's name) directly follow first names, usually introduced by $\pi\omega\bar{\nu}$ "the son of," $\pi\sigma\bar{\nu}$ "the brother of" or the preposition ν - "of." When consecutive lines refer to members of a single family, the possessive $\pi\bar{\alpha}$ - followed by $\omega\eta\rho\epsilon$ "son" or $\sigma\bar{\nu}$ "brother" is used. Rarely no introductory term precedes the patronym, metronym, or papponym. In most cases, the profession is added after the family tie, and is almost always introduced by the article. Sometimes in second position occurs the preposition $\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon$ -, literally meaning "of," which seems to express "a subordinate relationship between the entrant and another person," as suggested by J. Cromwell: for instance one individual is identified as $[\pi]\omega\bar{\nu}\lambda\omega\tau\iota\zeta\bar{\nu}\tau\epsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\eta\tau\psi\alpha\nu\beta\alpha\rho\omega\tau$ "the son of Lotiz, in service of Peret, the bronze dealer" in P.Mich. inv. 1545.14.⁵¹ When mentioned, the origin is the last element of identification, generally introduced by the possessive $\pi\alpha$ - and referring either to toponyms or places of work.

Finally, in P.Mich. inv. 3553 and P.Sorb. inv. 2638 + 2639, a column recording amounts of money in *nomisma*, among which some are made up of a combination of figures, is located about 3 centimetres from the right edge and joined to the previous one by the lengthening of a letter or short horizontal strokes. Sums of money are introduced by the abbreviation ν standing for *nomisma*. Some figures are well known in Greek and Coptic accounts: γ' indicates a third, β two thirds, ι a half, and γ'' most probably 3 *keratia* (γ' does not seem to be a mistaken writing of γ'' , because double strokes are curved in their upper part, whereas single strokes are straight). The other figures, comprising an initial α followed by another letter, most likely refer to a subdivision of the *nomisma*, α α being equivalent to 1 *nomisma* and 1 *keration*, α β to 1 *nomisma* and 2 *keratia*, α γ to 1 *nomisma* and 3 *keratia*, and α η to 1 *nomisma* and 8 *keratia*.⁵² According to this principle, α ϕ can be reconstructed as 1 *nomisma* and 1 *phollis*, α $\tau\rho'$ as 1 *nomisma* and 1 *trimesion* (although, if correctly interpreted, α η would theoretically amount to the same sum

⁵⁰ This suggests that, in $\alpha\pi\alpha\kappa\upsilon\rho\epsilon\iota$ and $\alpha\pi\alpha\nu\sigma$ (P.Mich. inv. 1545 ll. 28, 38), the element $\alpha\pi\alpha$ does not refer to an honorific title but is part of the personal name. For personal names beginning with Apa-, see T. Derda and E. Wipszycka, "L'emploi des titres *abba*, *apa* et *papas* dans l'Égypte byzantine," *JJP* 24 (1994) 50–54.

⁵¹ Cromwell (n. 2) 332.

⁵² As already suggested by Albarrán Martínez (n. 2) 167–168.

as α τρ'), and συμ' as σιμίσιον, from Latin *semissis* "half an as."⁵³ If these amounts are correctly interpreted, 50 *nomismata* and 3 *keratia*, for 55 people, are recorded in P.Mich. inv. 3553, 8 *nomismata* and 1 *keration* for 10 individuals in P.Sorb. inv. 2638, and 17 *nomismata* and 4 *keratia* for 20 people in P.Sorb. inv. 2639. The average payment reaches almost 1 *nomisma*. At the rate of five to six people registered a day, the monastery could have raised over 2,000 *nomismata* in a year provided that the payments were made on a daily basis through the year, and over 1,600 *nomismata* if Sundays and feasts days were excluded.

There is no explicit indication in the papyri of their purpose, and the variable amounts of money could have been registered for numerous reasons. Given what is known of the administration of the monastery, however, a fiscal use is a likely possibility. Indeed, monastic communities, like villages, were considered fiscal entities in the early Arab period: tax demands were issued by the administration to the monastery for the total taxes due, then the monastery was in charge of sharing the total between the individuals for whom it was responsible. Different rates were applied: for instance, poll tax generally varied between a third and one *nomisma*.⁵⁴ This implies that, at some point, the monastic administration had to keep a record of this variable division, especially considering the extent of the monastery of Bawit. In this context, these accounts could be part of a register recording the exact amount raised by the monastery from each taxpayer, in order to make sure that the total due to the Arab administration would be correctly apportioned and collected in full.⁵⁵ The shared entry numbers do not preclude this, as the tax account P.Sorb. inv. 2276.4, also from Bawit, registers two brothers together in a single entry, probably because they paid their tax together, and the tax receipt *P.Bawit Clackson* 14 is issued for two people. This assessment of these accounts as referring to the poll tax would have repercussions for their dating. If these lists concern themselves with the poll tax, they must postdate 705, but if

⁵³ On the *follis*, see J.-M. Carrié, "Monnaie d'or et monnaie de bronze dans l'Égypte protobyzantine," in *Les "dévaluations" à Rome. Époque républicaine et impériale*, vol. 2 (Roma 1980) 260; K. Maresch, *Nomisma und Nomismatia. Beiträge zur Geldgeschichte Ägyptens im 6. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Opladen 1994) 44–45. On the *semissis*, see p. 11.

⁵⁴ On the poll tax, see recently *P.Clackson* 45–46 introd.; A. Delattre, "Remarques sur la taxation au monastère de Baouît au début de l'époque arabe," in A. Kaplony, D. Potthast, and C. Römer (eds.), *From Bāwīt to Marw: Documents from the Medieval Muslim World* (Leiden 2015) 83–94; Wegner (n. 20) 199–200.

⁵⁵ Wegner (n. 20) 253 notes the "relative scarcity of accounts in the Bawit dossier" although "the monastery's *diakonia* would need them in order not to 'drown' in minor documents (...) and to exert proper control over the incomes and expenses."

they date to the seventh century, they cannot deal with the poll tax; from a palaeographical point of view, however, an eighth century dating seems reasonable.

To sum up, Table 3 lists all features shared by these five documents and notes which papyri display them. Similarities in palaeography, format, structure, and content show that a single scribe consistently wrote these lists, but, given the length of the account, it would not be surprising if other similar sheets were written by another hand. Bearing that in mind, it would be most interesting to examine the unpublished P.Haun.Copt. inv. 1, which, except for its handwriting, seems to be analogous to these.⁵⁶ The most economical explanation is that all of the sheets belong to a single account; at the least, they reflect a consistent accounting practice of the monastic administration at Bawit. Seeing that physical features, not only in palaeography but also format, have proved to be as important as the content of a papyrus when trying to reconstruct documents and archives, all these indications could help find other fragments from these sheets or others belonging to this account in papyrological collections.

Table 3: Comparison of format, structure and content of the papyri

	P.Mich. inv. 3553	P.Mich. inv. 1545	P.Pierp. inv. M 662 B (23b)	P.Sorb. inv. 2638	P.Sorb. inv. 2639
Same hand	×	×	×	×	×
<i>Recto</i> → <i>verso</i> ↓, 180°	×	×	×		
Fewer lines on <i>verso</i>	×		×		
Date in left margin (omissions)	[]	×	×	[]	[]
Line numbering (repetitions)	[]	×	×	[]	[]
Patronym (after πϞ̄N̄ or N̄-)	×	×	×	×	[]

⁵⁶ As described by Cromwell (n. 2) 330, n. 2: “The unpublished text P.Haun.Copt. 1 in the Carlsberg Papyrus Collection in the University of Copenhagen is similar to the Michigan texts in several ways: it comprises numbered entries that are sporadically prefixed by dates and contain similar information, and it was flipped over its short end to continue on the *verso*. However this piece is complete and contains a column at the right recording monetary values (according to the gold coin, the *nomisma*). The two texts are not written in the same hand and the Carlsberg piece is considerably longer.”

	P.Mich. inv. 3553	P.Mich. inv. 1545	P.Pierp. inv. M 662 B (23b)	P.Sorb. inv. 2638	P.Sorb. inv. 2639
Function (after π- or NTε-)	×	×	×	×	×
Place of origin (after πα-)	×	×	[]	×	×
Joining elongations or strokes	×	×	[]	×	×
Amounts in <i>nomismata</i>	×	×	[]	×	×
Combination of figures	×	[]	[]	×	×

*Appendix: Notes on Two Accounts from Bawit in
the Sorbonne Collection*

P.Sorb. inv. 2637 and 2639 are Coptic accounts from Bawit dated to the late seventh or the eighth century. Similar documents from the same monastery, either recently published or still unedited, allow the reading of some difficult sequences to be improved.

P.Sorb. inv. 2637

11 [] . . ϣολ: The letter α is visible in front of the sequence, possibly followed by a η; at the end is the trace of an oblique and tall letter, most likely a κ. One may reconstruct [πα πμ]α ηϣολκ “from the place of weaving,” which is attested at Bawit in *P.Bawit Clackson* 36.5, P.Mich. inv. 3553.20, and *P.Mon.Apollo* 20.18, although it is spelled ϣολκ there.

13 [] τϣ . . εςικαλ . . : A π precedes the ε and a letter descends below the baseline, likely a ϣ, between c and ι. In P.Vindob. inv. K 11381.6 a person named Helias is identified as πϣη πεςρικαλα[] “son of Pesrikala[].” This is probably the same name here: [] . ω πεςρικαλα[].

17 [] . . κε: These letters are not translated and are left without explanation. The individual’s name, moved to the right, is not aligned with the other names. A similar layout is displayed in P.Vindob. inv. K 11381: entries are numbered in the left margin but, when a date is inserted right before that number, the line numbering, and consequently the entire entry,

is moved to the right, interrupting the alignment of the names. Here, the letters **κε** are rather **κε**, the entry number “25.” According to this pattern, the preceding letter should belong to the date.

– **απολ[λ]ω πετρε αφιν . . .** : The editor suggested that the last word could be a name, possibly Aphinios although it is rare. However, traces of a **π** before **αφιν** are visible, and the three last letters are **ογβ[]**. It is therefore more likely a toponym called **φινουγβ[]** and introduced by **πα-**. A similar sequence is found in P.Mich. inv. 1545.25: **απο[λλ]ω πω̄ν πετρος ταιρεφνογβ νό(μισμα) ι**. The word **ταιρεφνογβ** was interpreted by the editor as an unknown matronym. However, the **τ** is really a **π**, the letters **ερ**, previously identified as an ace of spades ligature, are in fact a **φ** (compare with **φοιβαμμον** in l. 37), only a minim is visible from the second **ε** and, finally, an **ε** follows the **β**: the sequence then reads **πα φινουγβε** “from Phinoube.” It must be stressed that both individuals are identified as Apollo son of Petros (or Petre), which makes the identification of the toponym more likely. This toponym is not attested in Coptic but could be identified with Greek Poampinouphis, literally “the dwelling of Pinouphis”.⁵⁷ The phrase here is then to be edited as follows: **[] . . κε απολλω πετρε πα φινουγβ[ε]** “[]25 Apollo Petre from Phinoube.”

18 **[]** : Before the name Apollo, a trace of a number is visible: **[κ]ς** “[]26” can be reconstructed.

19 **[]** : A **ζ** is clearly recognizable: the line number is **[κ]ζ** “[]27.”

20 **[]** : Only traces are distinguishable in front of the line; they should correspond to the number **[]κη** “[]28.”

P.Sorb. inv. 2639

12 **νο(μισμα) α β** : The amount is in fact **νό(μισμα) α γ** “1 *nomisma*, 3 *keratia*.”

15 **[] . ανε[] . . . τε** : Given its position, these letters are most likely a toponym introduced by **πα-**, probably **[] πα νεμζατε** “from Nemhate.” This toponym is attested as **νεμζοτε** in *O.Mich. Copt.Etmoulon* 66.2, **νεμζατε** in *P.Mon.Apollo* 57.4, and **νημζατε** in *P.Sarga* 213.4, 236.3, 246.3, 247.2, 332.2.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ Trismegistos Places, Geo_ID 6794; Drew-Bear (n. 12).

⁵⁸ Timm 1766–1767 locates this place in the Herakleopolite nome.

18 . οργ: This is a typo: the sequence is in fact πογ. Behind it there is a θ , elongated to connect the name to the second column, and before it the final portion of a ς, ligatured to the π. Thus one can read the feminine name ςρογ θ .

19 πργι: The first letter is more likely a μ: the name is μργι, well attested at Bawit in P.Mich. inv. 1545.6, P.Sorb. inv. 2276.38, *SB* 22.15596.17, and *SB Kopt.* 3.1433.2, 5.2346.13, unlike Pouï.⁵⁹

Post scriptum. — An unpublished account from Madrid has recently been brought to my attention, thanks to the soon to be published edition of P.Sorb. inv. 2587 by M.-J. Albarrán Martínez, in Boud'hors and Delattre (n. 7). P.Matr. inv. 115 seems written in the same hand as our text and displays the same layout: a date in the left margin (Tybi 5 and 6), numbered lines (from 796 to 801), individuals identified by their name and their profession or origin, and amounts of money expressed in *nomismata* (including α φ). It would seem that this document belongs to the same account as our own, although the dates are puzzling: Tybi 5 and 6, according to P.Mich. inv. 1545, should correspond, more or less, to entry numbers 610-619. The Madrid papyrus could therefore refer to another year or be part of another account entirely.

⁵⁹ Trismegistos People, Nam_ID 4157; *NB Kopt.* s.v.

DECONSTRUCTING THE PROVENANCES OF P.SAPPH.OBBINK

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Abstract. — The analysis of a recently surfaced Christie's brochure proposing P.Sapph.Obbink for private treaty sale calls into question the published accounts of the papyrus' provenance.

Keywords: P.Sapph.Obbink, Christie's, private treaty sale

Background

In late January 2014, Dirk Obbink of the University of Oxford announced that he had discovered two new poems by Sappho on a newly uncovered papyrus fragment. The announcement made waves beyond scholarly circles: ancient sources testify to Sappho's fame and poetic reputation, but her extant poetic corpus consists principally of fragments – many of them quite small – and so substantial a new discovery had the potential to transform the state of scholarly knowledge.

Among some papyrologists and Egyptologists, and especially archaeologists, serious questions about the discovery were quickly raised. The draft article that Obbink briefly made available at the time of the announcement made no mention of the papyrus' origins, acquisition, or collecting history – details that usually fall under the umbrella term “provenance” – save that it was now in a private collection. Such an oversight was both anomalous and suspicious; every *editio princeps* is expected to include an account of the object's origins and acquisition history. This is especially true of a new discovery.

Although some aspects of the papyrus' provenance would come to light over the course of the next twelve months, the revelations came in a piecemeal and evolving fashion. Obbink initially reported via the *Times Literary Supplement* that the papyrus originated in mummy cartonnage,¹ but failed to address the subject in the *editio princeps*. He pledged there only to discuss the conservation of the papyrus in a subsequent article.²

¹ D. Obbink, “New Poems by Sappho,” *Times Literary Supplement* (February 5, 2014).

² D. Obbink, “Two New Poems by Sappho,” *ZPE* 189 (2014) 32, n. 2.

Several months later, he revised his *TLS* account in a presentation to the 2015 Society for Classical Studies' annual meeting and provided further details in an interview with *Live Science*.³ The relevant portion of that presentation was eventually published in a journal article⁴ and also subsequently in an edited volume.⁵ The new account, relayed from the anonymous owner, was that the papyrus had been extracted from "domestic or industrial cartonnage" such as that used for a book cover or bookbinding. The cartonnage, it was asserted, had been purchased as part of Lot 1 of a November 2011 Christie's auction of manuscripts, some items of which had belonged to the collection of David M. Robinson. Robinson, it was stated, had bequeathed part of his collection to the library at the University of Mississippi before it was offered for sale at auction.

The evolving explanation of the papyrus' origins failed to quell the controversy which was roiling in some scholarly circles. Among papyrologists, the leading voice continued to be that of Roberta Mazza.⁶ Aspects of the papyrus' new provenance, most notably the fact that the same Christie's lot had been invoked by the Green Collection to establish the provenance of a Coptic fragment of Galatians previously advertised on eBay, actually exacerbated her concerns.⁷ An additional complication was the fact that scholars had (and continue to have) access neither to the papyrus itself (whose whereabouts are unknown) nor to high-quality digital images, which meant that the possibilities for further scholarship were at best unequal and, at worst, wholly restricted.

Now, more than six years after its discovery was announced, the papyrus known as P.Sapph.Obbink as well as its questionable provenance are

³ M. Gannon, "Sappho's New Poems: The Tangled Tale of their Discovery," *Live Science* (January 23, 2015), <https://www.livescience.com/49543-sappho-new-poems-discovery.html>. Last accessed April 28, 2020.

⁴ D. Obbink, "Interim Notes on 'Two New Poems of Sappho,'" *ZPE* 194 (2015) 5.

⁵ D. Obbink, "Ten Poems of Sappho: Provenance, Authenticity, and Text of the New Sappho Papyri," in A. Bierl and A. Lardinois (eds.), *The Newest Sappho: P. Sapph. Obbink and P. GC inv. 105, Frs. 1–4* (Studies in Archaic and Classical Greek Song 2; Leiden 2016) 35–36.

⁶ E.g., R. Mazza, "Sappho, Papyrology, and the Media," *Faces and Voices* (February 11, 2014), <https://facesandvoices.wordpress.com/2014/02/11/sappho-papyrology-and-the-media/>; R. Mazza, "The New Sappho Fragments Acquisition History: What We Have Learnt So Far," *Faces and Voices* (January 15, 2015), <https://facesandvoices.wordpress.com/2015/01/15/the-new-sappho-fragments-acquisition-history-what-we-have-learnt-so-far/>. Both sites last accessed April 28, 2020.

⁷ On the Galatians fragment, see R. Mazza, "The Illegal Papyrus Trade and What Scholars Can Do to Stop It", *Hyperallergic* (March 1, 2018), <https://hyperallergic.com/429653/the-illegal-papyrus-trade-and-what-scholars-can-do-to-stop-it/>. Last accessed April 28, 2020.

once again unsettling the scholarly community. It is not so much that the difficulties went away in the interim – they haven’t – but that they have been stirred up anew by the sensational allegations surrounding the removal of Oxyrhynchus papyri from the collection of the Egypt Exploration Society.⁸ As a direct result of those allegations and the public discussion of them, wholly new information has been shaken loose, which I herein endeavor to present and analyze.

On the day after Anna Uhlig and I summarized the P.Sapph.Obbink controversy in *Eidolon*’s special issue on papyrus thefts,⁹ I received an email from Ute Wartenberg Kagan, an Oxford-trained papyrologist who had only days before she stepped down as the Executive Director of the American Numismatic Society, a post she had held since 1999. She is now a Research Curator at the Society and an Adjunct Member of the Department of Classics at Columbia University. Wartenberg inquired whether I was familiar with a Christie’s brochure advertising the papyrus for private treaty sale, one which contained images of its extraction from cartonnage. After a brief correspondence in which I explained that the brochure was unknown to me (and, as far as I could tell, to the other scholars who had been covering the saga far longer than I), and following a lengthy telephone conversation on November 8, 2019, she transmitted a twenty-six page .pdf document that she had previously received from an acquaintance. It bore Christie’s logos on its front and back cover as well as the alluring preamble “Christie’s is honored and privileged to be offering for sale by private treaty a newly discovered papyrus of supreme historical and cultural significance, containing substantial and previously unknown sections of two poems by one of the greatest poets of Antiquity: Sappho of Lesbos.” The brochure did indeed contain images of the purported extraction.

⁸ See the news release “Professor Obbink and missing EES papyri,” posted by the Egypt Exploration Society on October 14, 2019: <https://www.ees.ac.uk/news/professor-obbink-and-missing-ees-papyri>. Obbink denied the allegations in a statement provided to the Waco Tribune-Herald: “The allegations made against me that I have stolen, removed or sold items owned by the Egyptian Exploration Society collection at the University of Oxford are entirely false. I would never betray the trust of my colleagues and the values which I have sought to protect and uphold throughout my academic career in the way that has been alleged. I am aware that there are documents being used against me which I believe have been fabricated in a malicious attempt to harm my reputation and career. I am working with my legal team in this regard.” *Waco Tribune-Herald* (October 17, 2020), https://www.wacotrib.com/news/higher_education/oxford-professor-who-worked-at-baylor-allegedly-stole-ancient-bible/article_52db7c0b-a13f-5fdc-8a09-5ddb1f82af29.html. Both sites last accessed April 28, 2020.

⁹ C.M. Sampson and A. Uhlig, “The Murky Provenance of P.Sapph.Obbink,” *Eidolon* (November 5, 2019), <https://eidolon.pub/the-murky-provenance-of-the-newest-sappho-aca671a6d52a>. Last accessed April 28, 2020.

When she initially contacted me, Wartenberg was unaware that the brochure had not been seen by the scholarly community: its absence from our *Eidolon* article was what had alerted her to this fact. In addition to sharing it, she indicated that she would ask around discretely for corroborating (and additional) information about the brochure. But although numismatics involves many of the same cultural heritage issues as papyrology – authenticity, provenance, collecting, ethics, etc. – she had no desire to be involved publicly in the story. We continued to correspond in the following months, during which time I analyzed the brochure and she made inquiries with her network of contacts, including numerous collectors known to her.

In an attempt to authenticate the brochure, I posed several questions regarding it and the papyrus' proposal for sale to Eugenio Donadoni (Senior Specialist, Christie's Books and Manuscripts). He responded that, "for reasons of client confidentiality, Christie's does not discuss private sales." A follow-up inquiry to Christie's as I was completing this article received a similar reply: "We cannot discuss private sales activities unless authorised to do so." These answers were, perhaps, to be expected: the fact that the anonymous owner opted against public auction in favor of a private treaty sale brokered by Christie's – a perfectly legal option, and a lucrative market for auction houses like Sotheby's and Christie's¹⁰ – suggests a desire to avoid public attention or scholarly scrutiny (or both). From the scholarly perspective, an unfortunate consequence of the discretion afforded by a sale via private treaty is that the item's provenance is even less traceable and transparent.

In the absence of confirmation by Christie's, my next step was to analyze the digital metadata¹¹ embedded within the .pdf file for indications of the file's origins. Not only had the metadata not been scrubbed from the file, but (as I will discuss) it was also consistent with a proposal for private treaty sale. I shared some preliminary conclusions with a few colleagues as well as with the journalist Charlotte Higgins, who was at the time completing a lengthy article for the *Guardian*. Because she intended to mention some of my findings, the *Guardian* provided Christie's with a summary as well as the brochure itself for comment. Christie's did not

¹⁰ K. Graddy, "Sotheby's and Christie's Expand Private Sales," *VoxEU* (September 21, 2019), <https://voxeu.org/article/sotheby-s-and-christie-s-expand-private-sales>. Last accessed April 28, 2020.

¹¹ Literally "data about data," metadata of digital files can include short descriptions about the creation and modification of the file, its author, its location, its constituent elements, etc.

take the opportunity to deny the brochure's authenticity and offered the following comment: "Christie's endeavours to uphold the highest standards of due diligence. We would never knowingly offer any works of art without good title or incorrectly catalogued or authenticated. We take our name and reputation very seriously and would take all necessary steps available to address any situation of inappropriate use."¹² The journalist also spoke with a collector in the area who was familiar with the brochure, and she was satisfied that it was authentic.

Additional corroboration came as a result of Wartenberg's inquiries with her network of contacts. A second individual, unrelated to the first, also produced the brochure advertising the papyrus for private treaty sale, in hard copy. The hard copy has a different cover but its contents are identical to the .pdf version. Both of her sources are clients of Christie's to whom the papyrus was proposed for purchase and who received the brochure in this way. One even inspected the papyrus in London but did not purchase it. According to Wartenberg, both reported independently an identical asking price for the papyrus: £12,000,000 (it remains unknown whether a sale was successfully brokered). Given the aforementioned and especially the independent corroboration, I am convinced that the brochure is authentic.

This article analyzes the Christie's brochure .pdf and the metadata embedded within it, shedding entirely new light on the questionable history of the papyrus on a number of fronts.¹³ (1) *The evolving narrative of the papyrus' discovery*. The most startling of the brochure's contents are a quartet of images that purport to document the discovery and extraction of the papyrus. These images, I will argue, best reflect the original narrative of the papyrus' provenance (i.e., from mummy cartonnage) and corroborate Bettany Hughes' otherwise anomalous reference to a "high-ranking German officer" in her *Sunday Times* article of February 2, 2014.¹⁴ The fact that the original account of the papyrus' provenance was subsequently revised, and that the pictures are difficult to reconcile with the new version, confirm that the original narrative was no accident. (2) *Staging a provenance*. Mummy cartonnage was always an unlikely source for a

¹² C. Higgins, "A scandal in Oxford: the curious case of the stolen gospel," *The Guardian* (January 9, 2020), <https://www.theguardian.com/news/2020/jan/09/a-scandal-in-oxford-the-curious-case-of-the-stolen-gospel>. Last accessed April 28, 2020.

¹³ The analysis that follows is my own and was neither shared nor discussed with Wartenberg prior to publication.

¹⁴ B. Hughes, "Lover, poet, muse, and a ghost made real," *Sunday Times* (February 2, 2014), <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/lover-poet-muse-and-a-ghost-made-real-dwj29ldp8c5>. Last accessed April 28, 2020.

Roman-era papyrus like P.Sapph.Obbink, which is one reason why the original version of the story was immediately called into question. But because the brochure's photographs best reflect an implausible narrative, they are therefore likely to have been staged in one way or another. It is particularly telling on this front that the pictures of the extraction were previously known neither to the scholarly community nor the wider public, but only to prospective buyers. (3) *The timeline*. Digital metadata reveals that the papyrus was advertised for private treaty sale twice – in early 2015, but also previously, in the summer of 2013. Neither offering has to date been public knowledge. The metadata also now enables us to pinpoint the day and time on which P.Sapph.Obbink is said to have been extracted (i.e., discovered). This date is irreconcilable with the established timeline of events, particularly as it involves other fragments from the same papyrus roll of Sappho held by the Green Collection.¹⁵ The latter revelation further corroborates my conclusions that the photographs of the extraction were staged and that the published accounts of the papyrus' origin are bogus.

The Brochure

In an echo of Obbink's *editio princeps*, the brochure is entitled "Two New Poems by Sappho."¹⁶ Its production is apparently part of the package of brokerage services provided by Christie's for an owner proposing valuable property for private treaty sale. While it is possible for a private sale to be initiated by a buyer placing a specific request with a broker (i.e., "I want to add a Blue Period Picasso to my collection: can you find me one?"), this brochure is fishing for a buyer. It is a handsome production, deploying several topical full-page images – e.g., the Pompei Sappho fresco (Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli inv. nr. 9084¹⁷), the Capitoline bust of Sappho (Roma, Musei Capitolini MC 1164), and the

¹⁵ Gannon (n. 3): "Some time between the 2011 Christie's sale and Obbink's identification of the poems as Sappho's, the anonymous owner had traded about 20 smaller fragments from the same piece of cartonnage where the Sappho papyrus was pulled from." Obbink (n. 5) 36 similarly represents the owner's report: "Some twenty smaller fragments removed from the exterior of this piece, being not easily identified or re-joined, were deemed insignificant and so traded independently on the London market by the owner [sc. of P.Sapph. Obbink], and made their way from the same source into the Green Collection in Oklahoma City."

¹⁶ Obbink (n. 2).

¹⁷ Digital image accessible at <https://www.museoarcheologiconapoli.it/en/room-and-sections-of-the-exhibition/frescoes/>.

famous Alma-Tadema painting *Sappho and Alcaeus* (Baltimore, Walters Art Museum 37.159¹⁸). Reinforcing the brochure's overarching narrative that the papyrus is a one-of-a-kind collector's item of ancient culture is a two-page spread documenting the coverage of the discovery in the British media, from the *Telegraph*,¹⁹ Obbink's *Times Literary Supplement* article, and a pair of pages from the *Guardian*.²⁰ The images provide visual counterweight to the document's text, and their frequency means that only occasionally does a two-page spread lack a color image.

At the heart of the brochure are a series of short texts and several images involving the papyrus itself. The texts are organized as follows:

- (1) "Sappho of Lesbos" (p. 6) provides a short overview of the poet's biography and reception.
- (2) "Uncovered, Recovered, Discovered: Two New Poems by Sappho" (p. 8) contextualizes the discovery within her extant corpus.
- (3) "Text and Structure" (p. 10) amounts to a physical and palaeographical description and reproduces material and scholarly references from the *editio princeps*.
- (4) "Provenance" (p. 12) quotes material from and cites Obbink's article "Interim Notes on 'Two New Poems of Sappho,'" ²¹ (on which, see further, below).
- (5) "The Poems" (pp. 14–15) provides translations of the Brothers and Kypri poems, respectively.
- (6) "The Poems and their Context" (pp. 18–19) briefly discusses the Charaxos-tradition before pivoting to the rather different tone and content of the Kypri poem.

Three groups of photographs involve the papyrus itself: pages 5 and 9 contain a color image of P.Sapph.Obbink; opposite the text discussing "Provenance" is the aforementioned quartet of pictures documenting the

¹⁸ Digital image accessible at <https://art.thewalters.org/detail/10245/sappho-and-alcaeus/>.

¹⁹ T. Payne, "A New Sappho Poem Is More Exciting than a New David Bowie Album," *The Telegraph* (January 30, 2014), <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/books/booknews/10607569/A-new-Sappho-poem-is-more-exciting-than-a-new-David-Bowie-album.html>. Last accessed April 28, 2020.

²⁰ C. Higgins, "Sappho: Two Previously Unknown Poems Indubitably Hers, Says Scholar," *The Guardian* (January 29, 2014), <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jan/29/sappho-ancient-greek-poet-unknown-works-discovered>; T. Whitmarsh trans., "Read Sappho's 'New' Poem," *The Guardian* (January 30, 2014), <https://www.theguardian.com/books/2014/jan/30/read-sappho-new-unknown-poem-papyrus-classical>. Both sites last accessed April 28, 2020.

²¹ Obbink (n. 4).

conservation of the papyrus (i.e., its extraction from cartonnage): in the first (a), a piece of mummy cartonnage lies beside a thin, flat mass of papyrus in a white basin; the second (b) is an image of the papyrus mass itself; the third (c) and fourth (d) show the top layer of the amassed papyri being lifted by a conservator's spatula, revealing line-ends of the first stanza of the Brothers Poem on a layer beneath; finally, pages 20–22 show the extracted papyrus mounted in a wood and glass display case.

The creator of the brochure is unknown, but inasmuch as its text is informed by the scholarship on the poems, it is reasonable to assume that the anonymous owner provided Christie's with scholarship on the papyrus in support of its authenticity and origins. It is less the brochure's text, however, than the images it contains that are my focus: inasmuch as they provide visual documentation of a conservation process that has only been described in the scholarship – and described inconsistently, at that – the photographs documenting the conservation of the papyrus are the most important for my discussion.

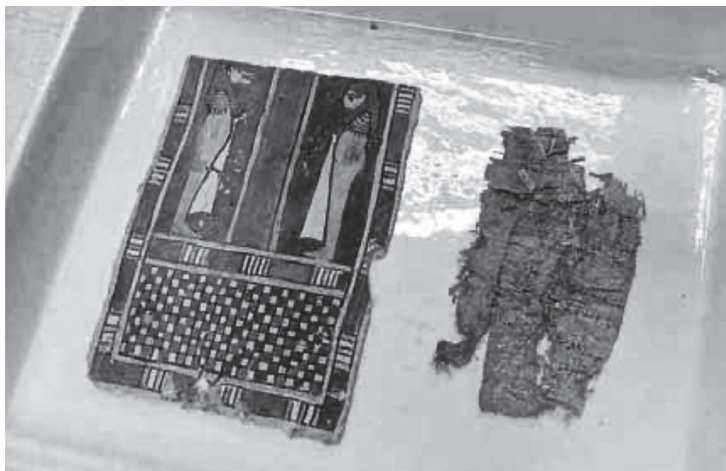
Rainer Kriebel's Mummy Cartonnage

In the first of the quartet of images purporting to document the extraction of the papyrus from cartonnage, a painted mummy panel lies beside a flattened mass of papyrus in a shallow, white (and, ostensibly, ceramic) basin. The panel depicts two of the four sons of Horus in profile against a red background, surrounded by patterns of blocks and bars as well as a checkerboard in red, white, and blue as framing decoration (Fig. 1).

The picture caption asserts that the papyrus was dissolved simultaneously with the cartonnage, for which reason it was originally thought to derive from it. Presented with the evidence of this picture, however, that assertion defies belief. A Ptolemaic-era panel of mummy cartonnage is an unlikely source for Roman-era papyri in any event,²² but the photographic record clearly depicts two distinct objects in a container, prior to any dissolution “in a warm-water solution” (as the anonymous owner described the process²³). The mummy cartonnage is still intact. The thin mass of papyrus, moreover, was also photographed on its own in the second image on the page, prior to the extraction of P.Sapph.Obbink from its interior.

²² According to Terry Wilfong, Director of the Kelsey Museum of Archaeology at the University of Michigan, this panel is likely from the Akhmim-Panopolis area (given the red background) and is unlikely to contain any papyrus at all.

²³ For the owner's report, see Obbink (n. 4) 5.



The Sappho fragment was initially thought to derive from a painted mummy cartonnage panel (left), with which it was simultaneously dissolved, but this was discovered to be a confusion of processing.

Fig. 1: The first of four images on page 13 of the Christie's brochure, with caption. Photo © Christie's Images/Bridgeman Images.

These were evidently treated as and considered to be separate objects, and a reasonable person would find little room for error or “a confusion of processing,” as the brochure describes it. Even if the two objects happened to be simultaneously immersed in a warm-water solution in the same basin, it is implausible that anyone present that day believed that they were originally one or could otherwise confuse them,²⁴ not least because some effort was made to document their condition prior to dissolution with a photographic record.

As I will discuss in further detail shortly, I believe that these images were staged so as to support the earliest version of the papyrus' origins (henceforth the “Original Provenance Fiction”). According to that account, which informs both Bettany Hughes' *Sunday Times* article of February 2, 2014 and Obbink's *Times Literary Supplement* article of February 5, 2014, the papyrus was extracted from mummy cartonnage.²⁵ Rather than some “confusion of processing” that defies belief, there is a simple explanation for the independent existence of a narrative involving mummy cartonnage

²⁴ “The owner originally believed that he had dissolved a piece of ‘mummy’ cartonnage.” Obbink (n. 5) 35.

²⁵ Hughes (n. 14); Obbink (n. 1).

and of a photograph in which these two objects appear side-by-side: someone intended to claim that the papyrus originated in the cartonnage. It is fitting, from this perspective, that the dimensions of the former are slightly smaller than those of the latter. To the untrained eye of a prospective buyer, at least, a connection is plausible.

Why would someone seek to fabricate such a claim? The easiest explanation is that mummy cartonnage, as Roberta Mazza has noted, is a convenient vehicle for laundering papyri of otherwise undocumented provenance.²⁶ In this case, the implication is that the papyrus itself lacked documentation or was of otherwise unmentionable origin. At least as far as the Green Collection Sappho fragments are concerned, that implication has now been confirmed (see further, below). The cartonnage, conveniently, turns out to have no such deficit: after browsing scores of auction results on the suspicion that it had at some point been purchased at auction, I discovered that the panel was sold as Lot 89 of Sotheby's December 10, 2008 auction of antiquities in New York, at which time it measured 38.1 cm (height) × 14 cm (width).²⁷ The hammer price was \$3,125 (USD). To my surprise, in the Sotheby's image, all four sons of Horus are present: in the intervening years, the panel had evidently been cut or broken in half. Again, it cannot be determined when or at whose hands this mutilation took place, but I suspect that the panel was divided so that its pieces could be resold separately. Why would someone mutilate a work of art in this way? The answer is to maximize the revenue generated by the object (i.e., so that the sale of two pieces might fetch a greater price than a single larger piece could). Although this act is unconscionable in the eyes of scholars, it is a common tactic of unscrupulous sellers on the antiquities market.²⁸ In any event, there is no doubt that the panel in the Christie's brochure is the same one as was auctioned by Sotheby's: although the brochure image is of much poorer quality, other damage to the panel is identical.

²⁶ R. Mazza, "Mummy Masks, Papyri and the Gospel of Mark," *Faces and Voices* (January 21, 2015), <https://facesandvoices.wordpress.com/2015/01/21/mummy-masks-papyri-and-the-gospel-of-mark/>. For the role of provenance in the value and saleability of an object, see R. Mazza, "Papyri, Ethics, and Economics: A Biography of *P.Oxy.* 15.1780 (P 39)," *BASP* 52 (2015) 129, n. 68. Fragments of Sappho in the Green Collection were also said to be extracted from a mummy mask, see B. Nongbri, "Contextualizing the New Sappho Information," *Variant Readings* (January 30, 2020), <https://brentnongbri.com/2020/01/30/contextualizing-the-new-sappho-information/>. Both sites last accessed April 28, 2020.

²⁷ The Sotheby's catalogue entry for this Lot is archived online at <https://www.sothebys.com/en/auctions/ecatalogue/2008/antiquities-n08500/lot.89.html?locale=en>. Last accessed April 28, 2020.

²⁸ See, for example, the treatment of the so-called Tchacos codex. Mazza (n. 26) 127, (and references in her n. 58).

The origins of the cartonnage panel corroborate my suspicions about the Original Provenance Fiction and the staging of the photographs: Sotheby's stated provenance for the cartonnage is "Rainer Kriebel (1908–?), acquired in Cairo 1965/1966 | by descent to the present owner." Kriebel was the son of a German officer and himself rose to the rank of Oberst (= Colonel) by the end of World War II. His documented service as a military attaché in Cairo from 1958 to 1965 is compatible with the Sotheby's provenance, although it is unclear why the anonymous "present owner," who appears to have been a relative, did not report (or could not recall) Kriebel's 1989 death.²⁹ In any event, his biography recalls one of the most anomalous details in the narratives about P.Sapph.Obbink, one which has perplexed all subsequent attempts to unravel the mystery of its provenance: Bettany Hughes' remark that "it was originally owned, it seems, by a high-ranking German officer" in her *Sunday Times* article.³⁰ The coincidence cannot be accidental: Hughes' claim coheres independently with both the brochure's picture and the Sotheby's description.

Hughes did not respond to a written request for comment, but I find it implausible that she invented the story; rather more likely is that she reported an account of the papyrus' origins which was provided to her (though "it seems" hints that she could not verify it). Mummy cartonnage, in any event, was certainly central to the original narrative: in the *TLS* article that appeared only days after Hughes' story and the announcement of the discovery, Obbink also stated that the papyrus was extracted from mummy cartonnage.³¹ Only when this Original Provenance Fiction was discarded did Hughes' remark become anomalous, and that would not take place until January 2015, when Obbink relayed a revised report from the papyrus' anonymous owner.

In light of the combined testimony of the brochure and the Sotheby's auction lot, Hughes' brief account of the papyrus' provenance makes perfect sense, and even a lingering curiosity – she wrote of a mummy *mask* instead of a cartonnage *panel* – is not unparalleled in the various narratives. Scott Carroll also claimed during a public presentation in Atlanta on February 7, 2012 (on which and on whom see below) that the Sappho fragments in the Green Collection, which originate in the same papyrus

²⁹ See C. Chen, "Former Nazi Officers in the Near East: German Military Advisors in Syria, 1949–1956," *International History Review* 40.4 (2018) 748, n. 62.

³⁰ Hughes (n. 14).

³¹ Obbink (n. 1): "The authenticity of the ancient mummy cartonnage panel, from which the papyrus was extracted, having been recycled in antiquity to accompany a burial, has been established through its documented legal provenance."

roll as P.Sapph.Obbink, were extracted from a mummy mask.³² That claim is ostensibly supported by a YouTube video from January 16, 2012 in which Carroll dismantles a mummy mask at Baylor University: several of the Green Sappho fragments appear in that video (although, for several reasons, it is doubtful that they actually originated in the mask³³). We may therefore conclude only that Hughes never saw any cartonnage first-hand, while the brochure and its staged photographs preserve traces of a suppressed narrative about the papyrus' origins – the Original Provenance Fiction.

Staging a Provenance

With the fiction and its suppression laid bare, let us now turn to the staging of the photographs, since what I mean by “staging” has thus far been left unexplained, and “staging” potentially denotes different things. To my mind, there are three ways in which the photographs could have been staged. The first has already been outlined and assumes that one is proceeding on the basis of the Original Provenance Fiction: the papyrus was photographed next to a painted mummy panel so as to support the implausible narrative that it originated in the cartonnage.

The two other kinds of staging respond to the revised account of the papyrus' origins (henceforth the “Revised Provenance Fiction”), which Obbink first made public in a paper delivered via Skype on January 9, 2015 at the Society for Classical Studies annual meeting in New Orleans.³⁴ The account was revised, he noted, on the basis of new testimony by the owner: “all the fragments were recovered from an unpainted fragment of papyrus cartonnage” and were “simultaneously dissolved with a painted fragment of an earlier mummy cartonnage.”³⁵ The simultaneous dissolution explains why the owner “originally believed that he had dissolved a piece

³² See B. Nongbri, “Dirk Obbink, Scott Carroll, and Sappho,” *Variant Readings* (August 3, 2019), <https://brentnongbri.com/2019/08/03/dirk-obbink-scott-carroll-and-sappho/>. Last accessed April 28, 2020.

³³ See B. Nongbri, “Important Developments with the New Sappho Papyrus,” *Variant Readings* (January 29, 2020), <https://brentnongbri.com/2020/01/29/important-developments-with-the-new-sappho-papyrus/>. For the video, see https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=j_gwgGcpD1M&t=443s (the Sappho fragments appear at approximately the 6:35 mark). Both sites last accessed April 28, 2020.

³⁴ The abstract for this paper is archived online at <https://classicalstudies.org/annual-meeting/146/abstract/provenance-authenticity-and-text-new-sappho-papyri>. Last accessed April 28, 2020.

³⁵ Obbink (n. 4) 5, and n. 8.

of ‘mummy cartonnage’³⁶ – what the brochure describes as “a confusion of processing.” Far from being a mummy panel, the unpainted cartonnage fragment from which the papyrus was extracted “was probably domestic or industrial cartonnage” such as that used “for a book-cover or for book-binding.”³⁷

Another element of the Revised Provenance Fiction is a previously unmentioned acquisition history: the cartonnage from which the papyrus was extracted, the anonymous owner reported, was formerly in the collection of David M. Robinson and was bequeathed to the library at the University of Mississippi before being deaccessioned and sold as part of Lot 1 of a November 28, 2011 Christie’s auction.³⁸ This new version of the papyrus’ origins also appears on the twelfth page of the Christie’s brochure. As has been repeatedly discussed in academic blogs, it cannot be conclusively verified.³⁹ From my perspective, what is interesting is how this Revised Provenance Fiction suppresses Rainer Kriebel and excuses the mummy cartonnage narrative. How it relates to the staging of the photographs must therefore also be considered.

The second kind of staging mirrors the first, but generously allows for an element of truth in the Revised Provenance Fiction. On this interpretation, the photograph of the papyrus beside the mummy panel in the white basin was staged so as to promulgate the Original Provenance Fiction but leaves the Revised Provenance Fiction intact: it denies the possibility that the papyrus originated in the mummy panel but allows that it is in fact a wodge of “domestic or industrial cartonnage” and that P.Sapph.Obbink was extracted from its interior during a program of conservation.

³⁶ Obbink (n. 5) 35.

³⁷ Obbink (n. 4) 5.

³⁸ Obbink (n. 4) 5. The Christie’s catalogue entry for this Lot is archived online at <https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/a-collection-of-greek-and-coptic-papyri-5504745-details.aspx>. Brent Nongbri has pointed out the existence of another narrative surrounding the discovery which was first mentioned in 2016: see B. Nongbri, “A New Origin Story for the New Sappho,” *Variant Readings* (December 8, 2019), <https://brentnongbri.com/2019/12/08/a-new-origin-story-for-the-new-sappho/>. Both sites last accessed April 28, 2020.

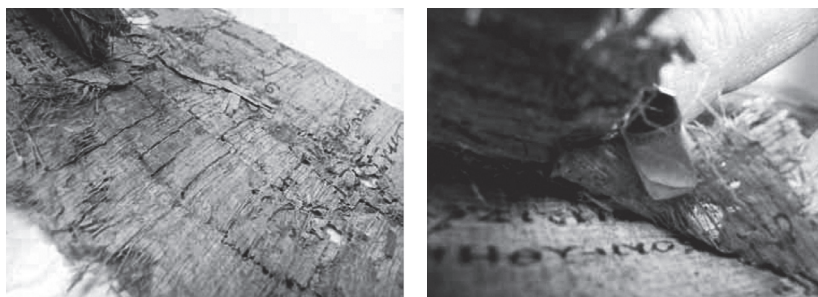
³⁹ In addition to n. 6 (supra) and n. 58, see, for example, D. Lobel King, “Lobel calls ‘bull’ on Christie’s Sappho ‘provenance,’” *PhDivia* (January 14, 2015), <https://web.archive.org/web/20150117101414/http://phdiva.blogspot.com/2015/01/lobel-calls-bull-on-christies-sappho.html>; P. Barford, “Sappho and the Peripatetic Papyri (4): The Trusted Mister X,” *Portable Antiquity Collecting and Heritage Issues* (January 16, 2015), <http://paul-barford.blogspot.com/2015/01/sappho-and-peripatetic-papyri-4-trusted.html>; D. Gill, “The (Un)authenticated Collecting History of the Newly Surfaced Sappho Papyrus Fragments,” *Looting Matters* (January 17, 2015), <https://lootingmatters.blogspot.com/2015/01/the-unauthenticated-collecting-history.html>; B. Nongbri, “The Robinson Papyri,” *Variant Readings* (July 23, 2017), <https://brentnongbri.com/2017/07/23/the-robinson-papyri/>. All pages last accessed April 28, 2020.

The third interpretation of the photographs' staging is the least charitable: it holds that the origin of P.Sapph.Obbink within the flattened mass of papyrus is also fictitious. There are a few reasons why this cynical interpretation is the most attractive. For one thing, the idea that an individual papyrus originated in a larger, compressed mass of papyrus is at first glance simply the remnant of the Original Provenance Fiction: there is nothing objectionable about extracting papyri from a larger piece of Ptolemaic-era mummy cartonnage. From this perspective, the Revised Provenance Fiction's invocation of "domestic or industrial cartonnage" simply transposes a key idea of the original story – cartonnage – into an era more consistent with the date assigned by palaeography to the papyrus, otherwise preserving as much as possible about the original narrative. As I will observe shortly, there is a simple reason for the Revised Provenance Fiction to remain as compatible as possible with the Original Provenance Fiction.

Another reason to suspect that P.Sapph.Obbink did not originate in the flattened mass involves the dimensions at stake, which would require a rather tight squeeze. According to the anonymous owner, whose account informs Obbink's, it was found folded up "bottom to top, along still visible horizontal fold-lines, with the writing of the first four lines visible on one side, and the blank top margin folded over beneath this."⁴⁰ The description is consistent with what appears in the third and fourth images on page 13 of the brochure, on which the ends of the first lines are visible below the top layer of papyrus (Fig. 2). But this account is not without difficulty. Given the published dimensions of P.Sapph.Obbink – 176 mm (height) × 111 mm (width)⁴¹ – my measurements of the horizontal fold lines on the papyrus indicate that the segment of P.Sapph.Obbink which was facing up and was visible upon extraction should have measured approximately 33 mm (height) × 111 mm (width). A comparison with the brochure picture makes this a tight squeeze: although no ruler was included, scale is provided by the mummy panel, which the Sotheby's auction page helpfully states is 14 cm (= 140 mm) in width. By my estimation, if P.Sapph.Obbink was folded as described and located as portrayed in the pictures, it would just barely be hidden from view beneath the top layer. More probably, portions of it should be visible at the edges (Fig. 3). Although the image quality in the brochure is poor, I see no evidence of an internal layer peeking through holes or along the tattered edges of the papyrus. The same is true in the second image of the quartet on page 13, which is of the papyrus itself.

⁴⁰ Obbink (n. 4) 5.

⁴¹ Obbink (n. 2) 32.



The recovery of the Sappho papyrus

Fig. 2: The third and fourth images on page 13 of the Christie's brochure, with caption. Photo © Christie's Images/Bridgeman Images.

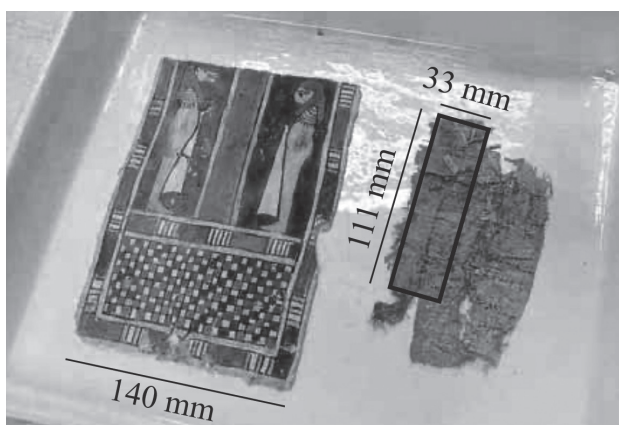


Fig. 3: Location and estimated dimensions of P.Sapph.Obbink as it is said to have been discovered, folded up beneath the top layer of papyrus. Photo © Christie's Images/Bridgeman Images.

A third strike against its origin within the mass of papyrus is the physical condition of P.Sapph.Obbink, which is inconsistent with the position in which it is said to have been enfolded. The horizontal fold line above the first line of the Brother's poem, for example, which would have been exposed along the left edge of the papyrus mass according to the anonymous owner's report, shows no sign of wear.⁴² The top of the column, in

⁴² Obbink (n. 4) 5 states that it was folded "bottom to top... with the writing of the first four lines visible on one side, and the blank top margin folded over beneath this" (my emphasis).

fact, is the best preserved portion of the papyrus: the damage is most severe towards the bottom. But if the papyrus was folded from bottom to top, the bottom was the innermost section and would have been the least exposed to wear and tear. It should therefore have been the best protected and preserved. The sums do not add up.

Skepticism about the Revised Provenance Fiction and suspicion that the photographs have been entirely staged are clinched by new insight into the timeline of events. As I will discuss in more detail shortly, the digital metadata embedded in both the Christie's .pdf file and its individual image files preserves, among other things, timestamps for the respective files' creation. These allow, for the first time, the alleged "discovery" of P.Sapph.Obbink to be pinpointed on the calendar: the four images purporting to depict the conservation of the papyrus were all captured on the morning of February 14, 2012. Chronologically speaking, the second picture (viz., of the flattened papyrus mass by itself) comes first: it was taken at 9:48 a.m.⁴³ The first image of the quartet, by contrast (viz., the one of the papyrus beside the mummy panel) was captured shortly thereafter, at 9:54 a.m.

The February 14 date for these photographs is problematic: the previous week, on February 7, 2012, Scott Carroll, who was then Director of the Green Collection, delivered public remarks in Atlanta following a lecture on the Dead Sea Scrolls by Emanuel Tov as part of the "Passages" touring exhibition. There, brandishing the Green Collection Sappho fragments,⁴⁴ Carroll said:

There are 26 fragments of this text in Greek on papyrus. And, um, it came out of a mummy mask I dismantled a few weeks ago. Um, it is, they are texts. Of course, for me, with my area of passion and scholarship, biblical texts are, are what I'm most interested in. But really, truly for classical scholars, this is, these are texts of the most elusive and sought-after of all Greek authors, and that's the writing of the, uh, female poet Sappho.⁴⁵

⁴³ The extracted metadata for the second picture is particularly noteworthy because it contains slightly different information than the other three: it specifies, for example, the make and model of the camera that captured the image. This fact suggests that two different cameras were used on that day to document the alleged extraction of the papyrus.

⁴⁴ The Green Collection fragments (= P.GC 105 frs. 1–4) are written by the same hand as P.Sapph.Obbink and derive from the same book-roll as P.Sapph.Obbink – evidently a copy of the first Book of the Alexandrian edition of Sappho, which was composed wholly in Sapphic stanzas. They were even published in the same volume of the *ZPE* as P.Sapph.Obbink was; they were edited by Simon Burris, Jeffrey Fish, and Obbink himself. See further S.P. Burris, "A New Join for Sappho's 'Kypris Poem': P.GC inv. 105 fr. 4 and P.Sapph.Obbink," *ZPE* 201 (2017) 12–14.

⁴⁵ For the transcription and discussion, see B. Nongbri, "The Green Collection Sappho Papyrus: Some New Details," *Variant Readings* (December 13, 2018), <https://>

Aspects of Carroll's claim have been corroborated by a January 29, 2020 announcement by Mike Holmes from the Museum of the Bible.⁴⁶ Curators at the museum have determined that the Green Collection fragments were purchased from Yakup Eksioglu ("MixAntik") on January 7, 2012 as part of a large lot of papyrus fragments, cartonnage masks, and cartonnage fragments. Eksioglu himself confirmed to *The Atlantic* that he was the source of the Sappho.⁴⁷ A January 7 date is compatible with Carroll's remarks, as is the appearance of several of the fragments in his January 16, 2012 demonstration the dismantling of a mummy mask at Baylor University, now preserved on YouTube.⁴⁸ That occasion is no doubt the dismantling to which Carroll was referring in Atlanta, although the Sappho fragments are unlikely (for a number of reasons) to have actually originated in a mummy mask. Holmes' announcement has been supplemented more recently by Steve Green (Chairman of the Board, Museum of the Bible), who announced on March 26, 2020 that the museum has "identified approximately 5,000 papyri fragments and 6,500 clay objects with insufficient provenance," that it is "working to deliver to officials in Egypt and Iraq respectively."⁴⁹ In the absence of an export permit and other appropriate documentation regarding provenance, the collection's Sappho fragments will be among them.

The new information about the acquisition of the Green Collection fragments is difficult to reconcile with the testimony of P.Sapph.Obbink's anonymous owner, which was incorporated into both the Christie's brochure and the scholarly publications concerning the papyrus' origins. According to Megan Gannon's *Live Science* article of January 23, 2015, the Green Collection fragments originated in the same cartonnage as P.Sapph.Obbink but were sold off by its anonymous owner before Obbink identified the new poems.⁵⁰ Obbink himself reports much the same thing: "all of the fragments were recovered from a fragment of papyrus cartonnage ... The

brentnongbri.com/2018/12/13/the-green-collection-sappho-papyrus-some-new-details/. Last accessed April 28, 2020.

⁴⁶ See Nongbri (n. 33).

⁴⁷ A. Sabar, "A Biblical Mystery at Oxford," *The Atlantic* (June 2020), <https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2020/06/museum-of-the-bible-obbin-k-gospel-of-mark/610576/>. Last accessed May 13, 2020.

⁴⁸ See n. 33, above.

⁴⁹ S. Green, "Statement on past acquisitions" posted on the Museum of the Bible website (March 26, 2020), <https://www.museumofthebible.org/press/press-releases/statement-on-past-acquisitions>. Last accessed April 28, 2020.

⁵⁰ Gannon (n. 3): "Some time between the 2011 Christie's sale and Obbink's identification of the poems as Sappho's, the anonymous owner had traded about 20 smaller fragments from the same piece of cartonnage where the Sappho papyrus was pulled from."

layers of the cartonnage fragment, a thin flat compressed mass of papyrus fragments, were separated by the owner and his staff by dissolving in a warm-water solution ... Some twenty smaller fragments removed from the exterior of this piece, being not easily identified or re-joined, were deemed insignificant and so traded independently on the London market by the owner [scil. of P.Sapph.Obbink], and made their way from the same source into the Green Collection in Oklahoma City.”⁵¹

These statements suggest that the anonymous owner acquired all of the Sappho fragments on a single occasion (the November 2011 Christie’s lot), extracted all of the Sappho fragments from the “domestic or industrial cartonnage” on a single occasion, and sold some of them off before Obbink chanced to identify them as Sappho. But that impression cannot be true for several reasons: (1) documentation provided by Eksioglu as part of the Green Collection’s January 7, 2012 purchase, which included its fragments of Sappho, makes no mention of a Christie’s auction six weeks prior;⁵² (2) the Green Collection Sappho fragments were ostensibly dismantled at Baylor University on January 16, 2012; (3) the alleged discovery and extraction of P.Sapph.Obbink took place on February 14, 2012. If, as is claimed, all of the Sappho fragments were in fact acquired together and if there was a single occasion on which all the fragments were discovered, it was on or before January 16, 2012, which is a further indication that the photographs purporting to document the discovery of P.Sapph.Obbink were staged after the fact. Moreover, if P.Sapph.Obbink was not extracted until February 14, 2012 and its contents were only identified as Sappho by Obbink on or after that date, it is not clear how Scott Carroll knew that the Green Collection fragments contained Sappho already on February 7, 2012. Clearly, many questions remain about the relationship of the Green Collection Sappho fragments and P.Sapph.Obbink, but there is no more reason to believe the anonymous owner’s Revised Provenance Fiction than there is the Original Provenance Fiction.

The Metadata and the Timeline

The previous section included a glimpse of the important role that metadata plays in my analysis, and there is no small irony in this fact. Papyrologists, after all, love metadata, as the variety of resources in which

⁵¹ Obbink (n. 5) 36–37.

⁵² The source from which Eksioglu obtained the Sappho is unknown, but evidently not Christie’s: *the Atlantic* quotes him as asserting that the purported origin in the Christie’s lot is a “fake story.” See Sabar (n. 47).

they catalogue it testifies: the long-standing Heidelberger Gesamtverzeichnis (= HGV, est. 1988, chiefly a register of dates),⁵³ the APIS project (est. ca. 1996),⁵⁴ and, more recently, the indispensable Trismegistos (est. 2005)⁵⁵ – all now aggregated via papyri.info. Faced with a twenty-six page .pdf file containing numerous images within it, I hypothesized that the metadata embedded in those files would be revealing, hoped that it had neither been scrubbed nor otherwise tampered with, and undertook to engage in some digital forensics.

Using a freely available application called ExifTool,⁵⁶ I extracted metadata from the .pdf file using the command `>exiftool -h *.pdf -w txt` (where * is the filename) on November 11, 2019. The images embedded within the .pdf required a slightly more involved process: first, they had to be opened in Adobe Photoshop via Adobe Acrobat Pro's "Edit PDF" function. From Photoshop, they could be saved as .jpg files with the metadata of the original, embedded files preserved. On November 14, 2019, I extracted that metadata via the command `>exiftool -h *.jpg -w txt` (where * is the filename), creating three groups of .jpg files and their respective metadata – the color images of P.Sapph.Obbink (pp. 5, 9), the conservation of the papyrus (the four images on p. 13), and the extracted papyrus in its display case (pp. 20–22).

In the interest of scholarly transparency, I have published two versions of the extracted metadata for the .pdf and each of the .jpg image files online:⁵⁷ the first is the metadata itself; the second highlights the sections noted in my argument, for ease of reference. The metadata for the various images, it will be noted, also includes timestamps corresponding to my activities. I will refer to these individual files according to the following key:

PDF = the twenty-six page Christie's brochure file

P5 = the full-color image of P.Sapph.Obbink as printed on page 5 of the brochure (the same image appears again on page 9: the metadata is identical).

⁵³ <https://aquila.zaw.uni-heidelberg.de/start>. On the HGV, see N. Reggiani, *Digital Papyrology I: Methods, Tools, and Trends* (Berlin-Boston 2017) 39–46.

⁵⁴ APIS had a prequel in the Duke Papyrus Archive (est. 1992): see Reggiani (n. 53) 92–95.

⁵⁵ <https://www.trismegistos.org/index.php>. On Trismegistos, see Reggiani (n. 53) 56–73.

⁵⁶ See <https://www.sno.phy.queensu.ca/~phil/exiftool/>; for the source code, see also <https://github.com/exiftool/exiftool>.

⁵⁷ <https://dataverse.lib.umanitoba.ca/dataverse/sapphometadata>. The .html files posted online were extracted using a slightly different Exiftool command (`>exiftool -h *.pdf -w htm` and `>exiftool -h *.jpg -w htm`, respectively), and were also lightly formatted in the interest of readability before being saved and uploaded in .pdf format.

- P13a = the first of the quartet of pictures on page 13 documenting the papyrus' extraction. In this image, the flattened mass of papyrus lies beside the aforementioned mummy panel in a white, shallow (and, ostensibly, ceramic) basin. (see Fig. 1)
- P13b = the second of the quartet of pictures on page 13 documenting the papyrus' extraction. This is a picture of the flattened mass of papyrus by itself.
- P13c = the third of the quartet of pictures on page 13 documenting the papyrus' extraction. In this image, the top layer of papyrus is being lifted, revealing the first glimpse of P.Sapph.Obbink beneath it (see Fig. 2).
- P13d = the fourth of the quartet of pictures on page 13 documenting the papyrus' extraction. Much like the third, in this image, the top layer of papyrus is being lifted – this time clearly by a conservator's spatula – revealing the ends of the first two lines of the Brothers poem (see Fig. 2).
- P20 = the first of three successive images of the extracted papyrus in a wooden display case, from page 20.
- P21 = the second of three successive images of the extracted papyrus in a wooden display case, from page 21.
- P22 = the third of three successive images of the extracted papyrus in a wooden display case, from page 22.

The richest source of metadata is the PDF, whose testimony regarding the history of the file is revealing on a number of fronts. The first of these is the "Create Date" of both the file itself as well as its metadata: February 26, 2015. That is not quite seven weeks following Obbink's presentation on provenance and authenticity to the Society for Classical Studies annual meeting in New Orleans on January 9, 2015, and it is therefore unsurprising that details from that presentation populate the discussion of "Provenance" on the twelfth page of the brochure. Yet the citation provided on that page, curiously, is not the presentation itself, but Obbink's article "Interim Notes on 'Two New Poems of Sappho.'" Herein lies a chronological curiosity: Obbink's article was published in volume 194 of the *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, which was printed on July 15, 2015, nearly sixteen weeks after the February 26 "Create Date" of the PDF. Whoever drafted the brochure text therefore had advance knowledge of the forthcoming article, a conclusion confirmed by a pair of telltale errors in the brochure's citation, which indicates that the article appeared in *ZPE* 193 (2014). Given that work began on the brochure early

in 2015, a reasonable interpretation is that the creator of the brochure tacitly adjusted the date to 2014 on the assumption that the article was already in print. The other error suggests that, while Obbink's article was expected to appear in volume 193, it was held over to volume 194 for some reason, by which time it was too late to correct the brochure's text.

Other insights into the timeline are derived from the various dates that appear in the PDF metadata as timestamps. No less than 64 values, for example, appear under the key "History Action." These record the various occasions on which the file was modified and saved. They correspond to both the 64 versions of the file under the key "History Instance ID" and the 64 timestamps under the key "History When." The last of these 64 timestamps is 12:11 p.m. on February 26, 2015, approximately one hour before the "Create Date" of the brochure file. Given that history, we may conclude that the value under the "Create Date" key reflects the final version of the file – the one I received from Wartenberg and the one in which the papyrus was actually advertised to Christie's clientele.

Another insight resulting from an analysis of the timestamps under the key "History When" is that the dates are clustered into two groups: 49 of the 64 values occur in the roughly six-week period from July 18, 2013 to August 27, 2013; the other 15 occur in the roughly six-week period from January 13, 2015 to February 26, 2015. The latter span immediately stands out: while the "Create Date" of February 26, 2015 indicates that work on the brochure file was *completed* some seven weeks following Obbink's presentation to the Society for Classical Studies annual meeting on January 9, 2015, the timestamps under "History When" indicate that this phase of the work *began* on January 13, 2015, i.e., only a few days after that presentation. The anonymous owner evidently waited until the Revised Provenance Fiction had been publicly presented and then undertook to propose the papyrus for private treaty sale almost immediately thereafter.

At more or less the same time as this work was getting underway at Christie's, Roberta Mazza was also making inquiries to Eugenio Donadoni regarding its November 2011 auction of Robinson papyri and the revised account of the papyrus' provenance. The answers she obtained are worth noting: Donadoni responded chiefly by citing the anonymous owner's revised account, but when Mazza asked whether pictures existed of the cartonnage as it was sold, Donadoni responded: "There are no further images beyond what is already shown in the 2011 catalogue." Despite that claim, which is in any event difficult to reconcile with the images on the brochure's thirteenth page, Donadoni nonetheless asserted that there was "no doubt that the specific pieces came from the cartonnage

that we [sc. Christie's] sold in 2011, there is clear evidence to that effect."⁵⁸ It remains unclear what this "clear evidence" to which Christie's was privy involved.

While questions surrounding the November 2011 Christie's lot and the 2015 proposal for sale remain, the larger cluster of timestamps from July-August 2013 provides wholly new insight into the papyrus' history. Even more startling than the promptness with which preparations were made to propose the papyrus for private sale in January 2015 is the fact that it was proposed for private sale on an earlier occasion, some eighteen months prior. This earlier proposal for sale is especially noteworthy because it predates, by several months, the public announcement of the papyrus' discovery on January 29, 2014. The metadata reveals, in other words, that the papyrus' owner had Christie's both prepare a brochure advertising the papyrus and attempt to broker a private treaty sale *before* the contents of the papyrus had been publicly identified as Sappho.

Closer examination of the metadata indicates that the papyrus was marketed as poetry by Sappho on this earlier occasion: under the key "Imageinfo Images Fullpath," the lengthy directory structure provided as a value includes the sequence "Books_2013:Rom_Sappho/Adelphos, private sale August 13," where the directory "Books_2013" reinforces the notion that the papyrus was proposed for private sale in 2013 (as a "book"), "Rom_Sappho" identifies the book as a Roman-era copy of Sappho, "Adelphos" identifies the contents (adelphos = ἀδελφός = "brother"), and "private sale August 13" may suggest the date a sale was made.⁵⁹ So too does the value "Proposals:Rom_Sappho revisited:sappho revised_2.indd" under the key "Imageinfo Doc Path" corroborate my interpretation of the two clusters of timestamps by suggesting that an earlier proposal was indeed *revisited*, and its brochure file *revised*, via Adobe InDesign in January-February 2015. I can only conclude that a Roman-era book-roll containing Sappho's Brothers Poem was proposed for private treaty sale in the summer of 2013. And if August 13 was in fact the date on which a sale was made, the final

⁵⁸ For her correspondence with Donadoni, see R. Mazza "News on the Newest Sappho Fragments: Back to Christie's Salerooms," *Faces and Voices* (January 13, 2020), <https://facesandvoices.wordpress.com/2020/01/13/news-on-the-newest-sappho-fragments-back-to-christies-salerooms/>. Last accessed April 28, 2020.

⁵⁹ The metadata is not conclusive in this regard: it is possible that the August 13 date refers to the day the proposal was advertised, though it is not clear why such a date would need to be recorded. It is also possible that the numeral 13 is shorthand for 2013 and that a sale was not in fact concluded on this date. Given the existence of the parent directory "Books_2013," however, noting the year is unnecessary (if not redundant).

two timestamps from August 27 in the July-August 2013 cluster must be interpreted as archival in nature, on or following the closing date of the settlement.

The principal consequence of my interpretation of the metadata is that the Revised Provenance Fiction, like the Original Provenance Fiction before it, is even more questionable. If a private sale was in fact concluded in the summer of 2013, then the anonymous owner's claim that P.Sapph.Obbink derived from a mass of domestic or industrial cartonage – a book-cover or bookbinding – that was purchased as part of Lot 1 of the November 28, 2011 Christie's auction cannot be the *whole* truth. Admittedly, one good reason to suspect that a sale was not concluded in 2013 is the fact that the discussion of provenance on page 12 of the Christie's brochure does not mention it. Nevertheless, not least because of what we now know about the Green Collection Sappho fragments, but also because of my conclusions on how the photographs of the extraction were staged in support of the Original Provenance Fiction, I doubt whether the Revised Provenance Fiction is true even in part.

Given that the papyrus' contents had not yet been publicly identified in the summer of 2013, the basis for the claim that it contained poetry by Sappho is also worth noting. In every account known to me, it was Obbink who first identified the new poems. In the April 9, 2015 episode of *In Our Time* on BBC Radio, for example, which was devoted to Sappho, he describes how he made the discovery:

A year before last, uh, I was, uh, shown a papyrus fragment that had been salvaged, uh, by a collector from the, from a collection formed in the 1950s; he was actually quite open about where the fragment, uh, came from ... And I immediately recognized, uh, from the, uh, layout of the lines – three long lines followed by a fourth considerably shorter line – from the diction, from the language, and the names in the fragment that it was a previously, uh, unknown, uh, poem by Sappho ...⁶⁰

When the papyrus was first proposed for private treaty sale in 2013, its anonymous owner knew what it was because it had been identified and authenticated by the expert he had invited to examine it – a University

⁶⁰ "Sappho," *In Our Time* (April 9, 2015), <https://www.bbc.co.uk/sounds/play/b05pqsk4>. Obbink's comments occur at 16:46–17:46. Gannon (n. 3) similarly quotes Obbink as saying, after he went to inspect the collector's papyri at some point after January 2012: "As soon as I read the first line, with the meter and the name of Sappho's brother, I immediately knew what this was." See also J. Romm "Scholars Discover New Poems from Ancient Greek Poetess Sappho," *The Daily Beast* (January 28, 2014), <https://www.thedailybeast.com/scholars-discover-new-poems-from-ancient-greek-poetess-sappho>. All sites last accessed April 28, 2020.

of Oxford faculty member. Yet the circumstances of Obbink's examination, particularly as it relates to the extraction of the papyrus, are subject to conflicting accounts. Obbink claimed that the layers of the cartonnage fragment "were separated by the owner and his staff by dissolving in a warm-water solution,"⁶¹ a version of the story in which the extraction took place sometime before he had occasion to view the papyrus.⁶² Yet in other accounts he appears to be present during the extraction. Bettany Hughes, for example, implies that he personally uncovered the papyrus,⁶³ as does the BBC documentary *Sappho: Love and Life on Lesbos*, which first aired on May 6, 2015. In the latter, after the narrator reports how the anonymous owner landed the papyrus on Obbink's desk, the scholar describes what happened: "When the small pieces were humidified, they immediately began to peel off, and the first thing that you could see underneath were the ends of the first three lines. The letters that my eye first focused on was the second to last word of the first line, Χάραξον – that's a man's name – followed by the verb ἔλθην, in the spelling of the dialect of the island of Lesbos."⁶⁴ Perhaps the latter accounts were embellished, but such is the uncertainty surrounding the origins of this papyrus that we cannot ignore them.

The 2013 proposal for sale raises many questions, and apart from the fact that it attributed the poems to Sappho, one can only speculate as to what a hypothetical Christie's brochure advertising the proposal looked like or contained. But it is reasonable to assume that it both included the images of the papyrus' extraction (which were taken February 14, 2012) and that it asserted the Original Provenance Fiction. The Revised Provenance Fiction, after all, was not made public until January 9, 2015, while the version of the origin story involving mummy cartonnage featured in published reports from February 2 and 5, 2014. We do not know what price the papyrus was offered for at this time (or a sale price, if a sale was concluded), but I would wager that, with Obbink's scholarly credentials affixed, it was greater than the price the collector originally

⁶¹ Obbink (n. 5) 35.

⁶² So Gannon (n. 3): "The anonymous owner – who is a businessman, not a professional collector or academic – had his staff dissolve the tiny stack in warm water. From that pile, they found a folded-up, postcard-size manuscript with lines of text in ancient Greek. *When Obbink later read the text, he said he knew he was looking at poems by Sappho*" (my emphasis).

⁶³ Hughes (n. 14): "Prising the layers of shredded papyrus apart, he had to hold his breath. Because here – pretty much instantly recognisable – were delicate, fragmentary lines of the elusive ancient Greek poet Sappho."

⁶⁴ *Sappho: Love and Life on Lesbos* (2015), directed by Jack Macinnes. Obbink's comments occur at 3:14–3:41.

paid: Lot 1 of the November 28, 2011 Christie's auction, for example, sold for a hammer price of a mere £7,500. Certainly, by the time the papyrus was proposed for private treaty sale in 2015 with an asking price of £12,000,000, its value had skyrocketed.

But the questions do not end there. If the papyrus was proposed and in fact purchased in the summer of 2013 on the basis of the Original Provenance Fiction, what happened when the plausibility of that narrative was subsequently called into question? Because a Ptolemaic-era mummy panel was always an unlikely source for Roman-era papyri, a hypothetical 2013 purchaser would have been faced with a dilemma upon realizing the purchase had been made on false pretenses: take recourse via the legal system – were the terms of sale fraudulently misrepresented? – or excuse the error by way of revising the story? The fact that the owner proposed the papyrus for private treaty sale shortly after the Revised Provenance Fiction had been publicly presented in January 2015 suggests that it was preferable, for whatever reason, to adhere as closely as possible to the original account and carry on. For one thing, the revised narrative continued to refer to *cartonnage* (albeit, a different kind of *cartonnage*). For another, this interpretation allows that the brochure from January-February 2015 was a revised version of the brochure from July-August 2013, which was no doubt more palatable to the experts at Christie's. And if the first proposal did not result in a sale, the story was revised by the papyrus' original anonymous owner, who would have been better placed in any event to explain the "confusion of processing" that took place in 2012. In either case, the new account would have had to satisfy Christie's experts, meaning that there was a strong incentive to make the two stories as compatible as possible.

Metadata from the other individual image files further corroborates a first proposal of the papyrus for private treaty sale in 2013. The "Create Date" timestamps for P5, P20, P21, and P22 all fall within the range of the first cluster of values in the PDF metadata under the key "History When." The photograph P5 (= P9), for example, was taken on July 17, 2013, the day before work began on the brochure for the first proposal of the papyrus. The pictures P20, P21, and P22 were taken several days later: their timestamps fall within the space of a few hours in the early afternoon of July 26, 2013. The additional insight afforded by these files is significant: different kinds of metadata from multiple files – involving timestamps as well as file names and directory paths – all point to a first proposal of the papyrus for private treaty sale in the summer of 2013 and suggest that a sale may have been brokered on August 13, 2013.

Given that the discovery of P.Sapph.Obbink had not yet been announced in the summer of 2013, it would seem that the trail goes cold once the metadata concerning this period has been mined. But there is circumstantial evidence that is also worth revisiting, namely, public statements made by Scott Carroll. As was previously noted, Carroll brandished the Green Collection Sappho fragments on February 7, 2012, one month after they had been acquired from MixAntik. But Carroll would go on to mention the new Sappho on several occasions in the second half of 2013. As David Meadows has documented on *Rogue Classicism*,⁶⁵ he made a presentation to the University of the Nations Workshop in San Antonio del Mar (Mexico) on September 6, 2013, where he brought up Sappho and the *Times Literary Supplement* before boasting that “thirty of these items would be front page news when they’re published,” a claim that would prove prescient.⁶⁶ That date, I note, is less than a month following what I believe was the first private treaty sale of the papyrus. Carroll also mentions discoveries of Sappho several times in his November 2, 2013 interview with Carmen McCain of the *Daily Trust*.⁶⁷ Both of those claims, furthermore, are consistent with the appearance of “Sappho’s Poems” in a document detailing the discoveries of Carroll’s Manuscript Research Group: its metadata “Create Date” is December 2, 2013. The preface to that document, significantly, states: “All discoveries were made independently from previously unidentified texts in private collections from around the world. *Many items were subsequently acquired by other collectors and institutions*” (my emphasis).

Carroll’s repeated mentions of new Sappho are important because his relationship with the Green Collection came to an end in 2012, and it is therefore possible that the 2013 references were to other fragments of Sappho that were known to him. Since P.Sapph.Obbink is now known to have been on the antiquities market in the summer of 2013, it is not beyond the realm of possibility that this was the papyrus he had in mind.

⁶⁵ D. Meadows, “The Hobby Lobby Settlement: A Gathering Storm for Classicists?” *Rogue Classicism* (July 24, 2017), <https://rogueclassicism.com/2017/07/24/the-hobby-lobby-settlement-a-gathering-storm-for-classicists/>. Last accessed April 28, 2020.

⁶⁶ Carroll’s presentation is available on YouTube: <https://youtu.be/CSUzWsuLpso>; he made a similar claim on Facebook (“This will be front page London Times news!”) on January 18, 2012; see Nongbri (n. 26). The cover of the February 7, 2015 edition of the *TLS* includes the header “Dirk Obbink, *Two New Poems by Sappho*.”

⁶⁷ That interview is accessible online via two links: <https://www.dailytrust.com.ng/breathing-life-into-mummified-texts-prof-scott-carroll-talks-about-his-research-on-ancient-texts-i-last-week-i-had-the-pleasure-of-meeting-professor-scott-carroll-an-american-scholar-of-ancient-langua.html>, and <https://www.dailytrust.com.ng/breathing-life-into-mummified-texts-prof-scott-carroll-talks-about-his-research-on-ancient-texts-ii.html>. Both sites last accessed April 28, 2020.

This is not the kind of research I ever imagined myself undertaking, and it's not research that should have been necessary in the first place. Had the papyrus known as P.Sapph.Obbink been published in 2014 with a frank and thorough accounting of its origins, acquisition, and ownership history, the scores of questions that have arisen since that time could have been forestalled. But the evolving narrative on this front, and the many contradictions and uncertainties that have ensued, have led the scholarly community to suspect that there is a simple reason *why* such accounting was not provided. The testimony of the Christie's brochure confirms those suspicions.

CONIECTANEA BACCHYLIDEA (3)

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Abstract. — Comments on the text and syntax of Bacch. fr. 20C.1–12 M. preserved by *P.Oxy.* 1361 (= **P**). Fresh interpretation of the *lacunae* in ll. 1 and 8, as well as the verbs in l. 5 τελέσας and l. 8 ὑμνήσας.

Keywords: Bacchylides fr. 20C.1–12 M.

Hier soll es um den Text und die Syntax von Bacch. fr. 20C.1–12 M. (*P.Oxy.* 1361 = **P**) gehen; anhand einiger Beobachtungen werden spezifische Wendungen erläutert.¹

¹ Text nach H. Maehler, *Bacchylides* (Monacii et Lipsiae 2003¹¹); diejenigen Ergänzungen, die nicht sicher scheinen und die Interpretation erschweren, werden hier entfernt. *Editio princeps:* B.P. Grenfell und A.S. Hunt (hrsg.), *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri, Part XI* (London 1915) 70–83. Ausgaben mit Übersetzung und Kommentar: H. Maehler, *Die Lieder des Bakchylides. Die Dithyramben und Fragmente* (Leiden 1997) 86, 88, 333–336; H. Maehler, *Bacchylides, A Selection* (Cambridge 2004) 74–75, 251–255. Zur Datierung: E. Cingano, “La data e l’occasione dell’encomio bacchilideo per Ierone: Bacchyl. fr. 20C Sn.-M.,” *QUCC* 67 (1991) 31–34. Zur allgemeinen Interpretation: D.L. Cairns, *Bacchylides, Five Epinician Odes* (3, 5, 9, 11, 13) (Cambridge 2010) 76; K.A. Morgan, *Pindar and the Construction of Syracusan Monarchy in the Fifth Century B.C.* (Oxford 2015) 348–351; F. Budelman, “Epinician and the symposion: A Comparison with the encomia,” in P. Agócs, Ch. Carey, und R. Rawles (hrsg.), *Reading the Victory Ode* (Oxford 2012) 173–190. Zur Gattung und antiken Ausgabe: G.B. D’Alessio, “Bacchylides’ Banquet Songs,” in V. Cazzato, D. Obbink, und E.E. Prodi (hrsg.), *The Cup of Songs: Studies on Poetry and the Symposium* (Oxford 2016) 63–84. Zu Hieron: C. Catenacci, “Pindaro e le corti dei tiranni sicelioti,” in M. Vetta und C. Catenacci (hrsg.), *I luoghi e la poesia nella Grecia antica. Atti del Convegno (Università G. D’Annunzio di Chieti-Pescara, 20–22 aprile 2004)* (Alessandria 2006) 176–197; D. Bonanno, *Ierone il Dinomeneide. Storia e rappresentazione* (Pisa-Roma 2010); M. Finnerty Cummins, “Sicilian Tyrants and Their Victorious Brothers (II): The Deinomenids,” *CJ* 106 (2010) 1–20; Ch. Mann, “The Victorious Tyrant: Hieron of Syracuse in the Epinicia of Pindar and Bacchylides,” in N. Luraghi (hrsg.), *The Splendors and Miseries of Ruling Alone: Encounters with Monarchy from Archaic Greece to the Hellenistic Mediterranean* (Stuttgart 2013) 25–48. Abkürzungen: GP = J.D. Denniston, *The Greek Particles* (Oxford 1954²); KG = R. Kühner und B. Gerth, *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*, voll. 2.1–2, (Hannover-Leipzig 1898–1904³).

1. *Strophe* (1–6 + 7)

(a) Das Adverb μήπω muss² eine imperativische Redewendung, d.h. eine Aufforderung, einleiten, die mit Pind. *Ol.* 1.17–18 ἀλλὰ Δωρίαν ἀπὸ φόρμιγγα πασσάλου / λάμβαν(ε) und Bacch. fr. 20B.1–2 ὦ βάρβιτε μηκέτι πάσσαλον φυλάσ[σων] / ... κάππαυε γᾶρυν vergleichbar ist. Das Objekt ist überliefert (βάρβιτον) und das Verb erfordert diesen Akk. Weder Maas' παύσω³ (Konj. Aor.) noch dessen κοίμα⁴ (Imp. Präs.) scheinen völlig angemessen. παῦσον (Imp. Aor.) + Akk. könnte stimmen: Hom. *Od.* 21.278–279 τοῦτο ἔπος ... ἔειπε, / νῦν μὲν παῦσαι τόξον. Der Aorist scheint wegen der Unmittelbarkeit der Bitte besser: Bacch. 2.1 ἄϊξον, Pind. *Nem.* 7.2 ἄκουσον. Solche Unmittelbarkeit wird auch durch μέλλω ... π[έ]μπειν zum Ausdruck gebracht.

(b) Mit μέλλω beginnt der erläuternde Satz, entweder durch *asyndeton explicativum* (KG 2.346–347, cf. Bacch. fr. 20B.3) oder durch eine Partikel, γάρ (GP 58–59) oder δέ (GP 169).

(c) τελέσας “verfertigen” (Maehler 1997, 87) ~ Bacch. 5.9–12 ὑφάνας ὕμνον ... πέμπει. τελέσας + Dat. und Akk. bedeutet nicht “etwas für jdn. fertig machen,” “schaffen,”⁵ sondern “jmd. etwas als Tribut entrichten,” “Tribut zollen” (~ Bacch. 5.4 γλυκ[ύ]δωρον ἄγαλμα):⁶ Pind. *Pyth.* 1.77–80 ἐρέω ... παίδεσσιν ὕμνον Δεινομένεος τελέσαις / τὸν ἐδέξαντ' ἄμφ' ἄρετᾶ, 2.13 ἄλλοις δέ τις ἐτέλεσσαν ἄλλος ἀνήρ εὐαχέα βασιλεῦσιν ὕμνον ἄποιν' ἄρετᾶς. Passende Belege sind Hom. *Il.* 9.598 δῶρα τέλεσσαν und 21.457 μισθοῦ ..., τὸν ὑποστάς οὐκ ἐτέλεσσε. Die vollständige Struktur findet sich auch bei Ar. *Ra.* 173 δύο δραχμας μισθὸν τελεῖς. τελέσας (Part. Aor.) ist nicht temporal (d.h. “Ich habe ein Lied verfertigt und will es nun schicken”), sondern es ist ein “coincident participle,”⁷ das einen Bestandteil derselben von μέλλω πέμπειν beschriebenen Aktion ausdrücken will: “Ich will einen Tribut zollen *und* ein Lied senden,” d.h. “Ich will ein Lied versenden, *indem* ich ein Tribut zolle,” “Ich will ein *als Tribut gezolltes* Lied senden.”

(d) Maas' τε καί in V. 3 ist wenig plausibel, weil es drei verschiedene Elemente wie Hieron, Stuten (= Wagen) und Trinkgäste als Empfänger

² P. Maas, “Zu den neuen Bruchstücken des Bakchylides,” *JPhV* 45 (1919) 37–41 [= P. Maas, *Kleine Schriften* (München 1973) 28–32], mit Maehler 1997, 334.

³ P. Maas, “Ein Trinklied von Bakchylides,” *JPhV* 43 (1917) 81–83, mit A. Körte, “Bakchylides,” *Hermes* 53 (1918) 32.

⁴ Maas 1919, 41.

⁵ D.E. Gerber, *Lexicon in Bacchylidem* (Hildesheim 1984) 230: “complete.”

⁶ W.J. Slater, *Lexicon to Pindar* (Berlin 1969) 495: “pay tribute of.”

⁷ W.S. Barrett, *Euripides. Hippolytos* (Oxford 1964) 214.

des Liedes verbindet. Fränkels τ' ἐπί ergibt besseren Sinn: τε ... καί verbindet die beiden Adressaten (GP 512), während ἐπί + Dat. den Anlass bietet, Hierons Sieg mit dem Wagen (ἐπὶ ξανθαῖσιν ἵπποις, "zur Ehre der blonden Stuten" = ἐφ' ἄρματι, "für den Wagen").⁸

(e) π[έμπειν bedeutet "send (as a present)" und "carry sth." (LSJ s.v.);⁹ es erfordert entweder eine durch ἐς + Akk. formulierte Lokalangabe (Bacch. 5.10–12 ὕμνον ... ξένος ὑμετέραν / πέμπει κλεεννὰν ἐς πόλιν) oder den Dat. des Adressaten (Bacch. 5.197), nie beides.¹⁰

Die Syntax funktioniert folgenderweise:

- μέλλω ... πέμπειν + was? ἄνθεμον ἱμερόεν + wohin? Αἶτναν ἐς ἐύκτιτον,
- τελέσας [+ was? ἄνθεμον] + wem? Ἰέρωνι τ(ε) [+ wofür? ἐπὶ ξανθαῖσιν ἵπποις] καὶ συμπόταις ἄνδρεςσι.
- Das Objekt ἄνθεμον gehört *apo koinou* zu πέμπειν und τελέσας: Bacch. 5.9–12 (*supra*, 1.c), Pind. *Pyth.* 1.77–80 (*supra*, 1.c.), 9.1–3 ἐθέλω ... Πυθιονίκαν / ... ἀγγέλλων / Τελεσικράτη ... γεγωνεῖν / ὄλβιον ἄνδρα.

Der Text könnte also folgendermaßen gedruckt werden:

1 -D- 2 E[=ex] || 3 e-D 4 =¹⁰e- || 5 D || 6 -E- ||
 1 en^a 2 stesich || 3 pind (epitr^{tr} hem^m) 4 reiz^a || 5 hem^m || 6 epitr^{ia} reiz^a ||

μήπω λιγναχέ[α παῦσον
 βάρβιτον· μέλλ[ω 15–20 litt.
 ἄνθεμον Μουσᾶ[ν Ἰέρων[ί τ' ἐπὶ
 ξανθαῖσιν ἵπποις
 5 ἱμ]ερόεν τελέσας
 κα]ὶ συμπόταις ἄνδρεςσι π[έμπειν

Αἶτναν ἐς ἐύκτιτον·

1 fin. ἀνήκω GH, παύσω Maas 1917, κοίμα Maas 1919, κρήμνα Edmonds | 2 μέλλ[ω π]ολ[υ]- et 3 Μουσᾶ[ν Ἰέρων[ί Snell, qui P fr. 48 vv. 2]ΟΛ[et 3]Ε[continens ad P fr. 4 2 ΜΕΛΛ[et 3 ΜΟΥΥΑ[]ΡΩΝ[dub. traxit, non perspicuum quidem videtur, sicut GH notarunt

⁸ Cingano 1991, 32.

⁹ Cairns 2010, 219, A. Tedeschi, "L'invio del carne nella poesia lirica arcaica: Pindaro e Bacchilide," *SIFC* 3 (1985) 29–54.

¹⁰ Slater 1969, 424–425, Gerber 1984, 193–194.

“Setze noch nicht den schrillertönenden *barbitos* ab! Ich bin im Begriff, eine liebliche Blume der Musen ins gutgebaute Ätna zu schicken, als Tribut dem Hieron – zu Ehren der blonden Stuten – und den Trinkgenossen [gezollt].”

2. Strophe (7–12)

Die Syntax ist klar.

(a) Nach den vorigen Herausgebern hängt der Nebensatz *εἰ καὶ πρόσθεν* von *μέλλω* ... *πέμπειν* ab – die Periode wäre zwar sehr lang (Vv. 2–12) und kompliziert (Hauptsatz + Part. + kondit. Nebensatz [ohne *verbum finitum*] + 2 Part.), aber nicht unmöglich. Trotzdem könnte die erste Periode schon mit *ἔύκτιτον* enden (so nach **P**: Εὔκτιτον'), so dass das Motiv *mittere carmen* vollständig wäre.

(b) In jedem Fall braucht ein solcher Konditionalsatz ein *verbum finitum*. Nach den Herausgebern sei es nach zwei (nicht zusammenhängenden) Partizipien in V. 12 verloren gegangen; YMNHAC sei ein Part. (ὑμνήσας). Ich halte es für wahrscheinlicher, dass es das Verb des *εἰ*-Satzes ist und eine “logical condition” bedeutet (Lat. *si quidem*, “wenn ja,” “weil”, KG 2.481): Pind. *Ol.* 1.17–19, Bacch. 13.228–229, 17.57–60.

(c) Dann ist YMNHAC ein Indic. Aor. (ὑμνησας) und kein Part. Aor. (ὑμνήσας). Die Syntax ist klarer, wenn man sie folgendermaßen versteht:

- Nebensatz *εἰ καὶ πρόσθεν ὑμνησας* (> Part. *χαριζόμενος*) + [Hauptsatz (V. 12 “nun”?)] oder Nebensatz *εἰ καὶ πρόσθεν ὑμνησας* + [(Part. *χαριζόμενος* <) Hauptsatz (V. 12 “nun”?)], andernfalls
- Hauptsatz *μέλλω* ... *πέμπειν* + Nebensatz *εἰ καὶ πρόσθεν ὑμνησας* (> Part. *χαριζόμενος*) + V. 12 (neuer Gedanke).

(d) Der Wechsel der *personae laudantes* (ἐγώ / σύ) bietet keinen Anstoß, wenn man dieses *Skolion* mit z.B. Pind. *Ol.* 1.17–19, 52–53, 100–114 vergleicht.

(e) Was wurde schon besungen? Mehrere Aspekte desselben Gegenstandes dienen als Bestandteile des Lobes: Bacch. 5.31–33 <ἐ>μοὶ μυρία πάντα κέλευθος / ὑμετέραν ἀρετὰν / ὑμνεῖν und 176–186 Καλλιόπα, / ... Δία τε Κρονίδαυ ὑμνησον ... / τὸν τ' ... Ἄλ/φεόν, Πέλοπος τε βίαν, / καὶ Πίσαν ἔνθ' ὁ κλεεννὸς / ποσσὶ νικάσας δρόμῳ / ἦλθ' ἐν Φερένικος <ἐς> ... Συρακόσ/σας Ἰέρωνι φέρων / εὐδαιμονίας πέταλον.

Im Konditionalsatz wird von einem [oder mehreren] früheren Lied[ern] gesprochen.

(a) Barretts ἐν Κίρρα θ' ἐλόντα oder ἐξευρόντα Πυθοῖ (~ Pind. *Is.* 8.5) und Snells ἐν Δελφοῖς θ' ἐλόντα (~ Pind. *Pyth.* 3.74) gehen von der Annahme aus, dass Bakchylides hier auf zwei Siege Hierons angespielt habe: “das τε in Vers 10 zeigt auf jeden Fall, daß zwei Siege des [...] Rennpferdes genannt waren, also außer dem Sieg in Olympia 476 [...] auch ein (?) Sieg in Delphi” [Maehler 1997, 335] ~ Bacch. 5.41.

(b) Dies ist zweifelhaft. Bakchylides hat das 5. Epinikion für Hierons Sieg in Olympia mit dem κέλῃς Pherenikos (476) und das 4. für Hierons Sieg in Delphi mit dem ἄρμα (470–469) verfasst. Pherenikos gewann zwar in Delphi 478 (und vielleicht schon früher im Jahr 482), aber dafür ist kein Epinikion überliefert (Bacch. 4 muss ausgeschlossen werden, denn dieses Lied wurde für einen ἄρματι-Sieg geschrieben, wo Pherenikos keine wesentliche Rolle gespielt haben dürfte). Die einzige Erwähnung eines Sieges des Pherenikos in Delphi ist Bacch. 5.41 Πυθῶνί τ' ἐν ἀγαθέῃ (cf. Pind. *Pyth.* 3.72–74). Ist das genug, um zu sagen “Du hast Pherenikos schon als Sieger in Delphi besungen”?

(c) Die Rhetorik des Lobes und der Parallelpasus Bacch. 5.37–41 können Grundlage für die knappe Erwähnung von Pherenikos' ganzer Laufbahn und Aufstieg legen (cf. z.B. Bacch. 4.4–6, 14–18).¹¹ Aber hier geht der Dichter weiter. Er hat jetzt an Pherenikos kein spezifisches Interesse; dessen Sieg ist seit ziemlich langer Zeit vorbei. Er will Hieron loben und Pherenikos ist nur eines der vielen Lobmittel: Pind. *Ol.* 1.17–22, Bacch. 5.182–185 (vor allem das Verb φέρων, *supra*, 2.A.e). Hieron erzielte schon dank dem κέλῃς Pherenikos und seinem Wettkampf in Olympia das Beste vom Leben (5.186 εὐδαιμονίας πέταλον); des Dichters Gesang verewigte ihn (5.195–200). Nun konnte er dank einem neuen (Pythischen [470])¹² oder – was ich glaube – Olympischen [468]) Sieg, einen mit dem ἄρμα (d.h. in der angesehensten Disziplin), seinen Erfolg erneuern, bekräftigen und verdoppeln: cf. Bacch. 3.3–9 θοάς τ' Ὀλυμ[π]ιοδρόμους Ἰέρωνος ἱπ[π]ο[υ]ς. // σεύοντο γὰρ ... / παρ' εὐρυδίαν / Ἀλφεόν, τόθι Δεινομένεος ἔθηκαν / ὄλβιον τ[έ]κος στεφάνω]ν κυρῆσαι.

Eine andere *exempli gratia* Rekonstruktion des V. 8 ist folglich möglich, die den genannten Überlegungen Rechnung trägt:

¹¹ W.J. Henderson, “A Race-Horse Called Pherenikos,” *Akroterion* 56 (2011) 21–30.

¹² Cingano 1991.

2 E ≈⁸[e-]: cf. Bacch. 3 E5, 13 E7

εἰ καὶ
 πρ]όσθεν ὕμνησας τὸν [ἐν δρόμῳ κράτιστον
 πο]σσι λαιψ[η]ρο[ῖ]ς Φερ[ένικον ἐπ' Ἄλ-
 10 φ[ε]ῶ τε ν[ί]καν
 ἀν[δ]ρ[ι] χ]αριζόμενος
 εἰ[4–5 litt.] εανερ[

8 YMNHACAC P, ὕμνήσας edd., fin. ἐν δρόμῳ τάχιστον etiam possis | 12 fort. γέαν
 ἐρ[?

“Da du schon früher Pherenikos als den mit den blitzartigen stärksten Hufen beim Rennen und den Sieg auf dem Alpheios besangst, dem Herrn (damit) gefällig, [Hauptsatz...].”

8 ἐν + Dat. = Anlass (KG 1.464) ist eine typische Formulierung, “anlässlich” = “beim Rennen”: Pind. *Ol.* 1.20–21 δέμας ... ἐν δρόμοισι παρέχων, mit Bacch. 10.19–20 ἐν ... ἀέθλοις [άνικ' ἄμφαν]ας ... ποδῶν ταχεῖαν ὁρμάν (cf. 8.30–31), Pind. *Nem.* 11.14 ἐν τ' ἀέθλοις ἀριστεύων (cf. *Ol.* 13.15, *Pyth.* 8.27, 9.97–103).

8–10 Derartige Wendungen sind gut belegt: Bacch. 5.183–184 (*supra*, 2.B.c), 7.6 ταχυτᾶτά τε λαιψηρῶν ποδῶν und 10.19–20 (*supra*, ad 8), cf. Pind. *Ol.* 1.94–95, *Nem.* 10.48, *Is.* 5.9–10. Die Wendung κράτιστον ποσσί erinnert an Pind. *Pyth.* 10.15–16 κρατησίποδα (cf. Pind. fr. 13 M.) und 23 ποδῶν ἀρετᾷ κρατήσας.

10 τε *solitarium* verbindet “single words or phrases” (GP 497–498): Es setzt das Syntagma τὸν ... Φερ[ένικον in parataktische Beziehung zu der Olympischen νικά.

Die Objekte des vorigen Lobes sind das Rennpferd Pherenikos und Hierons Olympischer Sieg (i.e. der κέλης-Sieg *per Hendyadin*), insofern sie zwei beschreibende Motive und konstituierende Elemente für Hierons Lob (1. Name des Pferdes + Sportart/Disziplin, 2. Anlass) schildern (Bacch. 5.176–186, *supra*, 2.A.e). Dieses Lied könnte Bakchylides' 3. *Epinikion*, nicht das 4., begleitet haben: Hierons voriger Olympischer Sieg mit dem κέλης wird nun vom neuen Olympischen Sieg mit dem ἄρμα übertroffen.

“THE CABLE GUY”: CONSTANTINE SIMONIDES AND CODEX MAYERIANUS¹

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Abstract. — Constantine Simonides (1824?–1890?) is known as one of the greatest manuscript forgers in history. During the 19th century, he travelled to many countries in Europe trying to sell forged as well as authentic manuscripts to collectors, scholars, and curators of prominent libraries. During his second stay in England, from 1858 to 1865, he used genuine papyri in the collection of Joseph Mayer in Liverpool to make forgeries of Biblical papyri, ecclesiastical writings, historical and geographical works, and letters. This article focuses on arguably the most spectacular of all his forgeries, “Codex Mayerianus,” an alleged first-century papyrus codex containing the autograph of Matthew alongside texts of James and Jude, which Simonides edited in 1861, before any (genuine) New Testament papyri had been published. We discuss its purported provenance, external features, text, and accompanying critical edition, and how it was introduced and received by contemporary scholars and the wider public. We argue that its creation is best understood in terms of Simonides’ efforts to promote his own expertise and identify for the first time the model Simonides used for this famous forgery.

Keywords: Constantine Simonides, Joseph Mayer, Greek New Testament manuscripts, forgeries, Codex Mayerianus, Matthew 19:24

Introduction

“The greatest forger of this century was undoubtedly Constantine Simonides, a Greek, who was born in 1824. To meet the requirements of modern critics who know styles of writing, the colours of the ink and paints of different times, and the very kinds of parchment used, there is need

¹ The authors would like to thank Dr. Ashley Cooke, Senior Curator of Antiquities, World Museum Liverpool, for facilitating access to the Simonides papyri and providing information about them. This research has been supported by two Australian Research Council Discovery Project Grants (DP170104196; DP190100240); we are grateful to the ARC for funding these projects, and to the project team, especially Dr Rachel Yuen-Collingridge and Vanessa Mawby, for their work on Simonides as part of it. We also thank the reviewers for their helpful comments.

of such a combination of intellect with versatility, industry with ingenuity, as is rarely found.”²

These are the words of Falconer Madan, renowned palaeographer and bibliographer at the end of the 19th century. Some years later Madan would become Librarian of the Bodleian Library of the University of Oxford. Despite his best efforts, Constantine Simonides did not succeed in selling any of his forgeries to Madan’s predecessor at the Bodleian, but he did deceive a number of other curators, scholars, and collectors.³ In this article we examine Simonides’ activity as a forger, focusing on his forgeries of Greek New Testament papyri, which arguably mark the peak of his career. Limiting our examination to the papyrus texts from Matthew, James, and Jude in the “Codex Mayerianus,” which Simonides edited and published in 1861,⁴ we identify for the first time the model Simonides used for his biblical papyri and explore his motivations in forging these texts. We argue that, rather than economic gain, Simonides chief motive when creating these papyri was to participate in scholarship and augment his scholarly reputation, by advertising his own superior knowledge of manuscripts and the manuscript tradition, and using these to support his arguments on the nature of the text and its original language.⁵

² Falconer Madan, *Books in Manuscript: A Short Introduction to their Study and Use. With a Chapter on Records* (London 1893) 124.

³ On Simonides see most recently Andreas E. Müller, Lilia Diamantopoulou, Christian Gastgeber, and Athanasia Katsiakiori-Rankl (eds.), *Die getäuschte Wissenschaft: Ein Genie betrügt Europa – Konstantinos Simonides* (Göttingen 2017); see also J.K. Elliott, *Codex Sinaiticus and the Simonides Affair: An Examination of the Nineteenth Century Claim that Codex Sinaiticus was not an Ancient Manuscript*, *Analekta Vlatadon* 33 (Thessaloniki 1982); and *inter alia* in the many works of Luciano Canfora on the Artemidoros papyrus, e.g. *Il viaggio di Artemidoro: Vita e avventure di un grande esploratore dell’antichità* (Milan 2010). See also the popular treatment by Rüdiger Schaper, *Die Odyssee des Fälschers: Die abenteuerliche Geschichte des Konstantin Simonides, der Europa zum Narren hielt und nebenbei die Antike erfand* (München 2011), which has been translated and supplied with introduction by Canfora in *L’odissea del falsario: Storia avventurosa di Costantino Simonidis* (Bologna 2013); an older more sympathetic account in J.A. Farrer, *Literary Forgeries* (London 1907) 39–66; and an account strongly influenced or perhaps written by Simonides himself, Charles Stewart, *A Biographical Memoir of Constantine Simonides, Dr. Ph. of Stageira with a Brief Defence of the Authenticity of his Manuscripts* (London 1859).

⁴ Constantine Simonides, *Fac-similes of Certain Portions of the Gospel of St. Matthew, and the Epistles of SS. James & Jude, Written on Papyrus in the First Century, and Preserved in the Egyptian Museum of Joseph Mayer, Esq. Liverpool. With a Portrait of St. Matthew, from a Fresco Painting at Mount Athos. Edited and Illustrated with Notes and Historical and Literary Prolegomena, Containing Confirmatory Fac-similes of the Same Portions of Holy Scripture from Papyri and Parchment MSS. in the Monasteries of Mount Athos, of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai, of St Sabba in Palestine, and Other Sources* (London 1861).

⁵ While Simonides certainly offered for sale other manuscripts he stole or forged (see e.g. below, n. 51), as the forged papyri were not his property he could not sell them (see

We focus here in detail on Simonides and his biblical forgeries for a number of reasons. The recent prominence of textual forgeries indicates the contemporary importance of the topic.⁶ A deeper understanding of the sociology of forgery requires that we closely examine cases in which we know the identity of the forger, can deduce their methods and models, and are able to comment on their motivations. Yet so few of the forgers (now or historically) are actually known, that the context is difficult to reconstruct. With Simonides, we have not only the forged papyri themselves, but a vast archive of material in various repositories, including his own publications and those of others, contemporary media, and archival material, which allow us to reconstruct his ambitions, motivations, models, and methods. This in turn provides context to better understand more recent cases of forgery.

The career of Simonides provides an excellent example of how forgers respond to contemporary concerns; how they position themselves as authorities; and how they construct provenance for forgeries, something that has been identified as a key component in the propagation of

already the remarks of Farrer [n. 3] 55), and the economic dimensions of Simonides' enterprise may be set aside here. On the motivations of antiquities' forgers, see Christopher Rollston, "Forging History: From Antiquity to the Modern Period," in Matthew Rutz and Morag Kersel (eds.), *Archaeologies of Text: Archaeology, Technology, and Ethics* (Oxford and Philadelphia 2014) 176–197, at 176–177. For a profile of art forgers which aligns in some respects with that of Simonides here, see Noah Charney, "Profiling Art Forgers", in Saskia Hufnagel and Duncan Chappell (eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook on Art Crime* (Basingstoke 2019) 289–299.

⁶ See especially the unmasking of a number of Dead Sea scroll-like fragments in the Schøyen collection, Museum of the Bible, and other collections as forgeries (on which see e.g. Kipp Davis, "Caves of Dispute: Patterns of Correspondence and Suspicion in the Post-2002 'Dead Sea Scrolls' Fragments," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 24, no. 2 [2017] 229–270; Kipp Davis et al., "Nine Dubious 'Dead Sea Scrolls' Fragments from the Twenty-First Century," *DSD* 24, no. 2 [2017] 189–228; Torleif Elgvin and Michael Langlois, "Looking Back: (More) Dead Sea Scrolls Forgeries in the Schøyen Collection," *Revue de Qumran* 31 [2019] 111–133). A lengthy report by Art Fraud Insights released in 2020 determined that the entire collection of Dead Sea Scroll-like fragments in the Museum of the Bible was fake. See also the revelation that the so-called "Gospel of Jesus Wife" was a fake (on which see the six articles in *NTS* 61, no. 3 [2015] by Simon Gathercole, "The Gospel of Jesus' Wife: Constructing a Context" [pp. 292–313]; Christian Askeland, "A Lycopolitan Forgery of John's Gospel" [pp. 314–334]; Andrew Bernhard, "The Gospel of Jesus' Wife: Textual Evidence of Modern Forgery" [pp. 335–355]; Myriam Krutzsch and Ira Rabin, "Material Criteria and Their Clues for Dating" [pp. 356–367]; Christopher Jones, "The Jesus' Wife Papyrus in the History of Forgery" [pp. 368–378]; and Gesine Schenke Robinson, "How a Papyrus Fragment Became a Sensation" [pp. 379–394]). See also Ariel Sabar, "The Unbelievable Tale of Jesus's Wife," *The Atlantic* 318, no. 1 (2016) 64–78. Online: <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2016/07/the-unbelievable-tale-of-jesus-wife/485573/>, and the same author's forthcoming *Veritas: A Harvard Professor, a Con Man and the Gospel of Jesus's Wife* (New York 2020).

fakes.⁷ We also suggest that a detailed text-critical examination of forgeries tells us something important about the attitude to the biblical text and the development of textual criticism in the 19th century. The study of this case is thus an important but neglected chapter in the history of the study of the textual record of the Jewish and Christian scriptures.

The Liverpool Simonides Collection

Unlike some of Simonides' forgeries, which have disappeared (such as his infamous copy of Uranius' *History of the Kings of Egypt*), nearly all his forged papyri are still held today in the World Museum in Liverpool, where they survived the bombing during the Second World War which destroyed many of the artifacts held in the Liverpool Museum (as it was then known).⁸ One papyrus, containing the beginning of the *Letter of Aristeas*, is now in the British Library, among the archive of material related to Simonides collected by the antiquarian John Eliot Hodgkin.⁹ Those at Liverpool are kept under 27 inventory numbers, 23 in a series M11169a–v and four under the inventory numbers 1978.291.245a–d.¹⁰ In

⁷ See for instance Årstein Justnes, "Fragments for Sale: Dead Sea Scrolls," *Marginalia. Los Angeles Review of Books*, June 22, 2018. Online: <https://marginalia.lareviewofbooks.org/fragments-for-sale/>, and in general Patty Gerstenblith, "Provenances: Real, Fake, and Questionable," *International Journal of Cultural Property* 26 (2019) 285–304.

⁸ To our knowledge, there has been one previous brief study of these papyri, Livia Capponi, "Visita ai papiri di Simonidis," in Luciano Canfora (ed.), *Il Papiro di Artemidoro* (Bari 2008) 457–461, followed by a table compiled by Vanna Maraglino, "I papiri di Simonidis nella collezione Mayer" (462–463). As Capponi points out (461), Farrer (n. 3) 56, speaks about three still unrolled papyri in the Liverpool collection: no such Simonides papyri are known to us, and it is probable that this statement refers to several fake rolls, constructed with papyrus wrapped round sticks of wood, which are now in the World Museum Collection and stored near the Simonides papyri at inventory nos. M11165–66. At least one of these seems to have been part of the Mayer collection by 1852, see Margaret Gibson and Susan M. Wright (eds.), *Joseph Mayer of Liverpool, 1803–1886* (London 1988), 52, speculating on no. 246 ("A Papyrus Roll, bound round with inscribed linen bands, which are sealed with clay") in the *Catalogue of the Egyptian Museum, No. VIII, Colquitt Street, Liverpool* (Liverpool 1852).

⁹ BL Add MS 42502B, fol. 185. See perhaps Hodgkin's letter to Joseph Mayer (on whom see below) of April 1868 (BL Add MS 42502B fol. 346) in which he asks to be allowed to keep one of Simonides' papyri now that the latter has left England. In Simonides (n. 4) 72, he talks about "two pages of the Works of Aristeas ... of the 1st century," but earlier in the same work, in a reproduction of a letter sent to the *Literary Gazette*, he mentions "The first page of a work by Aristaeus, written in the first century after Christ" (Simonides [n. 4] 8). On Simonides' earlier forgery of the same work, see Rosa Otranto, "Costantino Simonidis e la Lettera di Aristeas a Filocrate," *Vetere Christianorum* 48 (2011) 319–334.

¹⁰ The M11169 inventory numbers post-date the passing of these papyri into the Liverpool Museum; a separate, presumably earlier, and inconsistently applied, system of letters

total there are 33 surviving Simonides papyri; we provide a brief list in an appendix to the present article, and will provide a full synopsis in a future treatment.¹¹

The papyri fall into three basic groups: (1) Jewish and Christian scripture and related material, which in addition to the New Testament papyri include a portion of Genesis;¹² the *Letter of Aristeas* and an ecclesiastical history attributed to the second-century Christian writer Hegesippus should be grouped with these.¹³ There is unfortunately – but perhaps not surprisingly – no trace of “the Ten Commandments written in Greek and Egyptian Demotic characters” Simonides claimed to have discovered;¹⁴ (2) a sequence of Greek historical and geographical works, the centerpiece of which was an augmented version of the already-known *Periplus* of Hanno, via which Simonides continued his promotion of the history of his country;¹⁵ (3) a group of seven letters by “Hermippus, son of Eumenides of Berytus,” in which Simonides indulged his long-standing interest in Egypt and especially the Egyptian language.¹⁶ Among the latter group

is written in pencil on the cardboard mounting of a number of the papyri. The 1978.291 inventory numbers arise from a retrospective documentation that began in 1978 for any object without an accession number. It must be presumed that these four papyri had become separated from the others when the M1169 series was established.

¹¹ The Simonides papyri could be counted in different ways depending on what principles were adopted. We have counted together papyri which were asserted to be part of the same page or roll, but not (as one might in normal papyrological practice) assigned one number to the entirety of a codex (in which case there would be 26 papyri). To the extent inconsistencies are inevitable, the table in the appendix will provide further guidance.

¹² World Museum Liverpool M1169v, which contains Gen 7:23–9:10. This is presumably the item Simonides describes as a “portion of eight chapters of the Book of Genesis, written on papyrus in the Alexandrian style of Greek capital letters, which, from the purity of the text and the quality of the papyrus (being first class, and that called sacred) I conclude belongs to the first century before Christ” (Simonides [n. 4] 7).

¹³ World Museum Liverpool 1978.291.245b; see Simonides (n. 4) 78, with pl. XIII (no. 14); see also Simonides (n. 4) 20.

¹⁴ See Simonides (n. 4) 7.

¹⁵ See Constantine Simonides, *The Periplus of Hannon, King of the Karchedonians, concerning the Lybian Parts of the Earth beyond the Pillars of Herakles, Which He Dedicated to Kronos, the Greatest God, and to all the Gods Dwelling with Him* (London 1864); *idem*, *Λεῖψανα ἱστορικά* (Liverpool 1864). In addition to the *Periplus* (a genuine extract of which was contained in a geographical miscellany Simonides had earlier stolen from Mt Athos, now BL Add. MS. 19391), this group includes a fragment from the end of Thucydides including a colophon attesting it had been copied in the first year of the 197th Olympiad (9–12 CE), and the “Theban codex.” The latter was published in *Λεῖψανα ἱστορικά* along with a number of related texts. On Simonides’ nationalism see Lilia Diamantopoulou, “Konstantinos Simonides: Literarische Fälschungen und die Erfindung der Nation,” in Müller et al. (n. 3) 27–51.

¹⁶ Simonides’ interest in this topic can be seen in other manuscripts he forged, as well as a number of treatments of the theme he published elsewhere, notably the Uranius manuscript,

may perhaps be included two small fragments of the “ethical writings from the Oracles of Zoroaster Magus.”¹⁷ While Simonides edited substantial sections of this corpus, large parts of it remain unpublished, including a number of his New Testament papyri. Here, we focus on the centerpiece of his collection of New Testament texts, the “Codex Mayerianus.”

An Amazing “Discovery”

In the introduction to his facsimile edition of the “Codex Mayerianus,” a purported first-century papyrus manuscript named after its owner, the Liverpool goldsmith, antiquary and collector Joseph Mayer,¹⁸ Simonides describes in vivid words how he made an amazing discovery in February 1860 as he was searching through the collection in Mayer’s private museum:¹⁹

Meantime, after an illness from which I soon recovered, I began to search through the papyri in the Museum itself. These were, for the most part, so torn and damaged, lying pell-mell together, and offering neither connexion nor continuity, ... After separating the papyri into their different languages and their various subjects, and finally adjusting the comminuted fragments, I dipped a sheet of calico in water, stretched it on a board, and nailed it to the edges. Next, I softened the fragments in tepid water, and fastened them with paste on the frame prepared as above; others I pasted upon paper, and having completed these preliminaries, I commenced the deciphering and careful transcription, beginning my labours with the Greek portion. Herein, to my surprise, I discovered first three fragments, and subsequently two others, containing a portion of the Gospel according to St. Matthew, written about the fifteenth year after the Ascension of our Saviour, by the hand

on which see Farrer (n. 3) 45–53; Pasquale Massimo Pinto, “Simonides in England: A Forger’s Progress,” in Müller et al. (n. 3) 109–126, at 113–116, as well as the *Report of the Council of the Royal Society of Literature on some of the Mayer Papyri and the Palimpsest MS. of Uranius Belonging to M. Simonides with Letters from MM. Pertz, Ehrenberg and Dindorf* (London 1863), and below, n. 144. On Simonides’ interest in Egyptian language and history, see for example the report from the *Bath Chronicle* reprinted in Simonides (n. 15 [1864a]) 42–47.

¹⁷ See Simonides (n. 4) 8. On these papyri see Rachel Yuen-Collingridge, “Constantine Simonides and Papyrus Fragments of Gemistus Pletho’s *Μαγικά λόγια τῶν ἀπὸ Ζωροάστρου μάγων*,” *Analecta Papyrologica* 31 (2019) 369–385.

¹⁸ On Mayer, see Gibson and Wright (n. 8) 1–42.

¹⁹ For treatments of each part of the collection Mayer formed in the Egyptian Museum (the first of several titles he gave to the institution) he opened in Liverpool in 1852, see Gibson and Wright (n. 8); on the papyri see pp. 51–55, and on the Egyptian collection in general pp. 45–70. This collection was bequeathed to the Liverpool Free Library and Museum in 1867 and is now in the World Museum Liverpool. On Simonides’ time in England, see now Pinto (n. 16).

of Nicolaus the Deacon, that is to say, in the forty-eighth year after the Incarnation of the Divinity. For, at the end of the fifth fragment, which contains the latter part of the 28th chapter, the following words occur: "The writing by the hand of Nicolaus the Deacon, at the dictation of Matthew, the Apostle of Jesus Christ. It was done in the fifteenth year after the Ascension of our Lord, and was distributed to the believing Jews and Greeks in Palestine."²⁰

This "discovery" arguably marks the peak of Simonides' activities as a forger of Greek manuscripts, where he introduces to the world an actual autograph written no later than 15 years after Christ's ascension and dictated by the evangelist Matthew himself.²¹ Eventually, Simonides identified nine fragments from Matthew and another four fragments from the letters of James and Jude.

We reserve a detailed technical description of these papyri to a future treatment and will note here only their basic characteristics. The "codex" consists of thirteen fragments, which purportedly come from eight leaves of a single two-column papyrus codex.²² Simonides talks of five fragments from Matthew, two from James and one from Jude, but the "first fragment" (no. i in the table below) is actually made up of five fragments from Matthew 1, and the "sixth" and "seventh" fragment from James are three separate fragments, bringing the total to thirteen. That all the pages published by Simonides in *Fac-similes* were to be understood as deriving from a single codex is clear from his comments in a number of places.²³ It is not entirely clear (and Simonides never explains) how the Matthew fragments could be written "by the hand of Nicolaus the Deacon" in 48 CE (as per the colophon in M11169o.5), but the same codex could contain letters of James and Jude. Presumably Simonides considered these (as many did at the time) as documents of the apostolic age, which Nicolaus copied into his codex.

²⁰ Simonides (n. 4) 5–6.

²¹ According to a report in *The Literary Gazette* August 24, 1860 (cited in Simonides [n. 4] 7), Simonides "pronounced it to be a portion of St. Matthew's Gospel, bearing the date of the first century, and hence, if not the original text, at least one of its earliest transcripts." In this version it is Joseph Mayer who submits the papyrus to Simonides thinking it is a Coptic writing relating to church history, whereas Simonides identifies it as a Greek portion of Matthew's Gospel, dated and all. In spite of apparent differences with Simonides' own narrative, it is cited approvingly without any comment.

²² World Museum, Liverpool, M11169o + M11169n + 1978.291.245a + 1978.291.245c + 1978.291.245d.

²³ E.g., Simonides (n. 4) 31–32, where the text of Fragments VI (= 1978.291.245c) and VIII (= M11169n "Lower") are listed under the title "Codex Mayerianus;" see also his preface addressed to Mayer, Simonides (n. 4) 39.

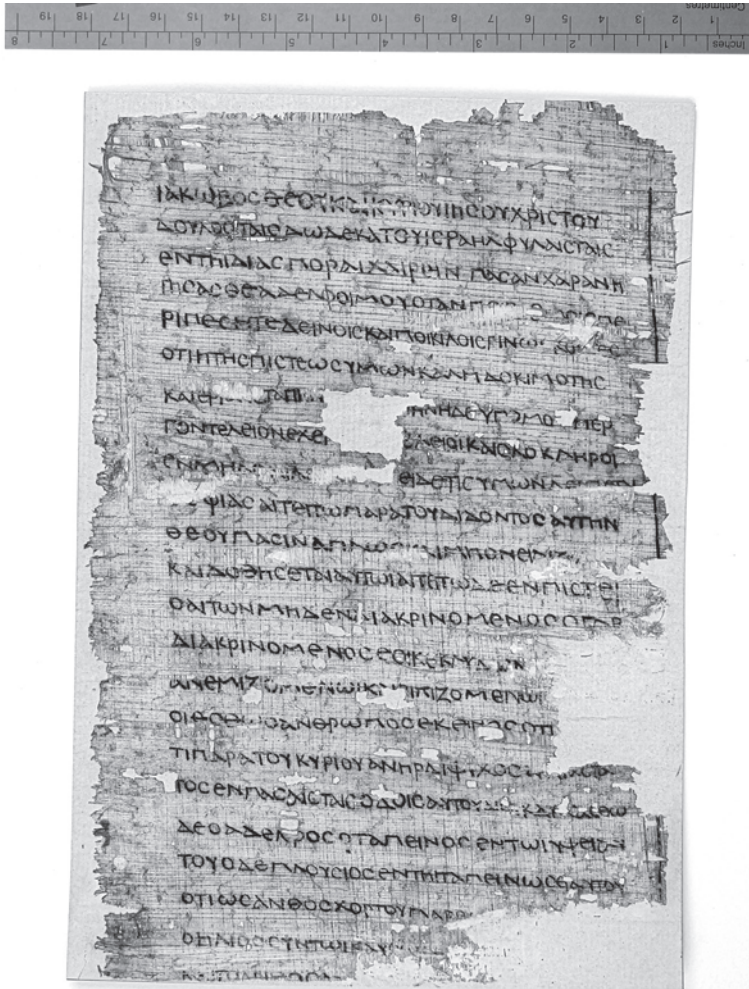


Fig. 1: World Museum, Liverpool, 1978.291.245c, James 1:1–11.
 Courtesy of National Museums Liverpool: World Museum.

Each fragment is written on one side only, with all the papyri pasted onto a white cardboard backing, with those in the M11169o-n sequence further mounted on a large sheet of gray cardboard, with each provided with accompanying notes in Greek by Simonides himself on this larger mounting.²⁴ The contents of each may be set out schematically as follows:

²⁴ At some stage this cardboard was cut, separating two of the pieces (now M11169n) from the rest (now M11169o); that they were once mounted on the same larger sheet of

Simonides number ²⁵	Inventory number	Contents	Publication
i	M11169o.1, 3	Five non-contiguous fragments (a–e) containing Matt 1:1–3; 1:4–5; 1:11–13; 1: 15–17; 1:20, respectively	Simonides, <i>Fac-similes</i> , 40, with plate on the following page.
ii	M11169o.2	Matt 2:6–12, 14–20	Simonides, <i>Fac-similes</i> , 42, with plate on the following page.
iii	M11169n.1 “Upper”	Matt 19:22–20:13	Simonides, <i>Fac-similes</i> , 44, with plate on the following page.
iv	M11169o.4	Matt 27:3–7, 12–20	Simonides, <i>Fac-similes</i> , 46, with plate on the following page.
v	M11169o.5	Matt 28:5–9, 18–20; followed by the colophon of Nicolaus the Deacon.	Simonides, <i>Fac-similes</i> , 48, with plate on the following page.
vi	1978.291.245c	James 1:1–11	Simonides, <i>Fac-similes</i> , 57, with plate on preceding page.
vii	1978.291.245a + 1978.291.245d	Two non-contiguous fragments, (a) James 2:5–10; (b) James 2:12–15, 2:23	Simonides, <i>Fac-similes</i> , 58, with plate on following page.
viii	M11169n.2 “Lower”	Jude 16–23	Simonides, <i>Fac-similes</i> , 67, with plate on preceding page.

cardboard can be seen not only by the shape of the cardboard but also by Simonides’ handwritten description along the bottom of the grey card, Ἀνεκαλύφθησαν ἐν τῷ ἐν Λιβερπούλῃ Αἰγυπτιακῷ Μουσείῳ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου Μαῦέρου ὑπὸ Κ: Σιμωνίδου τῷ ,αωξ’φ: (“Unrolled in the Egyptian Museum of Joseph Mayer in Liverpool by K. Simonides in 1860”), where the text up to the first *iota* of Αἰγυπτιακῷ is on the card containing M11169o.

²⁵ Here and below, these fragment numbers are those assigned by Simonides himself. On their inventorization, see above at n. 10.

The hand on all the fragments is upright and square. The letters are mostly formed separately, with some abutting but no ligaturing. The baseline is irregular, and bilinearity is aspirational rather than always maintained; it is broken at points by *phi*, *psi*, *rho*, and at times a flourished *xi*. All belong to the hand designated “Type 1” by Capponi,²⁶ which she characterizes in the following terms:

small and square, more or less bilinear, clumsy and awkward, written slowly and without ligatures. *Alpha* in two strokes, with a roundish eyelet. *Rho* in two strokes, with an eyelet clearly separated from the vertical. *Episilon* with the central stroke slightly moved towards the other. *Xy* in three curved lines, of which the upper one is sometimes detached from the others.²⁷

To this description one might add that *beta* frequently sits on a horizontal stroke and that *upsilon* fluctuates between the forms υ and γ . The hand is generally similar, though less regular, to that of the other New Testament papyri, M11169b, c, and t.²⁸ While the hand of the “codex” is somewhat inconsistent across the fragments, with that of M11169n “lower” slightly larger, more regular, and more rounded than that of M11169o, it was no doubt intended to be the same hand, presumably that of “Nicolaus the Deacon” named in the colophon in v (M11169o.5).²⁹

In contrast to genuine early manuscripts of the New Testament, there are no *nomina sacra* in any of Simonides’ papyri.³⁰ While this convention is not to be expected in an autograph such as the fragments of Matthew purport to be, Simonides was well acquainted with medieval Greek manuscripts where *nomina sacra* appear almost universally;³¹ his own usage

²⁶ Capponi (n. 8) 458–459.

²⁷ Capponi (n. 8) 458–459.

²⁸ Despite their similarities, it is clear that all the biblical papyri are not all meant to be by the same scribe; indeed M11169t bears its own epistolary colophon which assigns its copying to a date much later than the alleged date of the codex.

²⁹ That the hand is far from uniform between all the fragments has more to do with Simonides’ success in maintaining a consistent style than any conscious decision to, e.g. differentiate the Matthew sections from the letters of James and Jude, as differences can be noted even within the sections explicitly ascribed to Nicolaus. A forthcoming article by Ast, Choat, Mawby, and Yuen-Collingridge will provide a full treatment of the styles of script used by Simonides.

³⁰ For the pioneering study of these contractions, see Ludwig Traube, *Nomina Sacra: Versuch einer Geschichte der christlichen Kürzung* (München 1907); for more recent discussion, Larry Hurtado, “The Origin of the *Nomina Sacra*: A Proposal,” *JBL* 117, no. 4 (1998) 655–673.

³¹ In his 1859 edition of the New Testament, Tischendorf included examples of uncial script including features like *nomina sacra*, and the *kai*-compendium (which Simonides used in reproductions of other forgeries in *Fac-similes*, plate vi). Tischendorf also explained that *iota* subscript was completely foreign to uncial script, whereas *iota* adscript was very

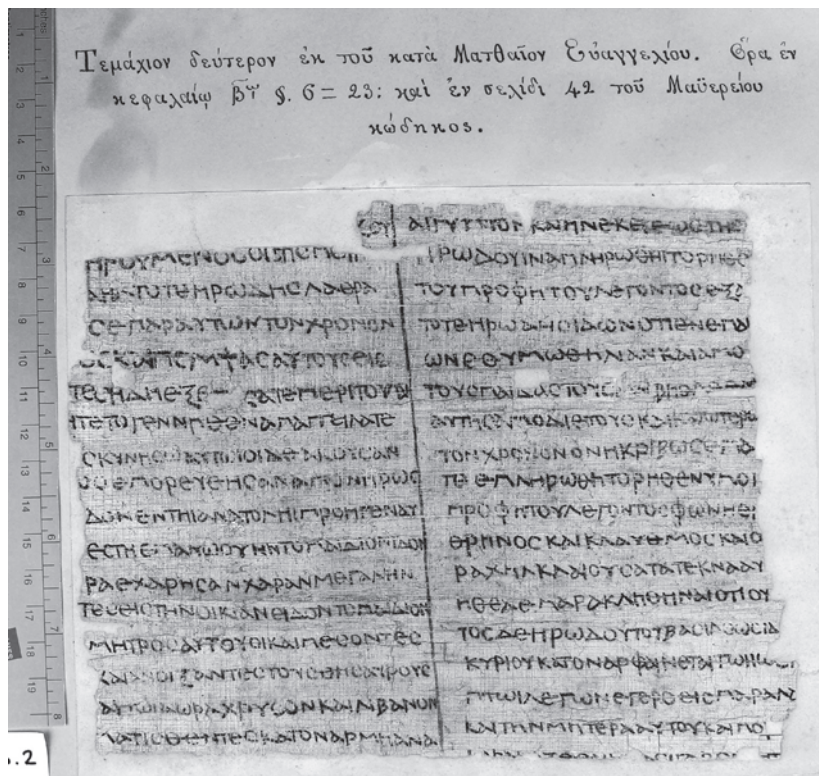


Fig. 2: World Museum, Liverpool, M11169o.2, Matt 2:6–12, 14–20.
Courtesy of National Museums Liverpool: World Museum.

of the compendia in other forgeries illustrated in *Fac-Similes* is however inconsistent.³² While there are no diacritics of any sort, a consistent paratextual feature is a vertical line marking the division between columns, an unusual feature which Simonides took directly from his model.

rare, but found later on (here $\eta\iota\delta\iota\sigma\alpha\nu$ in Codex Bezae, Mark 1:34 is the earliest example). Incidentally, in this connection, Tischendorf actually mentions Simonides' forgeries in a footnote, where he expresses the need for a new handbook of Greek palaeography (which would prevent such deceit): *Tali libro quam opus sit nostra aetate litteras Graecas quum discentibus tum docentibus, historia Uranii atque Hermae palimpsestorum Simonidis, qui tot litterarum luminibus fucum fecerunt, mirum in modum docuit* (p. cxxxi, n. 1).

³² See e.g. Simonides (n. 4) plate vi (following p. 46) where he includes specimens of various imaginary manuscripts including regular forms of the *nomina sacra* ($\kappa\bar{\upsilon}$, $\chi\bar{\upsilon}$, $\theta\bar{\omega}$), some irregular forms ($\iota\bar{\epsilon}\nu$, $\omicron\upsilon\bar{\rho}\nu$, $\theta\bar{\omega}\iota$), but also peculiar abbreviations of the definite article, such as $\tau\bar{\upsilon}$, and $\upsilon\bar{\nu}$ (for $\bar{\upsilon}\mu\iota\nu$)!

Naturally no coherent codicology can be deduced from this assemblage. Among other observable issues, line length varies dramatically in places without observable reason; the number of characters on each reconstructed line is irregular;³³ the number of lines per page varies from 20 (M11169o.5) to 36 (M11169o.1);³⁴ the proposed reconstructions are sometimes impossible for the space left for them; and the reconstructed dimensions for pages presupposed by the amount of text on them varies considerably between fragments.³⁵

Texts from the apostle Matthew, and Jesus' two brothers James, and Jude are particularly fitting to represent the earliest Jerusalem church, and Simonides would prove, by reference to another fake manuscript, that the latter two were also among Jesus' twelve apostles. Besides the fame and fortune that this discovery would inevitably lead to, if he could persuade the world of its genuineness, Simonides clearly had several aims in creating this bold forgery.

The Autograph of Matthew in Greek

In his introduction to the published edition of Mayerianus, Simonides seeks to establish two facts about the Gospel of Matthew – when it was written and in what language. These problematic issues, debated by contemporary scholars, could now be settled once and for all by Simonides' discovery. One of the fragments (v, M11169o.5) contained the ending of Matthew followed by a colophon:

Η γραφή τη χειρί Νικολαου διακονου καθ υπαγορευσιν Ματθαίου αποστολού Ιησού Χριστού εγενετο δε τῷ πεντεκαιδεκατῷ της του κυρίου αναληψεως ετει και τοις εν Παλαιστινι πιστοις ιουδαιοις τε και ελλησι διεδοθη

“The writing by the hand of Nicolaus the Deacon, at the dictation of Matthew, the Apostle of Jesus Christ. It was done in the fifteenth year after the Ascension of our Lord and was distributed to the believing Jews and Greeks in Palestine.”³⁶

³³ For example, in Fragment ii, col. ii. l. 8, Simonides supplies nineteen missing characters, but on the next line which is of same length, he supplies only four characters, Simonides, *Fac-similes*, 42 (cf. plate on next page).

³⁴ Fragment (i) 36 lines; (ii) 26–7; (iii) 32; (iv) 24; (v) 20; (vi) 28; (vii) 28; (viii) 24.

³⁵ The dimensions for fragment iv (M11169o.4) required by its text are c. 22 (h) × 25.5 (w) cm, while those of Fragment vi (1978.291.245c) would be c. 31.5 (h) × 31.5 (w) cm.

³⁶ Simonides (n. 4) 6 (Simonides' translation).

The colophon is an anomaly, since dated colophons are unattested in Greek manuscripts before the ninth century,³⁷ but such early manuscripts on papyrus were hardly known at the time. Through the colophon Simonides could date the Gospel exactly to 48 CE and establish, as he emphasized, that Matthew was written "in Greek and not in Hebrew."³⁸ William Cureton and Samuel P. Tregelles were among those contemporary scholars who argued that Matthew was written in Aramaic and that the Old Syriac translation, represented by the Curetonian manuscript in the British Museum (now BL Add. MS 14451), reflected this translation of an Aramaic Matthew.³⁹ According to Simonides, this was "a most erroneous and ridiculous notion" entertained by "Dr. Cureton," and "his friend Dr. Tregelles" – two of his many enemies who were now refuted by material evidence.⁴⁰

Further, as Simonides triumphantly announced in a letter to Mayer on March 25, 1861, some of the fragments contained noteworthy new textual variants, "one of them gives a reading which ... had, so far as I am aware, previously escaped both the researches and the conjectures of Philologists."⁴¹ This particular reading was featured, but not yet revealed, in the very first "press-release" on May 2, 1860:⁴²

[Simonides] has already found parts of three leaves of a papyrus scroll containing the 19th chapter of the Gospel according to St. Matthew, written in the Greek uncial character, the reading of which will cause a great sensation amongst Bibliophilists [sic], as it sets at rest that long misunderstood part of the 24th verse relating to the passing of a camel through the eye of a needle, which arose from the wrong reading of the Greek text.⁴³

³⁷ See recently Jeremiah Coogan, "Byzantine Manuscript Colophons and the Prosopography of Scribal Activity," in Nicholas S.M. Matheou, Theofili Kampianaki and Lorenzo M. Bondioli (eds.), *From Constantinople to the Frontier: The City and the Cities* (Leiden 2016) 297–310.

³⁸ Simonides (n. 4) 20.

³⁹ Thus, William Cureton boldly claimed in the preface of his *Remains of a Very Ancient Recension of the Four Gospels in Syriac* (London 1858) vi, "this Gospel of St. Matthew appears at least to be built upon the original Aramaic text, which was the work of the Apostle himself." Cf. Samuel P. Tregelles' review article of "Dr. Cureton's Syriac Gospels," *Edinburgh Review or Critical Journal* 110, no. 3 (1859) 168–190 (esp. 187). The tradition that Matthew was written in Hebrew is of course ancient, see e.g. Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.* 3.1.1.

⁴⁰ Simonides (n. 4) 22. On the "date of publication" (of Matthew), Simonides characteristically states, "all these [scholarly] opinions, based as they are on suppositions, appear to me to have little authority, more especially as they are all upset by the incontestable note of the writer, Nicolaus the Deacon ..." (14).

⁴¹ Simonides (n. 4) 39 (the letter is reprinted as a preface to the edition of Mayerianus).

⁴² The letter to Mayer is reproduced in Simonides (n. 4) 39.

⁴³ "Discovery of an Ancient Biblical Manuscript, at Mr. Mayer's Museum of National and Foreign Antiquities," *Liverpool Mercury* May 2, 1860, reproduced in Simonides (n. 4) 6, and Elliott (n. 3) 133–134.

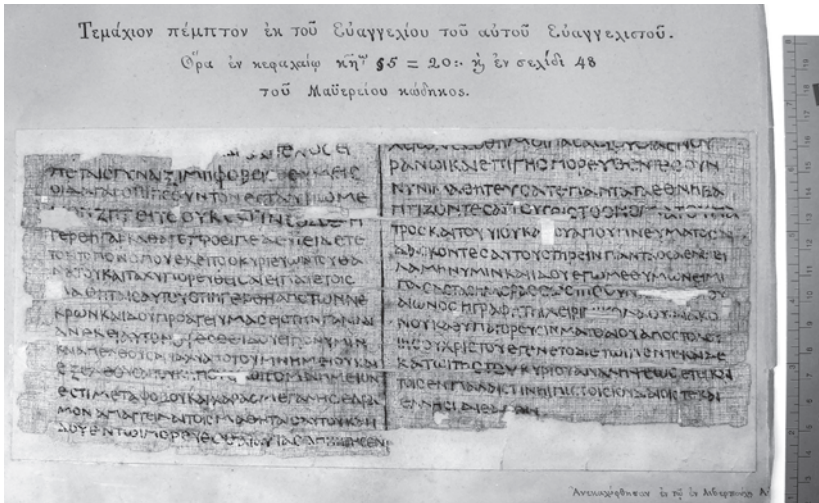


Fig. 3: World Museum, Liverpool, M11169o.5, Matt 28:5-9, 18-20; followed by the colophon of Nicolaus the Deacon.

Courtesy of National Museums Liverpool: World Museum.

Simonides did not stop with the Codex Mayerianus – he certainly planned to publish more early Christian papyri. Among material he left unpublished when he left England in 1865 were several additional New Testament papyri containing parts of 1 Peter, 1 John, 1-3 John, Rev 1-3, and the one manuscript that Simonides singled out as “perhaps the most interesting of all, which contains portions of the last chapter of the Gospel of St. John.”⁴⁴ Thus, Simonides did not get an opportunity to present yet another spectacular colophon, which we can now confirm is appended to the Gospel of John.⁴⁵ Nor did he get the chance to further engage in textual criticism of the New Testament and deal another blow to Tregelles by presenting the papyrus containing 1 John which included his sensational version of the *Comma Johanneum* (1 John 5:7), which was still debated at the time.⁴⁶

⁴⁴ Simonides (n. 4) 72. These papyri were all rolls (rather than being presented as codices as the papyri under discussion in this article). The list in Maraglino (n. 8) 462-463 needs correction, notably in regard to M11169b, c, and t, see the Appendix below.

⁴⁵ This manuscript (M11169t) was presented for the first time at the Annual Meeting of the Society of Biblical Literature in Boston 2017 by the present writers. This and the other unpublished New Testament papyri mentioned in the previous note will be treated in a separate publication.

⁴⁶ See in particular Grantley McDonald, *Biblical Criticism in Early Modern Europe: Erasmus, the Johannean Comma and Trinitarian Debate* (Cambridge 2016) 279-311.

“Meantime, After an Illness” – Provenance, Production, and Examination

In the present day, when the provenance (that is, collection history) of ancient manuscripts and other artifacts has become a central ethical concern of many scholars studying them, the establishment of a manuscript’s provenance has become a key factor in determining both its legality, in terms of its removal from the country in which it was discovered, and its authenticity.⁴⁷ In Simonides’ day – as indeed until relatively recently – there was less necessity to detail the circumstances of a manuscript’s recovery, although “thrilling tales of discovery” – find stories that would draw popular attention – are arguably a narrative genre in their own right that can be traced to antiquity.⁴⁸ Yet Simonides, by way of augmenting the claims of authenticity for his papyri, went out of his way to comment on “how, when, where, and in whose possession the papyri in question were discovered,” thus foreshadowing this key modern concern in a way that few of his contemporaries did.⁴⁹ Already in the 1840s Simonides had started to construct a credible story of provenance applied to most of the manuscripts he was trying to sell in Europe: they originated from a monastery on Mount Athos, where Simonides’ uncle Benedict had discovered them, and Simonides had access to more manuscripts which he had brought to Athens.⁵⁰ Some of his manuscripts were indeed authentic and came from Mount Athos.⁵¹ As time went on, he extended the monasteries to which he ascribed his creations to Mar Saba in Palestine and St. Catherine in Sinai. For his papyri, he was careful to construct a similar believable provenance.

⁴⁷ See recently Dennis Mizzi and Jodi Magness, “Provenance vs. Authenticity: An Archaeological Perspective on the Post-2002 ‘Dead Sea Scrolls- Like’ Fragments,” *DSD* 26 (2019) 135–169, who argue that investigation of provenance should take precedence over testing of an artefact’s authenticity.

⁴⁸ Eva Mroczek, “True Stories and the Poetics of Textual Discovery,” *BSR* 45 (2016) 21–31.

⁴⁹ Simonides (n. 4) 9.

⁵⁰ For Simonides’ period in Athens, see Marilisa Mitsou, “Der entlarvte Fälscher: Konstantinos Simonides in Athen (1847–1851),” in Müller et al. (n. 3) 71–86.

⁵¹ For example, on March 11, 1853 Simonides tried to sell five scrolls to Frederick Madden at the British Library, who rejected them as forgeries. However, Madden asked Simonides if he had any Greek codices, and on the next day Simonides appeared with a number of genuine manuscripts which Madden acquired (now BL Add. MSS 19386–92A–B), six of which were New Testament manuscripts (GA 502, 503, 640, 644, 1268 and L1053). In several of the manuscripts, Madden made a note of the purchase on one of the first folios, e.g., “Purchased of a Greek named Simonides by the agency of Mr. W. B. Barker, 12 March, 1853, FM” (in BL. Add. 19386 = GA 1268).

In the introduction to his publication of these papyri, Simonides claimed that they were brought to England from Thebes by Henry Stobart, “whose name is universally known,” in 1856.⁵² Several pages later, however, he added a reference to the collection of Mr. J. Sams.⁵³ Mayer had indeed acquired papyri from Stobart, who had purchased them in Egypt in 1854–1856,⁵⁴ but neither of them could confirm any of Simonides’ claims concerning their particular content.⁵⁵ On the contrary, Stobart would deny that he had sold these particular papyri to Mayer.⁵⁶ A few years earlier, in 1850, Mayer had also obtained papyri from the collection of Joseph Sams

⁵² Simonides (n. 4) 6, from the first report of the papyri in the *Liverpool Mercury* May 2, 1860 (reproduced also in Elliott [n. 3] 133–134); see also Simonides (n. 4) 72.

⁵³ Simonides (n. 4) 9: “These, then, were discovered in the Collection of the accomplished Mr. Stobart, and all the rest in the Egyptian Collection of Mr. J. Sams, now in the possession of Mr. Mayer;” what “all the rest” refers to is not clear, perhaps intentionally so. The statement shortly thereafter on the same page that the papyri “were not all obtained by them (sc. Stobart and Sams?), but that some were previously purchased by other persons, and some they procured in Egypt,” ascribed to Stobart himself (in conversation with Simonides), complicates the provenance narrative still further.

⁵⁴ See Henry Stobart, *Egyptian Antiquities Collected on a Voyage in Upper Egypt in the Years 1854 & 1855* (Berlin 1855). Stobart’s letters to his mother, copies of which are held in the National Library of Australia (where they are NLA MS 1033) show that he visited Egypt twice on this trip, in 1854–1855, and again in early 1856, and that he acquired papyri on both these occasions.

⁵⁵ Any records which may have related to these purchases were retained by Mayer when he donated the objects and would have been kept at his final residence at Pennant House in Bebington (where Mayer had an extensive second collection), which was all sold off and irretrievably scattered on his death, see Gibson and Wright (n. 8) 20.

⁵⁶ *Report of the Council of the Royal Society* (n. 16) 5–6. In a letter to *The Athenaeum* on December 14, 1861, 807 reproduced in Elliott (n. 3) 147–148, Stobart distanced himself from Simonides’ papyri, “At the time they came into Mr. Mayer’s hands they had not been fully unrolled. They were, at any rate, however, genuine MSS.; but all of them, I believe, in the Hieratic character. . . . All I can say is, that I cannot myself believe that they (sc. Simonides’ papyri) were ever in my possession. I examined my own MSS. sufficiently to feel convinced that they were in the Hieratic character.” Two genuine and famous Hieratic texts, Mayer A and B, do indeed survive in the World Museum from this time; “Κ. Σιμωνίδου ἀνακάλυψις,” “Unrolled by Constantine Simonides,” may be seen in Simonides’ handwriting at the bottom right of Mayer B. M11169k, a “letter of Hermippus,” also contains a section of Hieratic which Simonides did not erase, to allow him to give its “correct” transcription and translation below. This papyrus will be treated in detail in a future publication by Choat. For the assertion that Stobart was either tricked into buying forged papyri by Simonides, or was collaborating with him to produce and sell them, see Luciano Canfora, “The So-called Artemidorus Papyrus: A Reconsideration,” *Museum Helveticum* 70, no. 2 (2013) 157–179 at 173; Rosa Otranto, “Reconsidering the Origin and the Acquisition of P. Lond. Lit. 133,” in Paul Schubert (ed.), *Actes du 26^e Congrès international de papyrologie. Genève, 16-21 août 2010* (Geneva 2012) 581–590, especially 588; idem, “Una disputa tra due riviste sull’Epitafio di Iperide,” *Quaderni di Storia* 36 (2010) 240–255, especially 244–249. Nothing beyond an accusation in a Greek language newspaper supports this, and we find it inherently unlikely given Stobart’s testimony recorded earlier in this note.

(1784–1860),⁵⁷ but the unlabeled rolls were apparently mixed together, a confusion that Simonides clearly took advantage of.⁵⁸ In a letter to *The Athenaeum* Joseph Mayer confirmed his acquisition of the papyri from the two different sources and their subsequent disarrangement.⁵⁹ In the same letter, Mayer stated that he and the curator of the museum had been present as Simonides unrolled many of the papyri:

[Simonides] shortly afterwards commenced his operations in the Library of the Museum, the necessary materials for the unrolling, such as linen, starch, &c., being supplied by the Curator, who attended on him, and with myself saw many of the MSS. opened.⁶⁰

Neither of them, however, could read Greek and distinguish which papyri they had seen unrolled.⁶¹ Simonides was evidently permitted to take

⁵⁷ Charlotte Fell Smith, "Sams, Joseph," in *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 50, edited by Sidney Lee (London 1897) 236–237. On the collecting of Sams (which took place earlier than that of Stobart) see also Gibson and Wright (n. 8) 47–49. By 1852, Mayer certainly owned a number of papyri. These included a late period Hieratic ritual text on a c. 1.75 m roll of papyrus, which was not used by Simonides as it was catalogued in 1879 as M11161 (Charles T. Gatty, *Catalogue of the Mayer Collection*, Part I: *The Egyptian, Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities*, 2nd rev. ed. [London 1879] 38 no. 187), and features already in the 1852 *Catalogue of the Egyptian Museum, No. VIII, Colquitt Street, Liverpool* as no. 217 (though there called a Demotic text, see also Gibson and Wright [n. 8] 52); this papyrus was later destroyed in the Second World War, along with Mayer papyrus K (M11559), likewise part of a late period Book of the Dead. Notes in the World Museum Liverpool indicate Mayer actually purchased M11161 in 1852 from the collection of Viscount Valentia. The 1852 catalogue also lists as nos. 218–245, "Papyri—in the hieroglyphic and demotic characters, as well as in the antient [sic] Coptic and Greek languages." It is not known what if any Coptic and Greek papyri were in the Museum when Simonides arrived: a 1928 catalogue lists M11163, 11167 and 11168 as "unopened" or "unrolled" Coptic papyri, but these have now been lost, and presumably were also destroyed in the war. A papyrus of the Book of the Dead listed in Gatty (n. 57) 38, no. 186 may also have been part of these earlier purchases (see Gibson and Wright [n. 8] 52). This confused collection history merely serves to confirm Mayer's remarks that by 1860 the provenance of his papyrus collection had become disordered; it is however likely that most or all of the papyri which Simonides re-used derived from Stobart's purchases.

⁵⁸ See Simonides' letter to the *Athenaeum* on December 21, 1861, 848–850, reproduced in Elliott (n. 3) 149–150. See also *Journal of Sacred Literature* 3, no. 5 (1863) 240 (a record of a meeting of the Royal Society of Literature on January 7, 1863); Simonides (n. 15 [1864a]) 1, where Simonides allows the possibility that some the papyri derived from purchases from Sams.

⁵⁹ As stated in a letter to *The Athenaeum* on December 28, 1861, 882, reproduced in Elliott (n. 3) 151–152. Simonides stated the same in a letter to the *Athenaeum*, December 21, 1861, 849–850: "it is, probably, almost impossible now to ascribe each papyrus to its original owner."

⁶⁰ Letter from Joseph Mayer to *The Athenaeum* on December 28, 1861, 882, reproduced in Elliott (n. 3) 151–152.

⁶¹ Cf. C.W. Goodwin's comment on a letter from Hodgkin to the *Parthenon*, reproduced in *Journal of Sacred Literature* 3, no. 6 (1863) 497–498, "Mr. Mayer's letter in the

out the papyri from the museum to the house of Samuel Nicolaides, a Greek priest in Liverpool, where Simonides was lodging. In particular, he was absent for a long period because of an illness, during which he worked on the papyri at home.⁶² In the introductory description of the discovery, Simonides says he worked in the museum daily soon after his first encounter with Mayer on February 13, 1860. However, it was only after recovering from an illness that he made the great discovery which he communicated to Mayer, first “by word of mouth” and then in a letter on March 25.⁶³

In Simonides’ own account, then, there is no mention of unrolling the papyri with the curator (who is not mentioned by Simonides), but rather of Simonides working alone in the museum to sort out papyrus fragments “lying pell-mell together” according to their language, mounting them on canvas and deciphering them. It was now that Simonides identified a total of nine fragments from Matthew, and an additional four from the letters of James and Jude, and in communication to Mayer he could report that the fragments had already been “unrolled and deciphered.” In other words, no one else had been present when these texts were “unrolled,” and at this point no one could tell where the various texts had come from.⁶⁴

On the other hand, all the unpublished New Testament papyri, which we have examined in the Liverpool World Museum, have clearly been “unrolled,” before they were fastened on canvas (with one exception).⁶⁵ Interestingly, Hodgkin, the chief defender of Simonides at the time,

Athenaeum of December 28, 1861, does not tell us what opportunities Simonides had of manipulating the papyri without witnesses. Mr. Mayer is confessedly unable to identify the papyri now produced with those which he saw unrolled.”

⁶² Nicolaides would later make a statement to the Royal Society of Literature that Simonides had had the Mayer papyri in his house for a long time. Report from the Royal Society of Literature meeting on February 11, 1863, reproduced from the *Parthenon* in *Journal of Sacred Literature* 3, no. 5 (1863) 243. Simonides himself mentions being given “several rolls of papyrus discovered in the Egyptian coffins” by Mayer before he had even begun to work on the papyri in the Museum, as part of “confirmatory proofs” of the copies of Egyptian texts from the museum which Simonides had been given to translate; these coffin papyri seem never to be mentioned again (Simonides [n. 4] 5).

⁶³ Simonides (n. 4) 5 (the letter is published on p. 39). In retrospect, Hodgkin, the chief defender of Simonides, would argue that “it was only after his illness and his absence (for some two months) that on account of the close and unwholesome air of the Museum, he [Simonides] commenced to trace them [the papyri] at home.” Letter from John Eliot Hodgkin to *The Parthenon* on February 7, 1863, reproduced in Elliott (n. 3) 158–160.

⁶⁴ Simonides (n. 4) 39. See also “The discovery was imparted first to Mr Mayer” (6).

⁶⁵ Cf. Simonides (n. 4) 72, “While these pages have been going through the press, I have unrolled papyri from the same collection, which contain all the second part of the First Epistle of St. Peter, and a small part of the First Epistle of St. John, and the greater part of the Second and Third Epistles, and the first three chapters of the Apocalypse,

reported that the roll with the Gospel of John (now M11169t) had been unrolled at his house in his presence, undoubtedly prepared beforehand by Simonides for the occasion.⁶⁶ This tactical move, however, was taken more than a year after the original discovery, the integrity of which had been contested as soon as it was announced.⁶⁷ Incidentally, the spectacular colophon appended to the Gospel of John, unrolled before Hodgkin's own eyes, would serve to authenticate most of the other New Testament papyri in the Mayer collection and provide a neat explanation how these copies eventually came to Thebes.⁶⁸

The standard practice in many collections at the time, to fasten the papyri with paste on calico or paper, was particularly suitable for Simonides' purposes.⁶⁹ A special report of the Royal Society of Literature, including the opinions of many scholars who had examined the papyri, stated that "it was impossible to see what had been on their reverse sides; and that, thus, no opinion could be formed as to the state of the papyrus when first unrolled ..."⁷⁰ At least one papyrus, an epistle of Hermippus, was also shown by one of the members of the society,

besides one, the most recently opened, but perhaps the most interesting of all, which contains portions of the last chapter of the Gospel of St. John."

⁶⁶ Letter from John Eliot Hodgkin to *The Parthenon* on January 31, 1863, reproduced in Simonides (n. 15 [1864a]) 2–3; and Elliott (n. 3) 155–157.

⁶⁷ Simonides (n. 4) 72, states that he made the discovery of 3 John and two pages of the Works of Aristeeas, "both of the 1st century" on March 2, 1861, which was noticed in the *Daily Post* and *Liverpool Mercury* on March 8. The Aristeeas papyrus is now in the British Library, see above, at n. 9. Subsequently, he had discovered the other unpublished New Testament manuscripts, see above, n. 65.

⁶⁸ We will account for this and other unpublished New Testament papyri in a separate publication.

⁶⁹ For examples of the mounting of papyri on cardboard, cloth, or paper from the nineteenth century, see for instance P.Carlsberg 250 (Thomas Christiansen and Kim Ryholt, *Catalogue of Egyptian Funerary Papyri in Danish Collections* [Copenhagen 2016] 2); *P.Count* 19 (Frag. 4); *P.Minnesota* 13 (*BASP* 44 [2007] 55); *P.Lond.* 5.1764 (see *ZPE* 94 [1992] 180, n. 36); Bibliothèque Nationale de France Suppl. gr. 1106, Egyptien 5, 6, 46, 203; and the papyri discussed in C.W. Goodwin, "Account of Three Coptic Papyri, and other Manuscripts, brought from the East by J. S. Stuart Glennie, Esq.," *Archaeologia* 39 (1863) 447–456. On papyri in the Egyptian Museum Cairo conserved in this manner see Mario Capasso, "The Restoration of Egyptian and Greek Papyri Housed in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo (1997–2000)," in Z. Hawass and L. Pinch Brock (eds.), *Egyptology at the Dawn of the Twenty-first Century. Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists, Cairo, 2000*. Volume 3: *Language, Conservation, Museology* (Cairo-New York 2003) 149–152, at 150.

⁷⁰ *Report of the Council of the Royal Society* (n. 16) 5. The report mentions "one exception" without further specification. In the collection, there is one papyrus which has not been pasted on canvas or cardboard, M11169u, with the Lord's Prayer and other material on the recto. According to Capponi (n. 8) 460, there are visible traces, or dots of ink on the verso which have changed color, perhaps because someone (Simonides) applied

C.W. Goodwin, to exhibit clear signs of existing text having been removed,⁷¹ sufficient evidence for some that it was “a rank forgery, probably of very recent date.”⁷² A devastatingly critical anonymous review of *Fac-similes* in the *Athenaeum* drew attention to the similar handwriting of all the papyri (“probably the work of some scribe of the nineteenth century”), and to the idiosyncratic supporting evidence that Simonides had assembled, especially some of the palaeographically inconsistent epigraphic material.⁷³ Yet there were others who came to Simonides’ defense and drew different conclusions, so the controversy over his manuscripts continued for some years.⁷⁴

To a modern scholar with some knowledge of papyrology, palaeography, and textual criticism, this controversy over Simonides’ production, and Madan’s judgment at the turn of the century of Simonides as a highly skillful forger who met “the requirements of modern critics,” may sound odd, since Simonides’ papyri are rather obvious forgeries. Their execution, script, and formatting; the texts on which they are based; the fact that many are clearly composites of pieces of more than one original papyrus (sometimes with vertical and horizontal fibers on the one side!),⁷⁵ and not

chemicals to remove the ink. Autopsy of the papyrus by Choat has confirmed these traces, which give the impression of something having been removed.

⁷¹ This papyrus contained some lines of genuine Hieratic writing in the midst of the Greek text, which Simonides left to allow him to give its transcription and translation. Goodwin noted traces of pink tint and flecks of blotting paper on the surface of this papyrus (thus creating “an island of truth floating in the midst of a red sea of falsehood”, in Goodwin’s phrase), evidence of the removal of the original text. For the debate over this papyrus (which John Eliot Hodgkin asserted showed no evidence of the tint or blotting paper Goodwin observed), see John Eliot Hodgkin, letter to *The Parthenon* on January 27, 1863, with Goodwin’s reply, where he took the opportunity to suggest that some of the longer texts were written on the backs of papyri, with their original texts hidden by being pasted on cardboard (re-printed in *Journal of Sacred Literature* 3, no. 6 [1863] 497–498).

⁷² Report from the meeting of the Royal Society of Literature on February 11, 1863, re-printed from the *Parthenon* in *Journal of Sacred Literature* 3, no. 5 (1863) 242 (cf. *Report of the Council of the Royal Society* [n. 16] 6–7).

⁷³ *The Athenaeum*, December 11, 1861, 755–756 (reproduced in Elliott [n. 3] 143–147). Christopher P. Jones identifies the reviewer as the great Indologist Max Müller, Christopher Jones, “A Syntax of Forgery,” *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 160 no. 1 (2016) 26–36, at p. 28. In a note, Jones says this identification is based on “unpublished information kindly supplied by Chris Stray” (35, n. 8). Elsewhere, the *Report of the Council of the Royal Society* (n. 16) contains a number of technical criticisms on the papyri, see especially 4–5.

⁷⁴ In particular, John Eliot Hodgkin defended the genuineness of the papyri (even of the Hermippus epistle with lines of Hieratic writing) in several meetings and via a considerable number of letters to the editors of various newspapers (Elliott [n. 3] 155–163).

⁷⁵ See e.g. M11169n.2 “Lower fragment” = Fragment VIII, Jude, where the bottom half of the sheet (ll. 13–24) is from a different original papyrus, and gives the impression of being written against the fibres (↓) while ll. 1–12 is written along the fibres (→).

least, the supporting evidence from invented and idiosyncratic inscriptions, fake ancient Greek writers, and other fantastic manuscripts purported to have been examined by Simonides in various Greek monasteries, combine to suggest their inauthenticity. Now that we have a substantial number of New Testament papyri, we can see that Simonides’ papyrus “codex” does not resemble any of the ca. 140 which are extant today. It must however be remembered that papyrology was in its infancy in the mid-19th century. Greek palaeography, despite Montfaucon and his successors, was not (with the partial exception of epigraphy) well-developed for the early period, and papyri had not found a place within it. The great manuscript discoveries of the eastern monasteries were not widely known, and hardly anyone had ever seen a New Testament papyrus;⁷⁶ indeed, very few people had seen papyri at all.⁷⁷

A report on Simonides’ discoveries in the *Literary Gazette* for 1860 reflects well the popular belief that such forgeries were difficult if not impossible to accomplish:

We should also remember that the date of a papyrus document is most easily ascertainable, and consequently any attempt at fraud open to immediate detection; and, moreover, that forgery is impracticable, not only from the fact that the peculiarity of the material admits of no erasure or obliteration, but also because the species of papyrus anciently employed for manuscript purposes is now extinct.⁷⁸

Not only were such (largely incorrect) beliefs current, but there were few papyri to serve either as a model for Simonides or a basis of comparison for others to assess his creations. The first discovery of Greek papyri had been made in 1752 at Herculaneum, and these had already started to be published by the end of the eighteenth century, by which time the first documentary papyrus had been published.⁷⁹ The first half of the

⁷⁶ On the earliest discovery of a (genuine) New Testament papyrus, which was not published until 1868, see below at n. 100.

⁷⁷ Through his spokesperson, Hodgkin, Simonides made this point himself as he presented his facsimile edition to the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire in Liverpool and referred to the confirmatory evidence from “papyri and parchment MSS. in the monasteries of Mount Athos, of St. Catherine, on Mount Sinai, of St. Sabba, in Palestine,” some of which were three hundred years earlier than what had been discovered so far – “This would not be very much wondered at when we remembered that these monasteries had been in a very small degree ransacked, and their contents now, for the first time, brought to light.” Letter to *Liverpool Daily Post* on December 6, 1861, reproduced in Simonides (n. 15 [1864a]) 48.

⁷⁸ *The Literary Gazette*, August 24, 1860, reproduced in Simonides (n. 4) 6–7.

⁷⁹ On the Herculaneum papyri, see David Sider, “The Special Case of Herculaneum,” in Roger S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (Oxford 2009) 303–319.

nineteenth century – “the first age of papyrus-revelation” in the words of Frederic Kenyon – brought further literary papyri to public attention.⁸⁰ Via the adventurer Giovanni Finati, W.J. Bankes acquired a roll containing Homer’s *Iliad* in Elephantine in 1821, the same year that the British Museum purchased its “Papyrus I” from Henry Salt, later recognized as the *Acta Alexandrinorum*. Among the literary papyrological purchases over the next 40 years, one might also note the separate parts of a roll of speeches by Hyperides, *Against Demosthenes*, *For Lycophron*, and *For Euxenippus*, purchased independently by Joseph Arden and A.C. Harris in Luxor in 1847–1848. As Kenyon points out, this was “the first previously unknown classical author to be recovered on papyrus.”⁸¹ Stobart’s purchases in Egypt would soon provide another, which became crucial to Simonides’ project.

The Perfect Model of a First-Century Papyrus

Most textual forgeries have a model, either for their content or script, and often for both. The model can provide a general appearance, such as the “nonsense-script” papyri commonly produced in early twentieth-century Egypt, many of which resemble at a glance Byzantine cursives hands.⁸² Or an existing text can provide the content, but not an exact physical model, such as the so-called “Gospel of Jesus’ Wife” or its companion fake Gospel of John.⁸³ In some cases, a known papyrus forms an exact

For the ‘Charta Borgiana’, published in 1788, see Neils Schow, *Charta papyracea Graece scripta Musei Borgiani Velitris qua series incolarum Ptolemaidis Arsinoiticae in aggeribus et fossis operantium exhibetur* (Rome 1788); Mario Capasso, “La nascita della papirologia: la ‘Charta Borgiana.’ Dal Museo di Velletri al Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli,” in *Annali della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia dell’Università di Napoli* 29 (1986–1987) 151–168.

⁸⁰ For Frederic G. Kenyon’s characterization of this era, see his *The Palaeography of Greek Papyri* (Oxford 1899) 3–5. This period also witnessed the first acquisitions and publications of documentary papyri. The British Museum’s papyrus collection comprised over 100 Greek and Coptic papyri by the late 1850s, mostly documentary material. A selection had been published with facsimile by Josiah Forshall, *Description of the Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, Part I (London 1839); these were overwhelmingly Ptolemaic period papyri from Memphis (acquired via Henry Salt).

⁸¹ Kenyon (n. 77) 5.

⁸² On the “nonsense-script” papyri, see Malcolm Choat, “Forging Antiquities: The Case of Papyrus Fakes,” in Saskia Hufnagel and Duncan Chappell (eds.), *The Palgrave Handbook on Art Crime* (Basingstoke 2019) 557–586, at 563–564, with further references.

⁸³ On the models for the “Gospel of Jesus’ wife” and “John” papyri see Bernhard (n. 6), showing the dependence of the former on the Coptic Gospel of Thomas in Nag Hammadi Codex II; and Askeland (n. 6), highlighting the similarities of the latter – which include

model, such as a papyrus copy of the *Odyssey* in Strahov Library, Prague, which mirrors its exemplar in the British Library (or a plate of it at least) in every way.⁸⁴ Simonides’ model for Codex Mayerianus, which has not hitherto been known, and which we identify here for the first time, has something in common with both these types, taking the visual characteristics, but not the text, of a known papyrus.

The most significant literary papyrus for Simonides’ purposes proved to be a copy of Hyperides’ *Funeral Oration* over Leosthenes, acquired in Thebes (in whose neighborhood it was presumably found) by Stobart on the same trip as that on which he purchased the Mayer papyri in 1854–1856.⁸⁵ It was the only Greek literary work that Stobart had purchased on his trip, which otherwise yielded the Hieratic and Demotic texts that ended up in Mayer’s collection, and a number of Greek and Coptic documentary papyri most (or perhaps all) of which were purchased by the British Museum.⁸⁶ The Hyperides papyrus was almost immediately bought by the British Museum, and Churchill Babington, who had already been involved in editions of Hyperides’ works (the papyri of Arden and Harris found a decade earlier), was granted permission in 1857 by the Trustees to transcribe the papyrus and have a facsimile of it engraved.⁸⁷ The *editio princeps* appeared in 1858, dedicated to the members of the Royal Society

line divisions but not script or sheet format – to its obvious source, the Cambridge “Qau codex” edited by Herbert Thompson in 1924.

⁸⁴ See Ulrike Horak, “Fälschungen auf Papyrus, Pergament, Papier und Ostraka,” *Tyche* 6 (1991) 91–98, at 97.

⁸⁵ See above, at n. 54. On which of his two visits to Egypt on this trip he purchased the Hyperides papyrus is not known: it can at least be said that it does not feature in Stobart’s *Egyptian Antiquities Collected on a Voyage in Upper Egypt* published in 1855 (n. 54), but perhaps it may be recognized in a letter sent to his mother from Upper Egypt on January 29, 1856 (National Library of Australia MS 1033 no. 31), where he reports buying papyri in Thebes, “one of them ... a ‘prize,’ being written in the Greek character which is always the most valuable.” This remark may however have been made about the Will of Bishop Abraham (see the following note).

⁸⁶ These Coptic papyri came overwhelmingly from the monastery of Phoibammon at Deir el-Bahri in Thebes, as did the one other Greek document in the lot, the Will of the monastery’s abbot, Bishop Abraham, P.Lond. 77. On the circumstances of their discovery, see Włodzimierz Godlewski, *Deir el-Bahri V: Le monastère de St Phoibammon* (Warsaw 1986) 53–56.

⁸⁷ The papyrus was inventoried as P.Lond. 98, see also *P.Lond.Lit.* 133. Otranto (n. 56 [2012]) points to inconsistencies in the acquisition history of the Hyperides papyrus to suggest that the authenticity of the Hyperides papyrus itself might be reconsidered, but outside of the difficulty of identifying the Hyperides papyrus among the earliest descriptions of the papyri Stobart sold to the British Museum (though see above, n. 85) and the assertion of one of Simonides’ Greek opponents at the time, there is little to recommend this suggestion, which has not been taken up in work on the Hyperides papyrus itself.

of Literature.⁸⁸ In the introduction Babington discussed the date of the papyrus: "If I must hazard a more definite conjecture, I should suppose that the second century after Christ is as far a guess as can be made: but if not this, then I would conjecture an earlier rather than a later century."⁸⁹ In other words, here was a potential first-century literary papyrus in Greek from the same lot which Stobart had brought home from Thebes – a perfect model for Codex Mayerianus. When Babington's edition appeared, the exciting new text prompted great interest and resulted in several publications from a number of prominent scholars.⁹⁰

It is quite apparent from the characteristics of the Hyperides papyrus as well as Babington's ensuing edition that Simonides used the manuscript and its edition as models for Mayerianus. Early in the introduction to the volume, he mentions their common provenience:

In publishing, according to promise, the fragments of the New Testament, I may remark, first, that they were brought to England from Egyptian Thebes in 1856, by the Rev. Henry Stobart, whose name is universally known. ... Along with these, several other famous works of Grecian intellect were brought by the same gentleman from Egypt into England; among which is to be found the Funeral Panegyric by Hyperides, the winner of the oratorical prize, which he pronounced by command of the Athenian people over the tomb of Leosthenes, and those who heroically fell with him in the Samian war, and which was first edited by the Rev. Churchill Babington, Cambridge, 1858. The original, also on papyrus, is deposited in the British Museum, and was purchased for a large sum of money. Those who are curious in such matters may see all that relates to the Funeral Panegyric in the Editor's Preface and Introduction.⁹¹

⁸⁸ Churchill Babington, *The Funeral Oration of Hyperides over Leosthenes and His Comrades in the Lamian War* (Cambridge 1858). A digital image of the papyrus may be seen at http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=papyrus_98_f001r.

⁸⁹ Babington (n. 88) x. In the second corrected edition, Babington repeated his judgment that the papyrus was "at least as old as the second century after Christ" (*The Funeral Oration of Hyperides over Leosthenes and His Comrades in the Lamian War* [Cambridge 1859] 3). Subsequent investigation of the text on the front of the papyrus showed it bore a horoscope in Greek and Old Coptic dated to 13.4.95 CE, which seems to have been prepared in the first half of the second century; see first C.W. Goodwin, "Sur un horoscope grec contenant les noms de plusieurs décans," *Mélanges Égyptologiques* 12 (1864) 294–306, *idem*, "On an Egyptian Text in Greek Characters," *ZAS* 6 (1868) 18–24; and more recently J. Černý, P. E. Kahle, and R.A. Parker, "The Old Coptic Horoscope," *JEA* 43 (1957) 86–100. The papyrus was then reused for the *Funeral Oration*, probably in the second half of the second century; see Judson Herrman, *Hyperides Funeral Oration: Edited with Introduction, Translation, and Commentary* (Oxford 2009) 29.

⁹⁰ In the second edition, Babington refers to publications by Dehèque, Caffiaux, Classen, Vömel, Spengel, Kayser, Caesar, Comparetti, and Cobet (n. 89) 5–6.

⁹¹ Simonides (n. 4) 9.



Fig. 4: P.Lond. 98r, cols. 9–10. © British Library Board.

A number of elements familiar from Codex Mayerianus are readily apparent in the Hyperides papyrus. These include most prominently the same intercolumnar vertical lines, a feature which Simonides in reference to Isocrates described as a “paragraphus,”⁹² which separate the columns

⁹² Simonides (n. 4) 25. Perhaps he had in mind *Antidosis* 59, where however Isocrates is clearly speaking about a *paragraphos* in the terms commonly understood, that is, a horizontal line marking out a section of the text.

of the Hyperides text with hardly any blank space on either side. The script of the Hyperides, with letters written separately and irregularly, variable skew of the lines, and inconsistent observation of bilinearity, is also similar to the script that Simonides adopted for the codex, though Simonides' version is more regular and the inspiration for some letter shapes have clearly been drawn from elsewhere. A feature which is almost universal in Simonides' papyri, but uncommon in papyri of the date he assigned to them, is the use of *iota* adscript. It is, however, regularly written by the scribe of the Hyperides papyrus.⁹³ Simonides' inconsistencies of orthography and format, including irregular column width, number of letters per line, and number of lines per column find a type of model in the Hyperides papyrus, on which the width of the columns varies between 6.25 to 8.5 cm, and the number of characters on each line varies between 12 and 31 characters,⁹⁴ and which Babington characterised as follows: "it is worse written (sc. than the other papyri with Hyperides' speeches), the blunders are decidedly more numerous, and the orthography is somewhat more barbarous."⁹⁵ These crude features of Mayerianus, which it shared with other ancient manuscripts preserved in museums including the papyrus of Hyperides, could not disprove their genuineness, as Simonides pointed out.⁹⁶ It has subsequently been suggested that the Hyperides papyrus was written as a school exercise, both because of the nature of the script, and the presence of the vertical lines, extremely rare outside an educational context.⁹⁷ No doubt Simonides, who was naturally not aware of

⁹³ Herrman (n. 89) 32–33. For Tischendorf's comments in 1859 on the use of *iota* adscript in uncial biblical manuscripts, see above, n. 31. For Simonides' remarks on the use of *iota* adscript in Mayerianus see Simonides (n. 4) 25.

⁹⁴ Herrman (n. 89) 28.

⁹⁵ Babington (n. 88) x.

⁹⁶ "Neither is spuriousness or genuineness to be proved by the correct or incorrect spelling of this or that manuscript, as some who are entirely inexperienced in such matters assert and ignorantly dogmatize, for all the MSS. that have come down to our time, and are preserved in the libraries of western Europe, abound in false spelling, infinite solecisms, and anacolutha. Does it follow from this that they are all spurious? If so, what are we to consider genuine? The inscriptions on stone. Or shall we say the papyri of Hyperides and others, preserved in the various museums? But these are not exempt from the same category, as their editors confess, so that at this rate they are all spurious and supposititious, according to the fanciful judgment of our modern palaeographers" (Simonides [n. 4] 27).

⁹⁷ See Raffaella Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta 1996) 240–241 (no. 283), who characterizes the hand as "evolving," and that of "an apprentice scribe or a student copying a text." On vertical dividing lines in educational texts, see Cribiore, *Writing, Teachers, and Students*, 77–78, who suggests they are never found in literary texts, and outside of educational papyri appear only in astrological papyri (as indeed they do in the text on the front of P.Lond. 98); see also E.G. Turner,

this theorized origin for the Hyperides, did not mean to imply the same for his codex.

It is thus likely that the Hyperides papyrus was the model not only for the format of Simonides' biblical papyri, but also elements of their script. Simonides' edition of Mayerianus also shares many similarities with Babington's 1858 Hyperides edition. Two columns of texts are edited on a page with accompanying column and line numbering, with the textual notes laid out in a very similar fashion. Characteristically, the color plates typically reproduce two columns of texts divided by the vertical line divisions. Babington indicated reconstructed letters in square brackets, whereas Simonides provided missing text in red color – a practice that Babington had used in his 1850 edition of Hyperides' *Against Demosthenes*.⁹⁸ While the imitation of an earlier edition's format in itself does not indicate forgery, in this case it heightens the sense of Simonides' dependence on the work of Babington. It is interesting to note that two of Simonides' worst critics, Constantine von Tischendorf and Samuel Tregelles, were included in the list of subscribers of Babington's 1858 edition among many prominent scholars of the time. No doubt Simonides knew that his enemies would compare the two papyri.

This peculiar Hyperides papyrus, then, served as the model for Codex Mayerianus, the first ever published edition of a New Testament manuscript written on Egyptian papyrus, "an unquestionable token of the highest antiquity," as Simonides pointed out.⁹⁹ It was not until 1862 that Tischendorf revealed to the world an authentic New Testament papyrus. This papyrus, now Gr. 258A in the Russian National Library in St. Petersburg and registered as Φ^{11} , contains parts of 1 Corinthians, and had been brought to the library of St. Petersburg from the Monastery of St. Catherine's at Sinai by Bishop Porphyrius Uspensky.¹⁰⁰ Tischendorf thought that the papyrus was no later the fourth century, but today it is assigned to the seventh century. In other words, there was no precedent for Codex Mayerianus.

Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World (London 1987) 5. However, we have found similar lines drawn without ruler that frame the text in P.Oslo 1661 (4th cent.) which contains Biblical texts (most likely a lectionary) in Greek and Coptic (= Gregory-Aland P62; *ed. pr.* in Leiv Amundsen, "Christian Papyri from the Oslo Collection," *SO* 24 [1945] 121–140).

⁹⁸ Churchill Babington, *The Oration of Hyperides against Demosthenes* (Cambridge 1850).

⁹⁹ Simonides (n. 4) 46.

¹⁰⁰ Constantin von Tischendorf, "Vortrag des Geheimen Hofrath Professor Dr. Tischendorf: 'Griechische Paläographie,'" in *Verhandlungen der fünfundzwanzigsten Versammlung Deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Halle*, vol. 25 (Leipzig 1868), 44–45; Frederic G. Kenyon, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*, 2nd ed. (London 1912), 43.

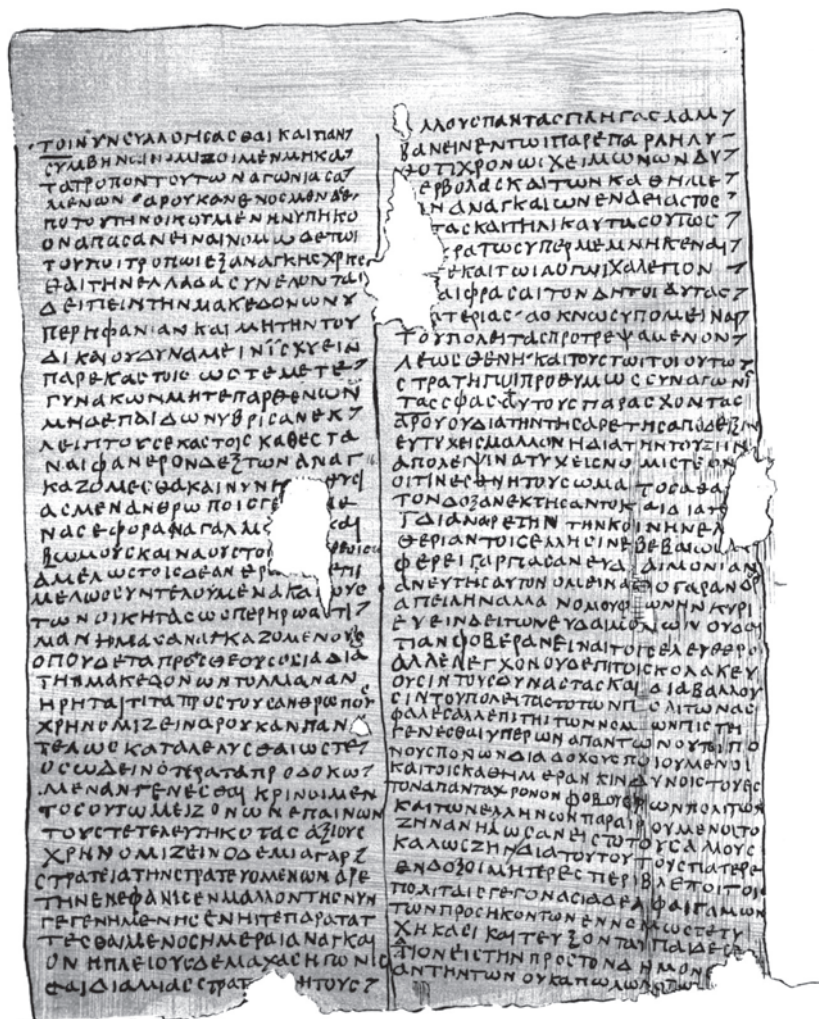


Fig. 5: Facsimile from Babington [n. 88], pl. 5, showing P.Lond. 98r, cols. 9–10.

A Sensational New Reading in Matt 19:24: “It is Easier for a Cable ...”

In the final part of this article, we review the text of Codex Mayerianus, and its contribution to textual criticism in the day. While it may seem counterintuitive to talk about forgeries making a contribution to textual

criticism, they should be considered in this context, not so much for the text itself (as naturally no known forgery will ever appear in a critical apparatus¹⁰¹), but for how they illustrate interaction with the Biblical text in the period in which they were created. While Simonides’ papyri feature a number of deviations from the commonly reconstructed text of the New Testament, one reading in particular in the Matthew papyri was immediately heralded.¹⁰²

The sensational new reading in Matthew 19:24, which Simonides had announced to the press in May 1860, was revealed in public at a soirée held in the Liverpool Town Hall on October 19, 1860, where the Uranius palimpsest, the *Periplus of Hannon*, and the new fragments of Matthew, James and Jude were on display among many other items.¹⁰³ Simonides presented on most of the manuscripts including James and Jude, but apparently saved the highlight for the owner, Joseph Mayer, who presented on the Matthean papyrus, “the earliest Christian manuscript in existence, written 48 years after Christ” (as the colophon indicated).¹⁰⁴ Significantly, the news report also mentions one New Testament manuscript outside of Mayer’s collection containing the “6th Chapter of Acts” – Simonides had probably brought to the exhibition a parchment manuscript, perhaps genuine, that contained the list of deacons in Acts 6:5 including Nicolaus, who was said to have written down the autograph of Matthew, so that one, in this case authentic, ancient manuscript authorized the other, in this case a forgery.¹⁰⁵

The unique reading in Matt 19:24 was finally revealed in public: “It is easier for a *cable* [κάλων] to pass through the eye of a needle.”¹⁰⁶ Whereas the word κάλων was unique, however, the specific meaning in this passage (and its parallels), “cable,” in fact was not. For example,

¹⁰¹ Note, however, the forged minuscule 2427 (“Archaic Mark”) which was included in the 1993 edition of Nestle-Aland (NA²⁷) but removed from the most recent edition (NA²⁸) after it was exposed as a forgery (cf. n. 122 below).

¹⁰² Simonides’ papyrus of 1 John contained a similar textual intervention in the *Comma Johanneum* (1 John 5:7), which he however never had the chance to publish; we will return to this in a future article.

¹⁰³ *Liverpool Mercury*, October 20, 1860; Simonides (n. 4) 34–35. The fragments with Matthew 19:22–20:13 and Jude 16–23 are now registered under a shelf mark (M11169n) distinct from the other Matthean fragments (M11169o), but were once all pasted on the same large sheet of cardboard; see above, n. 24.

¹⁰⁴ *Liverpool Mercury*, October 20, 1860; Simonides (n. 4) 35.

¹⁰⁵ *Liverpool Mercury*, October 20, 1860; Simonides (n. 4) 35.

¹⁰⁶ *Liverpool Mercury*, October 20, 1860; Simonides (n. 4) 35. In the printed edition, Simonides highlights this and a few other differences from the Textus Receptus in the new papyri (n. 4) 27–31.

Cyril of Alexandria, following Origen, interpreted the word κάμηλος (or κάμιλος) as a thick rope in his commentary on this passage.¹⁰⁷ In the apparatus to Simonides' edition there is a long footnote explaining how κάλων became altered into κάμηλον, a *camel*.¹⁰⁸ Here he appeals to no fewer than six other fantasy manuscripts described in the introduction and cited here and elsewhere in the apparatus, to give further credence to Mayerianus and its readings, the earliest being a papyrus copied by Hermodorus (allegedly one of the 70 disciples sent out by Jesus in Luke 10:1–24).¹⁰⁹ In fact, Simonides even included a plate of this manuscript which he claimed to have inspected at St. Catherine's monastery on Mount Sinai.¹¹⁰ The plate shows the portion with the title, another portion from ch. 10 where James and Jude are included among the twelve apostles, and the colophon giving its date – “in the fifteenth year after Matthew's death.” There is also another part of ch. 19 including v. 24 where Hermodorus confirms the peculiar reading attested by Mayerianus saying that “it is easier for a cable (κάλων) to pass through the eye of a needle ...” By the attestation of κάλων in two first-century manuscripts, Simonides could definitively set to rest an old *crux interpretum*.

It may seem like overkill to invent another first-century papyrus (reproduced on a plate) to confirm the reading in Mayerianus. However, in the extensive note in the apparatus to Matt 19:24 there is a clue to the reason why Simonides did this – he had already invented a host of imaginary manuscripts including Hermodorus in order to solve the riddle in Matt 19:24, even before he “discovered” Codex Mayerianus. Simonides' host in Liverpool, Samuel Nicolaides, had written a commentary on Matthew and incorporated various notes from Simonides including an earlier version of the note on Matt 19:24 (in Greek) without acknowledging the source –

¹⁰⁷ Cyril refers to two distinct words with the same meaning: Κάμηλον δὲ ἐνταῦθα φησιν οὐ τὸ ζῶον τὸ ἀχθοφόρον, ἀλλὰ τὸ παχὺ σχονίον, ἐν ᾧ δεσμεύουσι τὰς ἀγκύρας οἱ ναῦται (*Comm. Matt.* 19:24; PG 72:429). Cf. Chrys C. Caragounis, *The Development of Greek and the New Testament*, WUNT 167 (Tübingen 2004) 533–534. The translation “rope” is also attested in the Georgian version (the Adysh Gospels reads, ზომთსადღოსიან, “cable”). The Babylonian Talmud (*Berakhot* 55b) talks about an elephant going through the eye of a needle. The confusion of cable and camel may go back to a very early period, since the meanings “camel” and “thick rope” are derived from the same stem in Semitic languages. On camels in the Gospels, including this passage, see further Martin Heide, *The Camel in the Biblical World* (forthcoming).

¹⁰⁸ Simonides (n. 4) 45–47. In his note, Simonides acknowledges in passing that “most ancient expositors understood the word Κάμηλος or Κάμιλος in the passage under consideration, in the sense of cable” (46).

¹⁰⁹ Simonides (n. 4) 16–18.

¹¹⁰ Simonides (n. 4) Plate II (after p. 40).

something which Simonides complains about as he takes credit for the note and supplies a slightly different version in English.¹¹¹

It is highly instructive to compare the two versions of this note. In the first version, Codex Hermodorus is called, “the remarkable and truly the archetype Gospel of the Evangelist Matthew ... written in the fifteenth year after Matthew’s death. It is written on Egyptian papyrus, which is an unquestionable token of its antiquity.”¹¹² In the rewritten note in the edition of Mayerianus, Hermodorus, previously the “archetype Gospel,” is now introduced as a “most ancient manuscript.”¹¹³ In the Greek note, several other imaginary manuscripts which reappear in Simonides’ edition are mentioned, reflecting the fact that Codex Mayerianus fitted into a previously invented scheme of manuscripts existing in Simonides’ world of imagination.¹¹⁴ Further, in the older note Simonides states that the reading KAMIAOΣ (“cable”) is found in the oldest manuscripts although some have KAMHΛOΣ (“camel”), whereas the later note states the opposite, “in most ancient manuscripts the reading is KAMHΛON, but in some it is KAMIAON.”¹¹⁵

This change was likely occasioned by an interaction with Tregelles. Contemporary scholars including Tischendorf had thought that κάμιλος was the reading of the sixth-century Codex Dublinensis (Z 035) following the *editio princeps*.¹¹⁶ However, Tregelles had applied chemicals to the palimpsest in order to reveal the underwriting and could correct several uncertain readings including this variant in Matt 19:24, where the codex had read KAMHΛOΣ.¹¹⁷ Most likely, Simonides was made aware of this correction only when Tregelles published his *Additions to the Fourth Volume of the Introduction to the Holy Scriptures* in 1860 “with an especial notice of Professor Tischendorf’s Codex Sinaiticus,” in which he both praises

¹¹¹ Samuel Nicolaides, *An Evangelical and Exegetical Commentary upon Select Portions of the New Testament Founded on the Writings of Nicephoros Theotoces*, vol. 1 (London 1860) 183; and Simonides (n. 4) 45, 71–72.

¹¹² Nicolaides (n. 111) 183 (our translation from Greek).

¹¹³ Simonides (n. 4) 46.

¹¹⁴ Four manuscripts mentioned in Nicolaides’ commentary (the first-century copy of Hermodorus; the second-century copy in the Monastery of Sabbas; the copy of Theodosius in the same monastery, 421CE; and the copy of Menas, 539CE), reappear in the Mayerianus edition along with two other manuscripts (the copy of Nectarius, 255CE and a copy in the Monastery of Dionysius, 832CE). Incidentally, Simonides claimed that all these six manuscripts also attested to the date of the Gospel of Matthew, fifteen years after Christ’s ascension (Simonides [n. 4] 16–18).

¹¹⁵ Nicolaides (n. 111) 182; Simonides (n. 4) 45 (indicating the words in the accusative).

¹¹⁶ Tischendorf cited Z in his major Leipzig edition of 1849.

¹¹⁷ Samuel P. Tregelles, *An Account of the Printed Text of the Greek New Testament* (London 1854) 168.

Tischendorf's discovery and rejects the rumors of Simonides' unrolled papyri.¹¹⁸ It is clear that Simonides referred to this publication as "the rather hasty pamphlet" at a time between his two notes on Matt 19:24 and it clearly triggered him:

Dr. Tregelles has publicly boasted of his discovery, by chemical means, that the word supposed to be κάμιλος in the Dublin Codex (Z), is really κάμηλος, but if he considers the reading κάμιλος an important one, and thinks that only the Dublin Codex possesses it, I refer him to Pl. VI., and description, p. 147, for three fac-similes which contain the reading κάμιλος, ... I know that he [Tregelles] has sharpened against me his critical pen with mistaken expectation of the applause of his countrymen, but he has done it with little judgment or discretion, relying too much on his supposed reputation; ... It must be remembered that it is not in the Codex Mayerianus alone that the reading κάλων is found, but also in that of Hermodorus, and many others of great antiquity, which were discovered by myself many years ago and communicated to others – among the rest, to the former pastor of the Greek church (Nicolaidēs) in Liverpool, of which circumstance mention has been made in the note on page 45 – this took place seven months before my introduction to Mr. Mayer.¹¹⁹

Simonides claimed to have found the Hermodorus papyrus in St. Catherine's monastery – the same monastery where Tischendorf had discovered Codex Sinaiticus – and he promised that he was going to publish a facsimile of the whole Gospel after the codex of Hermodorus.¹²⁰ Interestingly, Hermodorus has some similarities with Sinaiticus – most strikingly, the text is arranged in parallel columns of 49 lines.

The Text of Codex Mayerianus

In regard to the text of Matthew, James and Jude, Simonides clearly used the Textus Receptus as a textual base. The edition he used is most likely that which he states he used to supply missing text printed in red,

¹¹⁸ Samuel P. Tregelles, *Additions to the Fourth Volume of the Introduction to the Holy Scriptures* (London 1860) 758–760 (with notes). In the additions, Tregelles immediately placed Codex Sinaiticus among "Greek MSS. of the most ancient class," stating "It appears, undoubtedly, to belong to the fourth century" (p. 758). In the same section where he treats the new discovery, he rejects the rumours of Simonides' discoveries, which had been announced in two different Liverpool papers on May 3 in an extensive footnote (759–760, n. 1). Tregelles would later defend the antiquity of Codex Sinaiticus against Simonides' claim to have copied it.

¹¹⁹ Simonides (n. 4) 71–72.

¹²⁰ Simonides (n. 4) 42.

Henry G. Bohn’s edition of *Textus Receptus* (1859).¹²¹ An earlier forgery, a putative ancient copy of Homer, had been unmasked when it was noticed it was “a most accurate copy of Wolf’s edition of Homer, with all its errata,” a mistake Simonides would not repeat.¹²² For the *Codex Mayerianus*, he modified his base text with a number of additions and substitutions (virtually no omissions).¹²³ Occasionally he appeals to reasons why certain words, present in *Mayerianus*, were omitted in the textual tradition, e.g. καὶ οὐδὲν ἀδύνατόν ἐστι at the end of Matt 19:26 because of “repetition of the same words” in the context (a haplography).¹²⁴ In spite of Simonides’ assurance that he made a “careful transcription,” a comparison with the supplied plates reveals errors, most often at the beginning or end of lines.¹²⁵

The textual variants cited in the highly selective apparatus are mostly attested in Tischendorf’s 7th edition (1859), and otherwise cited from Simonides’ imaginary manuscripts, which are often mentioned by the name of their scribes.¹²⁶ Simonides repeatedly refers to the authority of

¹²¹ Simonides (n. 4) 39. Bohn’s edition likely refers to *Hē kainē diathēkē. Griesbach’s Text, with the Various Readings of Mill and Scholz, Marginal References to Parallels, and a Critical Introduction* (3rd rev. and corr. ed.; London 1859). In using red to print missing text Simonides seems to have been following Babington’s practice in his 1858 *Oration of Hyperides against Demosthenes*; see above, at n. 98.

¹²² *The Athenaeum*, February 23, 1856, 233. For a more recent parallel, see the so-called “Archaic Mark,” which turned out to be a copy of an 1860 edition of the Greek New Testament by Philipp Buttmann including errors, Stephen C. Carlson, “‘Archaic Mark’ (MS 2427) and the Finding of a Manuscript Fake,” *SBL Forum* [August 2006]. Online: <http://www.sbl-site.org/publications/article.aspx?articleId=577>.

¹²³ Cf. also Simonides’ comment on a few readings where he placed the reading of *Codex Mayerianus* and the *Textus Receptus* (Received Version) in parallel columns for comparison (Simonides [n. 4] 27–30).

¹²⁴ Simonides (n. 4) 28.

¹²⁵ For example, Fragment i, col. i., l. 5 omits the last two letters on the line (νη); col. i, l. 26 commences with three letters missing from the manuscript (τοι); the first two letters (ερ) are missing in the transcription of Fragment iii, col. ii, l. 18; the words οἱ ἔσχατοι are missing from the manuscript in fragm. iii, col. ii, l. 25; and he wrongly supplies ἐποίσας on ll. 26–27; Fragment vi., l. 18 omits αἰεί (it is included in the apparatus). In the reconstruction of fragm. viii (Jude), l. 24, Simonides changed his reconstruction from ἐλεεῖτε Κυρίῳ τοῦ Θεοῦ μιῖσούντες (p. 32) to ἐλεεῖτε Κυρίῳ μιῖσούν[τες (p. 67). Further, there are itacisms and confusions of vowels in the transcription, e.g., Fragment iii, col. ii, l. 7 and 14 have Ὑπάγεται (x 2); l. 12 has ἐστήκαται; and ll. 21–22 have ἐνόμησαν; Fragment iv, ll. 3–4 has ἡγήσασθαι; l. 9 has ἡμῶν (for ὁμῶν); l. 12 has αἰτήτω. That there are occasionally differences between the facsimiles (which Simonides seems to have traced himself, see i, 4–5) and the papyri themselves further complicates the relationship between the editions and the papyri.

¹²⁶ For example, the note Matt 28:8–9 reads, “Such is the reading of the codices of Hermodorus and Stachys, and the copies made from them. In the common version the passage is defective, as has been shown at pp. 30, 31. In other codices it is varied thus . . . In the MS. of Nectarius the reading of this passage is as follows: . . .” (Simonides [n. 4] 50).

“ancient MSS,” but only in one case, in Matt 2:21, does he mention an authentic early manuscript, “In the codex of Beza τὸν παῖδα instead of τὸ παιδίον, and in others we find Διεγερθεῖς and εἰσηλθεν instead of ἐγερθεῖς and ἦλθεν.”¹²⁷ These three variation-units in v. 21 are listed in Tischendorf’s edition. The manuscripts attesting to the reading εἰσηλθεν are Vaticanus (B 03) and Ephraemi Rescriptus (C 04), but here Simonides merely refers to them as “others” and elsewhere as “European” (deposited in the libraries in Western Europe) or “common MSS,” known from “common editions,” juxtaposing them to superior manuscripts in the East that he has examined in the monasteries on Mount Athos, Mount Sinai, in Palestine and other places.¹²⁸

It is not surprising that Simonides never refers explicitly to any critical edition, since he regarded other scholars as incompetent and ignorant of the manuscripts he had access to; in the apparatus he explains that “they know nothing of the royal libraries in Mount Athos, &c., nor will they ever see one of them, for reasons which I am well acquainted with, but omit so as not to give rise to scandal.”¹²⁹

In addition to the textual variant in Matt 19:24 (“cable”), a few other readings are noteworthy. In Matt 27:16 Mayerianus reads, εἶχον δὲ ἐπίσημον ληστὴν Ἰησοῦν Βαραββᾶν καλούμενον. Simonides does not indicate in the apparatus that other manuscripts and church fathers attest to “Jesus Barabbas” but again refers only to two imaginary manuscripts, the codices of Hermodorus and Nectarius, for support.¹³⁰ Elsewhere, however, he refers to a scholion (“a note on the subject which others have

¹²⁷ Simonides (n. 4) 44; for references to “ancient MSS [manuscripts],” see 42, 45, 61–63. Elsewhere in his edition, Simonides comments on the reading of Codex Z (035) in Matt 19:24 (71), but in the apparatus he merely refers to “ancient manuscripts” at this point (45).

¹²⁸ Simonides refers alternatively to “European MSS” ([n. 4] 42–43); “known codices in Western Europe” (49); “common MSS/codices” (43–44, 46); “common versions [known variants]” (58). Approximately 300 readings of Codex Vaticanus are included in Tischendorf’s 7th edition (1859). The readings of Codex Sinaiticus (which also attests to εἰσηλθεν in Matt 2:21) were not yet publicly known or included in any critical edition of the New Testament.

¹²⁹ Simonides (n. 4) 42. In this connection he exhorts the Bible Society (!) to “undertake the comparison of all the copies of the New Testament extant in Europe, Asia, and Egypt, by means of men really competent in Greek palaeography, and not superficial pretenders” (42). Elsewhere he expresses doubt that there is any other scholar (than himself) “in the present century,” who can ascertain “the genuineness of a MS. . . . from various secret evidences, known only to those who have had the good fortune to inspect a large number of MSS. of different nations, on various material and in various handwritings . . . and to have verified them one against another, several times and in many ways, by numerous tests” (27).

¹³⁰ Simonides (n. 4) 49.

published before myself”) attributed either to Anastasius, bishop of Antioch or to Chrysostom which mentions the reading; the scholion is included in Tischendorf’s edition.¹³¹

Simonides’ special interest in names, their meaning, and etymology is further reflected in the spectacular variant in Matt 27:19 where Mayerianus provides the name of Pilate’s wife, Περπέλη (Pempele). Simonides explains, “It would seem as though the noun Περπέλη had been converted into ἔπεμψεν, for ἔπεμψεν is also found in some codices ... , and that ἀπέστειλε was expunged as meaning the same thing.”¹³² Thus, from the reading ἔπεμψεν, included in Tischendorf’s apparatus, Simonides created the name Pempele, a reading attested only by Mayerianus and the other manuscripts that Simonides had access to, “the MSS. of Hermodorus and of Stachys, and the copies made from them.”¹³³ Simonides goes on to cite “five inscriptions dug up in Palestine in the year 1852,” to demonstrate that Pempele was a common name in Palestine, and further states that the name was “decidedly Greek,” “an epithet of the goddess Aphrodite,” signifying “extremely old,” and “derived by some from πέπτω; by others from πέμπω. Whence, as above remarked, the copyists altered the proper name Περπέλε into ἔπεμψε.”¹³⁴

In Matt 27:19, most manuscripts (and the Textus Receptus) read πολλὰ γὰρ ἔπαθον σήμερον κατ’ ὄναρ δι’ αὐτόν. Simonides cites other extant variants that substitute either νυκτός or τῇ νυκτὶ ταύτῃ for σήμερον – these are smoother readings since people normally dream at night. On the basis of this variation, however, Simonides creates a unique conflation in Mayerianus, πολλὰ γὰρ ἔπαθον κατ’ ὄναρ δι’ αὐτόν ἐν τῇ νυκτὶ τῆς παρελθουσῆς καὶ, πολλὰ καθ’ ὕπαρ εἶδον σήμερον ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου, “For I have suffered many things in a dream this day because of him during the past night, and have seen many things in a waking vision this day concerning the same person” (Simonides’ translation), claiming that the shorter reading was occasioned by an omission due to haplography (ἐκείνω ... ἐκείνου).¹³⁵

¹³¹ Simonides (n. 4) 29.

¹³² Simonides (n. 4) 29. No such name is attested in any ancient text we have been able to consult. Another example of Simonides’ interest in names is reflected in the apparatus to fragment 1 and Jesus’ genealogy (Matt 1:1–17). In Matt 1:12, for example, he notes the spelling Σελαθιήλ, but claims that Σαλαθιήλ in Mayerianus is correct referring to the meaning “renown.” In the same verse Simonides notes the spelling Ζοροβάβελ in some MSS (all the readings are listed in Tischendorf’s edition).

¹³³ Simonides (n. 4) 49.

¹³⁴ Simonides (n. 4) 29–30. The inscriptions, which naturally never existed in these forms outside of Simonides’ imagination, are illustrated in Plate XI, with further commentary on the preceding page (68).

¹³⁵ Simonides (n. 4) 30, 46.

Simonides creates another conflation in Matt 28:8 based on the variation between ἀπελθοῦσαι (B C L *al.* listed and adopted by Tischendorf) and ἐξελθοῦσαι (A D W *al.* TR; cf. Mark 16:8) and the parallel in John 19:41, so that Mayerianus reads ἀπελθοῦσαι ταχὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου καὶ ἐξελθοῦσαι τοῦ κηποῦ ἐν ᾧ τὸ μνημεῖον ἐστὶ, “They departed quickly from the sepulchre and went out of the garden in which the sepulchre stood.”¹³⁶ The reading of the TR, ἐξελθοῦσαι (... ἀπὸ τοῦ μνημείου), was apparently problematic for Simonides, since it implied that the disciples had entered “into the interior of the sepulchre, so that the evangelist should describe them as coming out.”¹³⁷

In the next verse, Simonides recognizes the “unmeaning repetition” in the TR of the phrase from v. 8, ἀπαγγεῖλαι τοῖς μαθηταῖς αὐτοῦ – he is aware of the shorter text “in some editions,” but he chooses to retain ὡς δὲ ἐπορεύοντο from the longer reading, but in modified form in Mayerianus, ἐν τῷ πορεύεσθαι αὐτάς, “more consistent with correctness.”¹³⁸

There is considerably less variation between the texts of James and Jude in the TR and Codex Mayerianus; Simonides has mainly added small words, adverbs, adjectives, pronouns, the definite article, and changed the word order here and there. In James, the most noteworthy variant is found in the first verse, where Simonides’ papyrus indicates the addressees as ταῖς δώδεκα τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ φυλαῖς, “the twelve tribes of Israel,” where the modifying genitive, τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ, is unique.¹³⁹

Two units of variation are of interest in Jude. First, the addition of the instrumental dative, τοῖς σχίσμασι in v. 19, οὗτοί εἰσιν οἱ ἀποδιορίζοντες εὐτοὺς τοῖς σχίσμασι, “These be they who separate themselves *by schisms*” (Simonides’ translation, our italics).¹⁴⁰ This addition was certainly inspired by an authentic scholion included in Tischendorf’s edition, τουτέστιν οἱ τὰ σχίσματα ποιοῦντες. In the apparatus, Simonides refers to a number of similar scholia in manuscripts.

Secondly, in vv. 22–23, one of the most complex passages in the New Testament, transmitted in a large number of forms, it is interesting to note that Mayerianus has a three-clause form, καὶ οὖς μὲν ἔλεεῖτε ... οὖς δὲ σφῶτε ... οὖς δὲ ... ἔλεεῖτε, albeit unique, where the TR and the majority of manuscripts have a two-clause form. Tischendorf preferred the

¹³⁶ Simonides (n. 4) 30–31.

¹³⁷ Simonides (n. 4) 30.

¹³⁸ Simonides (n. 4) 31.

¹³⁹ This is the only textual variant in James that Simonides comments on outside of the actual apparatus (Simonides [n. 4] 31).

¹⁴⁰ Simonides (n. 4) 67.

three-clause form, and Simonides likely realized that it was more ancient, but he creates a unique version by adding something to each clause: a dative of manner, ἐλεεῖτε τῇ ἐλέγξει “have compassion, and reprove them;” an instrumental dative, σώζετε διδασκαλίᾳ, “save by instruction;” and an adverb, αὖ ἐν φόβῳ ἐλεεῖτε κυρίου, “again have compassion in the fear of the Lord” (Simonides’ translation). The addition of ἐλέγξις, “reproof,” was no doubt derived from the three-clause version printed in Tischendorf’s edition which includes the verb ἐλέγχετε, “reprove.”

As we have seen, in regard to the more noteworthy readings that Simonides created, these were almost always based on other genuine textual variants or scholia included in Tischendorf’s edition. The foundational principle of textual criticism is to prefer the variant that best explains the rise of the other(s).¹⁴¹ Simonides, on the other hand, used the principle backwards in a manner similar to conjectural critics, to create “original readings” in Mayerianus, which could explain existing readings as scribal corruptions. This procedure, however, more often resulted in awkward but spectacular confections.

The Ensuing Debate Over the Papyri

Despite his many supporters, most notably the indefatigable Hodgkin, Simonides’ track record of proven forgery meant that the authenticity of any manuscripts he brought forth would be questioned.¹⁴² Earlier incidents, stretching from the unmasking of his Homer forgery in the late 1840s,¹⁴³ to his arrest (but not conviction) in Leipzig and Berlin in the mid-1850s

¹⁴¹ See Tommy Wasserman, “Criteria for Evaluating Readings in New Testament Textual Criticism,” in Bart D. Ehrman and Michael W. Holmes (eds.), *The Text of the New Testament in Contemporary Research: Essays on the Status Quaestionis*, 2nd ed.; NTTSD 42 (Leiden 2012) 579–612, at 582–583.

¹⁴² See for instance a letter to the *Allgemeine Zeitung* in December 23, 1862 by Tischendorf, in the course of which he remarked “Any one in Germany who recollects the palimpsest forgeries of Simonides, by means of which, notwithstanding previous brandings and imprisonments in Greece, he contrived to outwit some of the most renowned German savants, until he was unmasked by myself towards the end of January, 1856, and arrested as a forger in consequence of similar convictions obtained against him simultaneously in Berlin, will probably find it incredible that this same [we refrain from translating the epithet used in the original] should yet at this present moment find in England papers ready to print his insane fancy, that he had in his youthful days (in 1856 he gave his age as thirty-three years ...) the pleasure of writing the Codex Sinaiticus;” the letter was translated to English in the *Parthenon*, January 17, 1863, and is reproduced in the *Journal of Sacred Literature* 3, no. 6 (1863) 478. The German term suppressed by the *Parthenon* was “Schwindler.”

¹⁴³ See above, at n. 122.

over the Uranius palimpsest,¹⁴⁴ were well-known. An account of his earlier activity had been widely shared in England already in 1856, and a lengthy review of *Fac-similes*, as witheringly negative as it was well-informed, appeared in the *Athenaeum* soon after its publication; it opened by asking “Is there no limit to public credulity? Is there no limit to the power of abusing this credulity?”¹⁴⁵ Mayer, initially so supportive, became progressively less so, perhaps partly because of growing suspicions that he had been deceived, but also because of a financial dispute with Simonides, who claimed he was owed a considerable amount for the costs of his services and the publication of the Mayer papyri. Microscopic examination which Hodgkin had arranged in an attempt to prove the authenticity of the Uranius, instead found the opposite.

The debate over the papyri, largely prosecuted via letters to the editors of various newspapers, proceeded rather unabated in the three years between Simonides’ publications of *Fac-similes* and the *Periplus of Hannon* in 1864, by which time he could fill some twenty pages with letters and reports about the controversy over his papyri, virtually without comments.¹⁴⁶ Soon, however, the debate over the papyri and the Uranius was overtaken by a new controversy. Simonides had clearly harbored the desire to take his revenge on his sworn enemy Tischendorf since the unravelling of the Uranius affair in 1856. Tischendorf’s announcement on April 17, 1859 of his discovery of Codex Sinaiticus at St. Catherine’s Monastery on Mount Sinai provided the perfect opportunity.¹⁴⁷ Shortly after he heard this sensational news, Simonides not only brought forth a New Testament manuscript on papyrus which was three hundred years older than Sinaiticus, but claimed that he himself had copied Codex Sinaiticus on Mount

¹⁴⁴ This protracted episode, which began with much celebration of such an amazing discovery by Classicist Karl Wilhelm Dindorf and Egyptologist Richard Lepsius, ended with the former instructing Oxford University Press to halt publication once the Academy of Berlin had reversed its earlier finding that the manuscript was authentic, on the advice of Lepsius, Tischendorf, and a panel of German microscopists. See *Simonides und sein Prozess* (Berlin 1856); Alexander Lykurgos, *Enthüllungen über den Simonides-Dindorf’schen Uranios unter Beifügung eines Berichts von Herrn Prof. Dr. Tischendorf* (Leipzig 1856); and the material collected in *Report of the Council of the Royal Society*. The affair had been reported already in England in 1856 in *The Athenaeum*, February 16, 1856, 200–201, reproduced in Elliott (n. 3) 123–126.

¹⁴⁵ *The Athenaeum*, December 11, 1861, 755–756; see above, n. 73.

¹⁴⁶ Simonides (n. 15 [1864a]) 1–5; 42–67.

¹⁴⁷ The first announcement was published in the *Leipziger Zeitung*. Tischendorf had seen parts of the manuscript already in 1844 and published 43 folios of it (LXX) under the title *Codex Frederico-Augustanus*. He published a scholarly report in *Notitia Editionis Codicis Bibliorum Sinaitici Auspiciis Imperatoris Alexandri II susceptae* (Leipzig 1860).

Athos in 1839 before it was deposited at St. Catherine's where Tischendorf discovered it.¹⁴⁸ Despite the implausibility of the claim, the status of Sinaiticus in particular was subject to lively debate among scholars and in British and German journals and newspapers for several years to come.¹⁴⁹ Simonides, however, was soon to move on again. Faced with growing debts and dwindling supporters, Simonides left England in 1865. He was reported to have died of leprosy in Alexandria in 1867, only to be sighted soon after in Russia preparing a new publication. That a copy of his 1864 volume *Λείψανα ἱστορικά* given to Alexander Craig Gibson appears to be inscribed in Simonides' own hand with the date August 9/21, 1869 also strongly suggests that the notice of his death which appeared in 1867 was premature.¹⁵⁰

Conclusion

Unlike many forgers, who are anonymous and known only through their creations, Simonides provides an opportunity not only to study forged manuscripts in great details, but also, via the wealth of material he left

¹⁴⁸ As Elliott (n. 3) 26, notes, Simonides first made the claim in 1860 but, it was not until 1862 that "the scholarly world at large took notice," as a letter was published from Simonides in the *Guardian* on September 3, 1862, concerning "The Sinai MS. of the Greek Bible." The news of Simonides' discovery of an ancient biblical manuscript (the Matthew papyrus) first appeared in the *Liverpool Mercury* on May 2, 1860. When one critic, W.A. Wright pointed out that Simonides could not have achieved such a great task at the age of 15 in 1839, Simonides replied in a letter to the *Guardian* on January 21, 1863 (reproduced also in Elliott [n. 3] 41) that he was actually born in 1820, that is to say, he faked his own birth date.

¹⁴⁹ The back and forth is exhaustively chronicled in Elliott (n. 3). One might note in particular Tischendorf's reminder of Simonides' terrible track record in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* of December 23, 1862 (translated to English in the *Parthenon*, January 17, 1863, and reproduced in the *Journal of Sacred Literature* 3, no. 6 [1863] 478). Interestingly, there are still groups and individuals today who hold the conspiracy theory that Codex Sinaiticus is not a fourth-century manuscript (which is the scholarly consensus), but that it was copied entirely or in part by Simonides in the 19th century. This is part of a larger argument for the superiority of the text of the King James Version as the exclusive word of God. See e.g., the "Codex Sinaiticus Authenticity Research" at <http://www.sinaiticus.net/>, the "Pure Bible Forum" at <http://www.purebibleforum.com/>, or David W. Daniels, *Is The "World's Oldest Bible" a Fake?* (Ontario 2017).

¹⁵⁰ The testimony of Rev. Donald Owen that Simonides was active in St. Petersburg soon after his supposed death, working on a volume of historical documents relating to Russia, is reported by Samuel P. Tregelles, "Codex Mayerianus and Simonides," *Notes and Queries: A Medium of Inter-Communication for Literary Men, General Readers, etc.* 4.4 (1869) 389. For the dedication of the *Λείψανα ἱστορικά* (whose double date reflects the differences between the Gregorian and Julian calendars), see Pinto (n. 16) 123; we thank Dr. Pinto for sharing with us a scan of this copy of the booklet (ultimately from the library of A.S. Hunt). For the obituary itself see *Notes and Queries*, October 26, 1867, 3rd Series, xii, 339.

behind, to position a forger in sociological terms within the networks of patronage and scholarship which characterized, and still in many ways do, the discovery and publication of ancient manuscripts. As we have argued here, Simonides' forging of these papyri illustrates an often-overlooked motivation of forgers, their positioning of themselves as part of scholarly networks and as an authoritative source of knowledge – and truth – about the past within them. In identifying the Hyperides papyrus as the model Simonides used for this forgery, we are able to see more clearly his awareness and use of contemporary scholarship. In his publications about his own fakes, we can read clearly his motivations. In contrast to his previous forgeries, Simonides did not attempt to sell the papyri (which were not his property).¹⁵¹ Rather than economic gain, his primary goal in forging them was to promote his own superior knowledge of palaeography, ancient languages, and textual criticism, and the history which they – and especially his own work on them – revealed. In displaying his own knowledge, Simonides took every opportunity to slight that of his academic rivals, either those with whom he had come into direct conflict, or those whose understandings of the ancient world or its languages conflicted with Simonides' theories. In bringing forth the earliest biblical manuscripts, with hitherto ignored or unknown readings, Simonides attempted to position himself, and his expertise, at the center of debates over the original form and language of the text, its authorship, and its transmission.

To call this a vanity project makes it seem more tangential that it was; indeed, it was Simonides' main focus for several years. Yet Simonides' vanity, his self-assuredness in his own expertise, and confidence in his own creations, are critical to understanding his career. No less than his own, the vanity of those collectors, scholars, and interested members of the public to or for whom he sold, displayed, or discovered precious relics of the past was critical to Simonides' project, creating a self-perpetuating system of adherents and defenders to balance the constant attacks on Simonides' manuscripts and credibility. The "Simonides affair," and especially the production and propagation of the papyri examined here, not only chronicles a neglected chapter in the history of work on the text of the New Testament, but allows us to see a forger in action, providing an insight into a problem no less prevalent now than it was in Simonides' lifetime.

¹⁵¹ How much (if any) money Simonides made from the entire enterprise is debatable. While he invoiced Mayer for costs associated with the work and the production of the publications of the papyri (see for example BL Add MS 42502A fol. 388, from 1863), he seems to have ended up in Mayer's debt, see Pinto, (n. 16) 122.

Appendix: The Forged Papyri of Constantine Simonides

The table below lists those papyri forged by Constantine Simonides which are extant. It is highly likely that others once existed, as Simonides at times mentions or in some cases provides facsimiles of papyri which cannot now be located. We provide here a basic list and will provide a fuller synopsis with more information on the papyri in a future publication. The list follows the inventory order in the World Museum Liverpool (WML in the table below), with the single papyrus extant in the British Library (BL) following at the end. For an explanation of their inventory numbers and an overview of their contents, see above at n. 10. For Simonides’ publications of and commentary on these papyri, see Simonides (n. 4), (n. 15 [1864a], [1864b]). For an earlier overview, which requires corrections at some points but to which we are nevertheless indebted for some of the identifications of content, see Maraglino (n. 8). Titles in quotation marks are those of Simonides on the mounting of the papyrus or in his publications.

Inventory number	Contents
WML M11169a.1–2	“Two fragments of an unknown historian”
WML M11169a.3–4	“Two fragments of the wise instructions of Zoroastros the Magos”
WML M11169a.5	“Fragment from the end of the book of the historian Thucydides” (8.109 followed by colophon)
WML M11169b	1 John 4:20–5:21; 2 John; 3 John; Rev 1.1–3.8
WML M11169c	1 Peter 4:17–5:14; 2 Peter 1:1–3:18; 1 John 1:1–2:3
WML M11169d	Greek Historical text
WML M11169e	Greek Historical text
WML M11169f	Letter of Hermippus
WML M11169g	Letter of Hermippus?
WML M11169h	Letter of Hermippus
WML M11169i	Letter of Hermippus
WML M11169j	Greek Historical text
WML M11169k	Letter of Hermippus
WML M11169l	“The Periplus of Hannon, king of the Karchedonians”
WML M11169m	“The Theban Codex” (Greek Historical text)

Inventory number	Contents
WML M11169n.1 “Upper”	Matt 19:22–20:13
WML M11169n.2 “Lower”	Jude 16–23
WML M11169o.1	Matt 1:1–3; 1:4–5; 1:11–13; 1: 15–17
WML M11169o.2	Matt 2:6–12, 14–20
WML M11169o.3	Matt 1:20
WML M11169o.4	Matt 27:3–7, 12–20
WML M11169o.5	Matt 28:5–9, 18–20, followed by the colophon of Nicolaus the Deacon
WML M11169p	Letter of Hermippus
WML M11169q	Letter of Hermippus
WML M11169r	Letter of Hermippus
WML M11169s	Greek Historical text
WML M11169t	John 20:24–21:25 + epistolary colophon.
WML M11169u	Lord’s Prayer (Matt 6:9–13) with other text before and after
WML M11169v	Gen. 7:23–9:10
WML 1978.291.245a	James 2:5–10
WML 1978.291.245b	Ecclesiastical History of Hegesippus
WML 1978.291.245c	James 1:1–11
WML 1978.291.245d	James 2:12–15, 2:23
BL Add MS 42502B, f. 185	Letter of Aristeas, 1–3(? Extent unclear)

THE DATE OF MS 193 IN THE SCHØYEN COLLECTION: NEW RADIOCARBON EVIDENCE¹

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Abstract. — MS 193 in the Schøyen Collection, also known as the Crosby-Schøyen Codex, is a unique Coptic papyrus codex that has previously been dated by scholars from the second to the sixth centuries CE. This article presents the results of recent radiocarbon analysis of a fragment of one of the leaves of the codex, while discussing the radiocarbon dating method itself and the remaining uncertainties relating to the interpretation of the results of such analysis.

Keywords: Crosby-Schøyen Codex, Radiocarbon dating, Dishna Papers, Bodmer Papyri, Early Christian studies, Egyptian monasticism

A Unique Coptic Manuscript

The Coptic manuscript MS 193 in the Schøyen Collection, the so-called Crosby-Schøyen Codex,² contains a broad variety of texts, both biblical and patristic. It opens with Melito of Sardis' *On the Passover*, followed by 2 Macc 5:27–7:41 (entitled “The Jewish Martyrs”), 1 Peter (entitled “The Letter of Peter”), Jonah, and a concluding untitled text, possibly a hymn, that is fragmentarily preserved and has so far not been identified with any

¹ The research and writing of this article was conducted under the aegis of the NEWCONT project (New Contexts for Old Texts: Unorthodox Texts and Monastic Manuscript Culture in Fourth- and Fifth-Century Egypt) at the University of Oslo, Faculty of Theology. The project was funded by the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Community's Seventh Framework Programme (FP7/2007–2013) / ERC Grant agreement no 283741. The radiocarbon dating itself was conducted and financed by the DFG-ANR-Project “*Coranica*.” I would like to thank Michael Marx and Tobias J. Jocham for including a papyrus sample from MS 193 in their radiocarbon dating project. Above all, I am greatly indebted to Martin Schøyen for providing the materials for radiocarbon analysis. I would like to thank Brent Nongbri, Josephine Dru, Christian Askeland, and René Falkenberg for discussion and feedback. The article has also been significantly improved by the insightful comments of the anonymous *BASP* reviewers.

² For an introduction to the manuscript and critical editions of the texts it contains, see J.E. Goehring (ed.), *The Crosby-Schøyen Codex MS 193 in the Schøyen Collection* (Leuven 1990). Fragments of an additional folio, now in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, have been published by A. Pietersma and S. Comstock, “Two More Pages of Crosby-Schøyen Codex MS 193: A Pachomian Easter Lectionary?” *BASP* 48 (2011) 27–46.

previously known writing.³ The codex originally consisted of 136 pages, and was penned by a single scribe, who used a two-column layout for the first four texts, and a single-column format for the final, unidentified one.⁴

In all likelihood, MS 193 derives from the so-called Dishna Papers discovery, unearthed in 1952 in the vicinity of the Jabal Abu Mana, close to the village of Dishna in Upper Egypt.⁵ While there is continued uncertainty regarding the full extent of the discovery, a significant number of the manuscripts that have been associated with it, including MS 193, are likely to have been owned, and perhaps also manufactured, by one of the nearby Pachomian monastic communities that were active in this area from the first half of the fourth century onwards.⁶ The bulk of what is now known as the Crosby-Schøyen Codex was originally acquired in 1955 by Margaret Reed Crosby for the University of Mississippi, while a number of smaller fragments ended up in the Bodmer and Chester Beatty libraries. Today most of the codex, including most of the fragments first acquired by Martin Bodmer, but excluding the Chester Beatty fragments, reside in the collection of Dr. Martin Schøyen, outside Oslo, Norway, where it is designated MS 193.⁷

This codex is in several respects unique among our early Coptic manuscripts. Its almost square format is quite distinct from the tall rectangular format most common among our earliest Coptic codices, and its two-column layout is similarly rare in early Coptic codices. MS 193 indeed finds its closest parallels among other manuscripts from the Dishna Papers discovery.⁸ A comparison with the Greek manuscript known as the Bodmer Miscellaneous – or Composite – Codex, is especially intriguing.⁹ Not only

³ Pietersma and Comstock (n. 2) suggest that the unidentified text could be Pachomian and that the whole codex may have been a Pachomian Easter Lectionary.

⁴ J.M. Robinson, “The Manuscript’s History and Codicology,” in Goehring (n. 2) xvii–xlvi.

⁵ On the discovery of the Dishna Papers, see esp. J.M. Robinson, *The Story of the Bodmer Papyri: From the First Monastery’s Library in Upper Egypt to Geneva and Dublin* (Eugene, OR 2011).

⁶ On the provenance and contents of the Dishna Papers discovery, see esp. Robinson (n. 5); H. Lundhaug, “The Dishna Papers and the Nag Hammadi Codices: The Remains of a Single Monastic Library?” in H. Lundhaug and L. Jenott (eds.), *The Nag Hammadi Codices and Late Antique Egypt* (Tübingen 2018) 329–386; B. Nongbri, *God’s Library: The Archaeology of the Earliest Christian Manuscripts* (New Haven, CT 2018). On the Pachomian monasteries in the area, see L.-Th. Lefort, “Les premiers monastères Pachômiens: exploration topographique,” *Le Muséon* 52 (1939) 379–407.

⁷ On the acquisition history, see Robinson (n. 4) xxxiii–xli.

⁸ See Robinson (n. 4) xxxv–xxxvii.

⁹ *P. Bodmer V+X+XI+VII+XIII+XII+XX+IX+VIII*. The codex has been published in several volumes (see the *Checklist*).

are the two codices practically identical in size and format,¹⁰ but the similarities even extend to the textual contents, as both codices feature a peculiar assortment of texts in a single volume, and even share two texts between them, Melito of Sardis' *Peri Pascha* and 1 Peter.¹¹ Yet with regard to quire structure and complexity of construction the two codices are significantly different. While MS 193 is a single-quire codex inscribed by a single scribe, the Miscellaneous Codex is highly complex, consisting of fifteen quires inscribed by multiple scribes, and even seems to have been added to over time.¹²

Previous Datings

Because of its relative uniqueness among Coptic manuscripts, and the problematic nature of palaeography as a dating tool,¹³ especially of Coptic manuscripts,¹⁴ assessing the date of Schøyen MS 193 has not been easy. Scholars have come to markedly different conclusions, dating it anywhere from the second to the sixth centuries.¹⁵ Colin Roberts dated it to the late second or early third century,¹⁶ William H. Willis preferred the third century,¹⁷ Allen Cabaniss thought the codex was a little bit later and settled

¹⁰ See, e.g., E.G. Turner, *The Typology of the Early Codex* (Philadelphia, PA 1977) 22, 79–81, 137. For a physical description of MS 193, see Robinson (n. 4) xliii–xlvi.

¹¹ The Bodmer Miscellaneous Codex contains *The Nativity of Mary* (*P.Bodmer* V), apocryphal correspondence between Paul and the Corinthians (*P.Bodmer* X), an *Ode of Solomon* (*P.Bodmer* XI), Jude (*P.Bodmer* VII), Melito of Sardis, *On the Passover* (*P.Bodmer* XIII), a fragment of a hymn (*P.Bodmer* XII), the *Apology of Phileas* (*P.Bodmer* XX), Psalms 33:2–34:16 LXX (*P.Bodmer* IX), and 1–2 Peter (*P.Bodmer* VIII). *P.Bodmer* VII (Jude) and VIII (1–2 Peter) are commonly known as Ψ^2 , although recent research indicates that *P.Bodmer* VIII originally existed separately, as a part of a different codex, being bound with *P.Bodmer* VII only at a later stage (see esp. B. Nongbri, “The Construction of P.Bodmer VIII and the Bodmer ‘Composite’ or ‘Miscellaneous’ Codex,” *NovT* 58 [2016] 394–410).

¹² On the construction of the Miscellaneous Codex, see esp. B. Nongbri, “Recent Progress in Understanding the Construction of the Bodmer ‘Miscellaneous’ or ‘Composite’ Codex,” *Adamantius* 21 (2015) 171–172; Nongbri (n. 11); B. Nongbri and S.G. Hall, “Melito’s *Peri Pascha* 1–5 as Recovered from a ‘Lost’ Leaf of *Papyrus Bodmer* XIII,” *JTS* 68 (2017) 576–592.

¹³ See, e.g., B. Nongbri, “The Limits of Palaeographic Dating of Literary Papyri: Some Observations on the Date and Provenance of P. Bodmer II (P66),” *Museum Helveticum* 71 (2014) 1–35; Nongbri (n. 6).

¹⁴ C. Askeland, “Dating Early Greek and Coptic Literary Hands,” in Lundhaug and Jenott (n. 6) 457–489.

¹⁵ Robinson (n. 4) xxxiii.

¹⁶ Robinson (n. 4) xxxiii.

¹⁷ W.H. Willis, “The New Collection of Papyri at The University of Mississippi,” in L. Amundsen and V. Skånland (eds.), *Proceedings of the IX International Congress of Papyrology: Oslo, 19th–22nd August, 1958* (Oslo 1961) 381–392.

for a date around 300,¹⁸ Eric G. Turner suggested the slightly wider designation of a date within the third or fourth centuries,¹⁹ Kurt and Barbara Aland preferred the end of that spectrum and proposed that it was probably made around 400,²⁰ while, according to Stuart G. Hall, Tito Orlandi tentatively suggested a date as late as the sixth century, or at least not before the fifth.²¹

*Radiocarbon Dating*²²

Thanks to the generosity of Dr. Martin Schøyen it is now possible to present an additional piece of evidence for the date of MS 193, in the form of radiocarbon analysis of a papyrus-fragment from one of the pages of the codex. On the 9th of April 2014, Dr. Schøyen, together with Dr. Lance Jenott and myself,²³ selected an uninscribed half of a papyrus fragment of the manuscript, and Schøyen personally took a sample piece of approximately two square centimeters in size.²⁴ The sample was taken from unplaced fragment no. 23, which is among the forty-one fragments originally acquired by Martin Bodmer and only reunited with the rest of the codex in 1990.²⁵ (See Figure 1, which shows the fragment after it was cut in half for sampling.)

¹⁸ A. Cabaniss, "The University of Mississippi Coptic Papyrus Manuscript: A Paschal Lectionary?" *NTS* 8.1 (1961) 70–72.

¹⁹ Turner (n. 10) 36, 81, 137.

²⁰ K. and B. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament: An Introduction to the Critical Editions and to the Theory and Practice of Modern Textual Criticism* (2nd ed.; Grand Rapids, MI 1989) 201.

²¹ S.G. Hall (ed. and trans.), *Melito of Sardis: On Pascha and Fragments* (Oxford 1979) xvii, n. 8, xlv. According to Hall, Orlandi made this judgment on the basis of a photocopy of the manuscript.

²² The radiocarbon dating was facilitated by the DFG-ANR-Project "*Coranica*" (see n. 1). For details on this project, see M.J. Marx and T.J. Jocham, "Zu den Datierungen von Koranhandschriften durch die ¹⁴C-Methode," *Frankfurter Zeitschrift für islamisch-theologische Studien* 2 (2015) 9–43; M.J. Marx and T.J. Jocham, "Radiocarbon (¹⁴C) Dating of Qur'ān Manuscripts," in A. Kaplony and M.J. Marx (eds.), *Qur'ān Quotations Preserved on Papyrus Documents, 7th-10th Centuries* (Leiden 2019) 188–221.

²³ Dr. Jenott worked at the time as a postdoc in the NEWCONT project at the University of Oslo.

²⁴ Samples were also taken from the leather cover of Nag Hammadi Codex I and a papyrus fragment used as cartonnage in that cover. These were part of the same batch analyzed at the ETH together with the sample from MS 193. The results of the analysis of the samples from NHC I are forthcoming in a separate publication.

²⁵ See W.H. Willis and J.E. Goehring, "Unplaced Fragments," in Goehring (n. 2) 277–284 (frag. 23 on p. 283).



Figure 1: Schøyen MS 193, fragment no. 23, after it was cut in half for sampling. The un-inscribed left half is the tested sample.

I delivered the sample in person to Tobias J. Jocham of the DFG-ANR-project *Coranica* at the Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften, in Berlin, and he subsequently took it to the radiocarbon laboratory at the ETH in Zürich.²⁶ The lab in Zürich divided the sample in three and completed their first test run, using accelerated mass spectrometry, in November 2014, and the second and third runs in December 2014.²⁷ The test results can be seen in Table 1.

Targets	¹⁴ C age (BP)	±1σ	F14C	±1σ	δC13	±1σ	mg C	C/N
1	1801	27	0.79900	0.00300	-10.6	1.1	0.99	117.5576856
2	1797	19	0.799593981	0.001873843	-10.32928189	1		
3	1784	15	0.800812162	0.001518795	-11.50426321	1		

Table 1: Sample results, raw data, ETH-57863²⁸

²⁶ The DFG-ANR-Project “*Coranica*” selected ETH as their ¹⁴C laboratory of choice, having made a preliminary comparison of several laboratories. See Marx and Jocham, “Zu den Datierungen” (n. 22) 18, n. 27.

²⁷ On the test procedure, see Marx and Jocham, “Zu den Datierungen” (n. 22) 18–20.

²⁸ The first row shows the results of the first test run (one target); the second row shows the results of the first two test runs combined (two targets); and the third row shows the combined results from all three test runs (three targets).

To properly evaluate the significance of the measured results, however, it is important to understand the fundamental principles behind the ^{14}C dating method and the procedure by which the ^{14}C measurements are converted into calendar date ranges.²⁹ The reason why the measurement of the ^{14}C isotope can be used to assess the date of a sample in the first place is the fact that plants and animals absorb ^{14}C from their environment while they are alive, but at the moment they die, they no longer replenish their supply of ^{14}C , and this carbon isotope starts to decay at a constant rate. What is measured in the laboratory is the remaining ^{14}C in the sample of organic material, and by comparing this with the modern level of ^{14}C in standard material, the organism's date of death, in this case the harvesting of the papyrus plant from which the manuscript leaf of MS 193 was made, can be calculated.³⁰ The result of the laboratory measurement is commonly given as a date "Before Present" (BP), where "present" is defined as 1950.

However, since the level of ^{14}C in the atmosphere has not remained stable over time, but has fluctuated, it is also necessary to calibrate the final measurement results (the BP date), on the basis of what we know about the level of ^{14}C in the atmosphere over time, in order to convert them to actual calendar date ranges. The procedure by which we get from measured radiocarbon results to a calendar date range is therefore not as simple as subtracting the BP (Before Present) number from 1950 (the definition of "Present"). Instead, the BP result must be converted to calendar date ranges using a calibration curve generated primarily on the basis of dendrochronology (I have used the IntCal13 Northern Hemisphere atmospheric radiocarbon calibration curve, which represents the current state of the art).³¹ This is done by running the BP result, and its measurement accuracy, through a calibration tool (here I have used OxCal),³² which gives us a graphic rendering of the calibrated calendar date ranges and their probabilities (as will be seen in the figures below).

²⁹ On the development of the dating method, see esp. W.F. Libby, *Radiocarbon Dating* (2nd ed.; Chicago 1955). The description below is based on M. Walker, *Quaternary Dating Methods* (Chichester 2005) 17–33.

³⁰ The ^{14}C method can therefore only be used to date organic materials, and what is calculated is an organism's time of death.

³¹ On the IntCal13 calibration curve, see P.J. Reimer et al., "IntCal13 and Marine13 Radiocarbon Age Calibration Curves 0–50,000 Years Cal BP," *Radiocarbon* 55 (2013) 1869–1887. See also Walker (n. 29) 32–33. Together with Marine13 and SHCal13, IntCal13 replaces previous calibration curves and was ratified in July 2012 at the International Radiocarbon conference.

³² On OxCal version 4.3.2, used here, see C. Bronk Ramsey, "Methods for Summarizing Radiocarbon Datasets," *Radiocarbon* 59 (2017) 1809–1833. On earlier developments, see also C. Bronk Ramsey and S. Lee, "Recent and Planned Developments of the Program Oxcal," *Radiocarbon* 55 (2013) 720–730.

Results

As mentioned above, the laboratory at the ETH in Zürich was able to make three test runs on the sample, and the combined result of the three test runs³³ yielded a ¹⁴C BP age of 1784±15.³⁴ As seen in Figure 2, calibration of this result using the OxCal calibration tool provides the following calendar date ranges with 95.4% probability (2σ): 144–155 CE (1.5%), 168–195 CE (4.9%), 210–262 CE (54.9%), 277–328 CE (34.2%). It is useful, however, to include practically the entire range of probability, 99.7% (3σ), which gives us the following results: 135–265 CE (64.7%), 270–333 CE (35.0%).³⁵

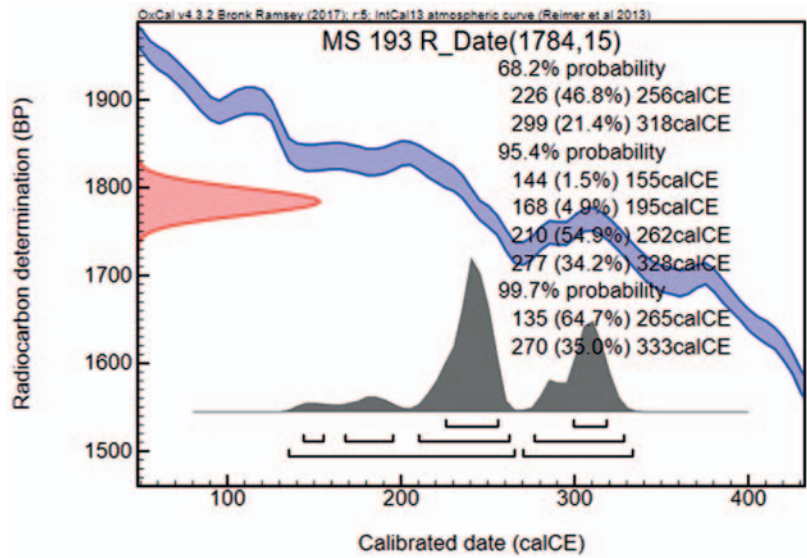


Figure 2: MS 193 calibrated radiocarbon results (based on the combined measurement results of all three test runs, 1784±15 BP) generated by OxCal v.4.3.2 using IntCal13 atmospheric curve. The red bell curve shows the ¹⁴C measurement result in BP; the IntCal13 atmospheric curve is shown in blue; and the calibrated calendar date ranges in gray.

³³ This is what is represented by the third row of Table 1.

³⁴ F14C 0.800812162±0.001518795.

³⁵ The results most commonly given are the 2σ results, but taking the uncertainties of the radiocarbon dating method, described below, into consideration, the 3σ results are useful to keep in mind throughout the analysis. If we limit the results only to the ranges with the greatest probability, the 1σ result, we get the following date ranges with 68.2% probability (1σ): 226–256 CE (46.8%), 299–318 CE (21.4%). However, the 1σ results are not regarded as particularly valuable, since they exclude a significant percentage of the possible calendar date range for the sample.

The red bell curve on the vertical axis here shows the normal distribution of the ^{14}C measurement result in BP, reflecting the measurement accuracy of ± 15 BP;³⁶ the blue curve that extends from the top left to the bottom right corner of the figure is the IntCal13 calibration curve; and the gray plot on the horizontal axis³⁷ shows the calibrated calendar date results that emerge when the BP result is calibrated using the IntCal13 calibration curve. The 1σ , 2σ , and 3σ calendar date ranges, which are shown in numbers and as horizontal bars underneath the gray plot, represent the calendar dates emerging from considering one, two, or three standard deviations from the mean BP result.

If the IntCal13 calibration curve (the blue curve in the figure) had been accurate for the geographical area where the sample comes from, what is seen in Figure 2 would have been the end result of the radiocarbon analysis. There is reason to believe, however, that this is not the case, and that we must reckon with a significant radiocarbon offset in samples from the Nile Valley. Due to a number of radiocarbon dating results of ancient Egyptian materials that have yielded surprisingly old dates,³⁸ a team led by Michael W. Dee has investigated whether the nature of the Nile and the periodical flooding of the Nile Valley before the building of the high dam may have created a so-called reservoir effect, which could produce samples that have less remaining ^{14}C activity than we would expect in our Egyptian samples, which ultimately results in radiocarbon dates that are too old.³⁹ Dee and his team found that the dates yielded by securely dated plant samples from the Nile Valley, gathered in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, were indeed too old.⁴⁰ On average the offset was found to be 19 ± 5 BP between the measured results and the real dates of the samples.⁴¹ While Dee et al. concluded that this offset was too small to be significant with regard to the dating of materials from Ancient Egypt,⁴²

³⁶ Note that for this bell curve the numbers on the x-axis of the figure are irrelevant.

³⁷ Note that for this gray plot the numbers on the y-axis of the figure are irrelevant.

³⁸ See, e.g., D.J. Keenan, "Why Early-Historical Radiocarbon Dates Downwind from the Mediterranean are too Early," *Radiocarbon* 44 (2002) 225.

³⁹ M.W. Dee et al., "Investigating the Likelihood of a Reservoir Offset in the Radiocarbon Record for Ancient Egypt," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 37 (2010) 687–693. On the so-called "reservoir effect," see, e.g., B. Philippsen, "The Freshwater Reservoir Effect in Radiocarbon Dating," *Heritage Science* 1.24 (2013) 1–19.

⁴⁰ They measured 66 botanical samples, now kept at the University of Oxford Herbaria and the Natural History Museum in London. The dates when the samples were gathered, and thus their true age, was known with a ± 2 year accuracy. The samples were of different plants, including three samples of papyrus (Dee et al. [n. 39] 688).

⁴¹ Dee et al. (n. 39).

⁴² Dee et al. (n. 39).

which was the primary focus of their investigation, this offset is certainly *not* insignificant when applied to the dating of late antique manuscripts.⁴³ Since the study of Dee et al. showed a clear tendency for the measured BP in their samples to be older than the BP predicted by IntCal13 on the basis of the secure dates for when the botanical samples were actually gathered, it is important to take a radiocarbon offset into account when dating organic materials from the Nile Valley.

If we take the study of Dee et al. into account and adjust our measured result of MS 193 by subtracting 19 ± 5 BP, we get a ^{14}C BP age of 1765 ± 15.8 . This yields the following calibrated results (see Figure 3).⁴⁴

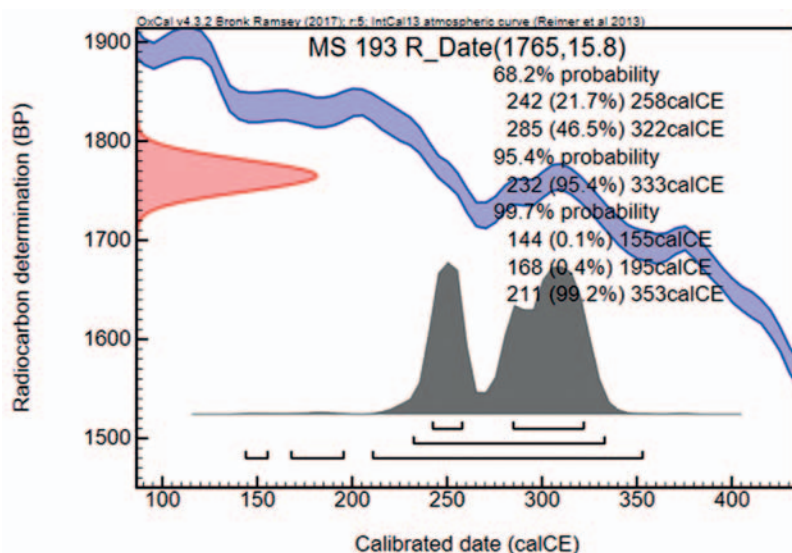


Figure 3: MS 193 calibrated radiocarbon results (based on the combined measurement results of all three test runs) generated by OxCal v.4.3.2 using IntCal 13 atmospheric curve, applying an offset of 19 ± 5 BP based on the findings of Dee et al. (n. 39). The red bell curve shows the ^{14}C measurement result in BP with offset applied (1765 ± 15.8 BP); the IntCal13 atmospheric curve is shown in blue; and the calibrated calendar date ranges in gray.

⁴³ See J.K. Dru, “A Complex Pondering of Probabilities: How Can a Single Radiocarbon Test Contribute to Dating a Manuscript?” in Z.J. Cole (ed.), *Interdisciplinary Dating: Dialogues between Manuscript Studies and Material Sciences* (Leiden forthcoming). This point was also made in J.K. Dru, “Radiocarbon Dating for Manuscripts on Papyrus or Parchment: Improving Interpretation Through Interdisciplinary Dialogue” (poster presented at manuSciences’17, 12 September 2017, Fréjus, France).

⁴⁴ 1σ : 242–258 CE (21.7%), 285–322 CE (46.5%); 2σ : 232–333 CE (95.4%); 3σ : 144–155 CE (0.1%); 168–195 CE (0.4%); 211–353 CE (99.2%).

As we can see from Figure 3, the calibrated results are now significantly different.⁴⁵ It is important to remember, however, that the offset of 19 ± 5 BP applied here is only an average offset based on the 66 samples measured in Dee et al.'s study. The margin of error was not constant. In the twelve separate years of collection over which the samples were split, the average results in nine of these years were too old compared to the IntCal13 prediction, but the average offset in each of these individual years ranged from -40 ± 22 to $+56\pm18$ BP.⁴⁶ So while I have applied the average offset of 19 ± 5 BP, the actual offset for our particular sample may theoretically be different by a significant margin.

This conclusion is supported by a recently study by a team lead by Sturt W. Manning based on samples of juniper trees from the southern Levant (South Jordan), securely dated based on dendrochronology,⁴⁷ which shows that one has indeed to reckon with a fluctuating radiocarbon offset in this region. In their study of samples ranging from the seventeenth to the twentieth century, Manning et al. found that there was an average combined offset of 18.6 ± 2.5 BP between the measured results and the results predicted by IntCal13,⁴⁸ which is almost exactly the same average offset noted by Dee et al. on the basis of their study of Egyptian plants. However, the study by Manning et al. adds the important insight that that not only does this offset fluctuate, and that 18.6 ± 2.5 BP only represents the average offset, but there is a substantially greater offset in periods where the IntCal13 calibration curve has plateaus or reversals (i.e. when it rises rather than falls). In these cases they found the average offset to be approximately 24 ± 5 BP. Importantly, Manning et al. do not ascribe these fluctuations to a reservoir effect, however, but attribute it rather to seasonal variation, and the greater offsets during periods in which there are plateaus or reversals in the calibration curve they attribute to periods of significantly warmer regional climate, which accounts for the similarities of their findings from the southern Levant with those of Dee et al. from Egypt. We would not expect such similarities if the offset based on the Nile valley plant samples were caused by a reservoir effect.

⁴⁵ While we still cannot completely exclude calendar dates in the second century CE for MS 193 on the basis of this radiocarbon analysis alone (there remains a miniscule 0.1% probability of 144–155 CE and a 0.4% probability of 168–195 CE), the present result is certainly most consistent with a date between 211–353 CE (with 99.2% probability).

⁴⁶ Dee et al. (n. 39) 689.

⁴⁷ S.W. Manning et al., "Fluctuating Radiocarbon Offsets Observed in the Southern Levant and Implications for Archaeological Chronology Debates," *PNAS* 115 (2018) 6141–6146.

⁴⁸ Manning et al. (n. 47) 6142.

Since the average offset noted by Manning et al. almost exactly matches that found by Dee et al. for Egypt, it is relevant to also apply to our sample from MS 193 the additional findings of Manning et al. regarding the higher offset in periods when the IntCal13 calibration curve has plateaus and reversals. The IntCal13 calibration curve in fact displays a major rise around the turn of the fourth century, a condition for which it is justified to apply the larger average offset of 24 ± 5 BP that Manning et al. found to apply to these regions of the IntCal13 calibration curve. When we apply this offset to the measurements of MS 193 we get the calibrated calendar date results seen in Figure 4.⁴⁹

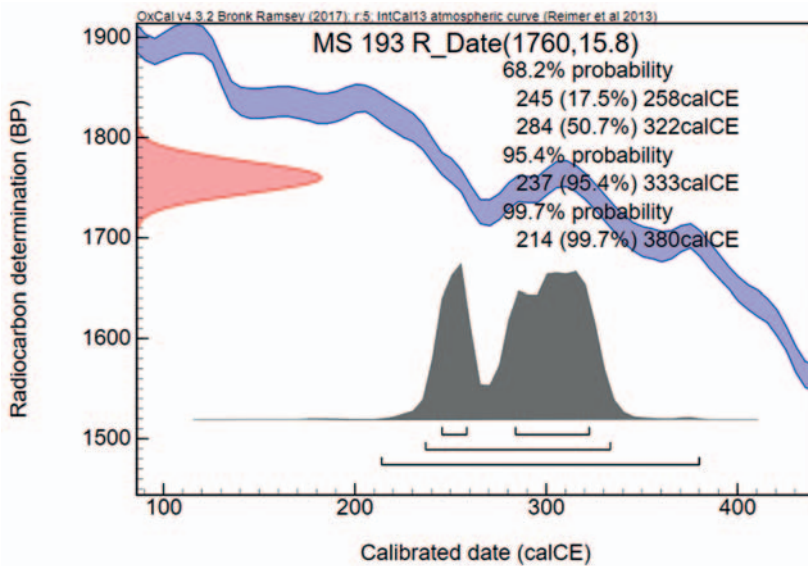


Figure 4: MS 193 calibrated radiocarbon results (based on the combined measurement results of all three test runs) generated by OxCal v.4.3.2 using IntCal 13 atmospheric curve, applying an offset of 24 ± 5 BP based on the findings of Manning et al. (n. 47). The red bell curve shows the ^{14}C measurement result in BP with offset applied (1760 ± 15.8); the IntCal13 atmospheric curve is shown in blue; and the calibrated calendar date ranges in gray.

As we can see, with this offset applied we can completely eliminate the possibility of a second-century date for MS 193, while the *terminus*

⁴⁹ 1 σ : 245–258 CE (17.5%), 284–322 CE (50.7%); 2 σ : 237–333 CE (95.4%); 3 σ : 214–380 CE (99.7%).

ante quem (based on the 3σ result) also rises compared to the analysis based on the 19 ± 5 BP offset (seen in Figure 3).⁵⁰

The most important implications of Dee et al.'s and Manning et al.'s studies are the following: (1) IntCal13, the current atmospheric calibration curve for the northern hemisphere, which for the relevant time period is based on botanical samples from central and northern Europe and North America,⁵¹ does not seem to accurately represent the levels of ^{14}C in this part of the world (Egypt and the Southern Levant), and we need to take into account the reality of a fluctuating radiocarbon offset, the magnitude of which we cannot be absolutely certain, that significantly impacts the results and accuracy of radiocarbon analyses of materials from this geographical area; (2) the radiocarbon level in the atmosphere in this part of the world fluctuated to such a degree that we may in reality be confronted with significantly larger offsets than the average offsets I have applied here, which again implies that even the calibrated results presented here, with offsets applied, may be less accurate than they appear. Moreover, when applying the findings of Dee et al. and Manning et al. to our Late Antique Egyptian materials, one important caveat needs to be highlighted, namely the fact that the securely dated botanical samples they tested derive from significantly later times, and thus we cannot be certain that the same offset applies to our materials. Nevertheless, while recognizing the possibility that the real offset may be different for our time period from Dee et al. and Manning et al.'s numbers, applied here, the impact of their findings when applied to the calibration of our Late Antique Egyptian samples are certainly too significant to be ignored, and currently represent the best starting points for reconsidering the calibration of radiocarbon results of samples from this area also for our time period.

Evaluation

The properly calibrated results of the present radiocarbon test of a sample of papyrus from MS 193 are consistent with a mid-third to mid-fourth-century date for the harvesting of the papyrus plant that was used to make the sheet of papyrus from which our sample was taken. If we take for granted that the papyrus was used to make MS 193 shortly after the

⁵⁰ If we count only the 2σ result, however, the *terminus ante quem* stays exactly the same, at 333 CE with both a 19 ± 5 BP offset and with a 24 ± 5 BP offset.

⁵¹ Manning et al. (n. 47) 6142.

harvesting of the papyrus plant, this date range is also the date range for the production of the codex.

But how do we place the manuscript within this rather long date range? We have seen that in order to properly evaluate the results of ^{14}C testing it is crucial to understand the effects of the calibration curve on the final results of any radiocarbon dating analysis. First of all, the long date ranges in our final calibrated results have little to do with the accuracy of the measurement of ^{14}C in the sample. Indeed, even if it had been possible to increase the measurement accuracy to a theoretically almost completely accurate ± 1 BP year (rather than ± 15), the effects on the final calibrated calendar date results would be negligible. We can see this well illustrated by running the impossibly accurate measurement result of, e.g., 1765 ± 1 BP through the OxCal calibration tool (see Figure 5).⁵²

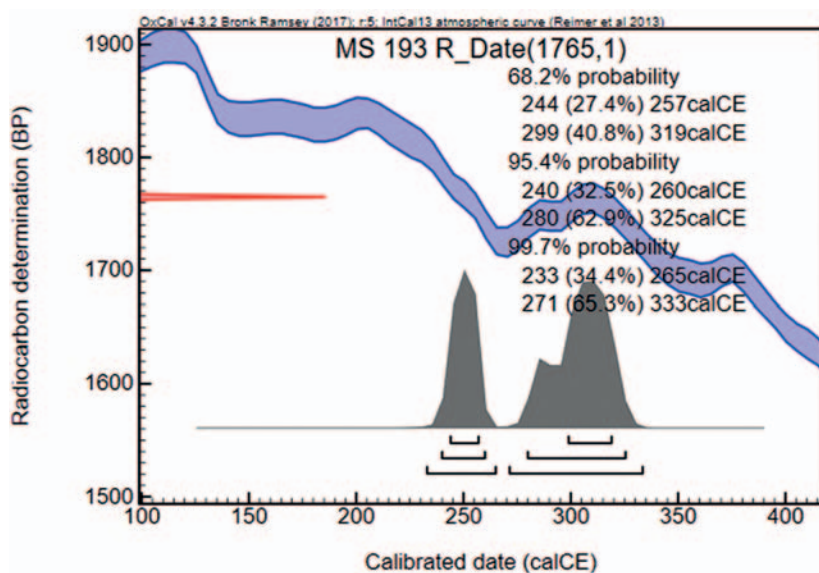


Figure 5: Calibrated results of a hypothetically (and impossibly) accurate measurement result of 1765 ± 1 BP, generated by OxCal v.4.3.2 illustrating the impact of the shape of the IntCal13 calibration curve on the final calibrated calendar date results.

⁵² 1 σ : 244–257 CE (27.4%), 299–319 CE (40.8%); 2 σ : 240–260 CE (32.5%), 280–325 CE (62.9%); 3 σ : 233–265 CE (34.4%), 271–333 CE (65.3%).

It is therefore especially important to note the consequences of the fact that the IntCal13 calibration curve *rises* in the calendar date range of approximately 270–320 CE. This fact has serious consequences for the interpretation of the results of radiocarbon measurements. In fact, *any* measurement that yields calibrated 2σ results in the first third of the fourth century (before 332) *automatically* produces results in the third century too. In order to get 2σ results with calendar dates in the fourth century that do not also include results in the third century one needs values lower than 1683 BP for measurements with ± 15 BP accuracy (and 1700 BP with a theoretically absolute accuracy), which is in fact a BP result that yields a 2σ calibrated range with 332 CE as its *lower* border value: 332–405 CE (95.4%). This implies that radiocarbon measurements that give calibrated 2σ results that include calendar dates in the first third of the fourth century (the years 300–331) will *never* exclude calendar dates in the third century. Radiocarbon analysis should therefore not be the only method of dating, and especially not in periods in which the calibration curve rises or plateaus. In these periods we get the longest date ranges, and thus the least useful results, and as we have seen from the recent study of Manning et al., these are also the periods in which the IntCal13 calibration curve appears to be the least trustworthy for our region.

The conclusion we may draw from this analysis is that radiocarbon analysis does not provide us with a silver bullet for manuscript dating. We therefore need to supplement our radiocarbon analysis with other indications of the manuscript's date of production. Among the internal features of MS 193, which may be taken into account, is the title of 1 Pet, which only states "The Letter of Peter." The fact that it is not referred to as the *first* letter of Peter may perhaps indicate that the Coptic scribe, or the Coptic translator, or the Greek *Vorlage*, only knew one letter of Peter,⁵³ which may again indicate an early date for the manuscript, although how early is open to question. On the other hand, the scribe may simply have left out the number since he or she only copied the first letter of Peter and therefore might not have felt the need to number it, or the scribe may perhaps have known about the existence of 2 Peter, but not recognized it as canonical.

It has also been suggested that the final hymnic text of the codex is of Pachomian origin.⁵⁴ If correct, this would indicate a date no earlier than

⁵³ See D.G. Horrell, "The Themes of 1 Peter: Insights From the Earliest Manuscripts (the Crosby-Schøyen Codex ms 193 and the Bodmer Miscellaneous Codex Containing P⁷²)," *NTS* 55 (2009) 504.

⁵⁴ Pietersma and Comstock (n. 2).

the third decade of the fourth century, but the Pachomian identification of this text can only be regarded as tentative.⁵⁵ Perhaps more importantly, the similarities in contents and format between MS 193 and the Bodmer Miscellaneous Codex, and the likelihood that these codices were discovered together, and thus have a common late-antique provenance, render a comparison between MS 193 and the Bodmer Miscellaneous Codex relevant. We know that the Miscellaneous Codex, in its final form as a complete codex, has a *terminus post quem* in the early fourth century due to its inclusion of the hagiographical *Apology of Phileas* (*P.Bodmer* XX), a martyr of the early fourth century. If we draw the conclusion that MS 193's many similarities with the Bodmer Miscellaneous Codex, and possible common provenance, would tend to indicate that they were probably not produced far apart in time, MS 193's date of production should fall within the later part of the calibrated calendar date range of the current radio-carbon analysis, i.e., in the fourth rather than the third century. However, it should be noted that it is only those parts of the Miscellaneous Codex that were originally part of the codicological unit to which the *Apology of Phileas* belongs (*P.Bodmer* XX and IX) whose production can be securely dated to no earlier than the fourth century, which notably excludes at least *P.Bodmer* VIII, the part of the codex that contains 1–2 Peter, which seems to have been a later addition with a previous existence as part of a different codex.⁵⁶

Conclusion

While the new radiocarbon evidence does not provide us with a silver bullet to definitively resolve the dating of MS 193, the results of the present ¹⁴C analysis are not compatible with the earliest and latest previous suggestions of the manuscript's date. Since the nature of the calibration curve is such that we cannot exclude dates as early as the first half of the

⁵⁵ While the context of authorship for this text and the context of this codex's production remain uncertain, it seems likely due to its inclusion among the Dishna Papers that it was eventually owned by a Pachomian monastery. On the Pachomian nature of the Dishna Papers, see Robinson (n. 5); Lundhaug (n. 6).

⁵⁶ See Nongbri (n. 11); Nongbri (n. 12). It is impossible to establish with certainty whether the codex to which *P.Bodmer* VIII previously belonged was originally produced prior to or after the rest of the Miscellaneous Codex. What is certain is that it cannot have been bound together with *P.Bodmer* XX (the *Apology of Phileas*) prior to the fourth century. Doubts have been expressed, however, whether *P.Bodmer* XX and IX were ever bound together with the rest of the Miscellaneous Codex (*P.Bodmer* V, X, XI, VII, XIII, XII, and VIII) at all (Nongbri [n. 12]).

third century, we are nevertheless still left with a very long date range within which it may have been produced. When we add to this the probability that the IntCal13 calibration curve is not reliable for materials from Egypt, it is clear that it remains important to take other methods of dating into consideration when assessing the significance of these radiocarbon results. It is to be hoped that in the future, radiocarbon analyses of securely dated papyri from Egypt may shed additional light on the degree to which the current calibration curve reflects the actual historical ^{14}C levels in this region, so that we may calibrate the present measurements with a greater degree of certainty and accuracy.

In any case, even if the actual date of the manuscript falls within the later part of the calibrated calendar date range, after the application of a radiocarbon offset based on the recent study of Manning et al., Hans-Gebhard Bethge's assessment that MS 193 deserves "eine ganz besondere Aufmerksamkeit" not least due to "seines außerordentlich hohen Alters" still stands.⁵⁷ It may be concluded that MS 193 at least constitutes one of the oldest manuscripts of 1 Peter, rivaled only by \mathfrak{P}^{125} (*P.Oxy.* 4934) and \mathfrak{P}^{72} (*P.Bodmer* VIII).⁵⁸ It is also among the very earliest Coptic codices in existence. Indeed, if it was in fact produced in a Pachomian monastery, as suggested by Robinson, Goehring, and Pietersma and Comstock, it must be among the earliest preserved books produced in an Egyptian monastery.

⁵⁷ H.-G. Bethge, "Der Text des ersten Petrusbriefes im Crosby-Schøyen-Codex (Ms. 193 Schøyen Collection)," *ZNW* 84 (1993) 258.

⁵⁸ On the textual differences between the Greek text of 1 Peter in \mathfrak{P}^{72} and the Coptic of MS 193, see W.H. Willis, "The Letter of Peter (1 Peter)," in Goehring (n. 2) 135–215.

THE *BOOK OF THE FOREIGNER* FROM CODEX TCHACOS¹

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Abstract. — This contribution presents a new edition, translation, and literary-historical analysis of the fourth tractate in Codex Tchacos, provisionally entitled the *Book of Allogenes* after its protagonist, Allogenes, “the Foreigner.” Part 1 introduces the modern publication history of the tractate’s various fragments, the codicology of Codex Tchacos, and an outline of the tractate’s content. Part 2 presents an annotated Coptic edition and English translation, which for the first time includes all fragments of the manuscript discovered so far. Part 3 follows with an analysis of the tractate’s contents, its relationship with other early Christian gospels, especially the Synoptic Gospels, the *Gospel of Mary*, and apocryphal books known to Epiphanius of Salamis. In the final analysis, I suggest that the book was composed in the fourth century by Christian sectarians described by Epiphanius as the Archontics, among whom were semi-eremitic monastics.

Keywords: Codex Tchacos, *Book of Allogenes*, *Gospel of Mary*, demonology, monasticism

1. Introduction

Fragments and Text

Because of the fragmentary condition of Codex Tchacos (CT), the remains of its fourth tractate, provisionally entitled the *Book of Allogenes*, have become available in a piecemeal fashion over the past decade or so.² The *editio princeps*, published by National Geographic Society in 2007, included fragments of eight pages (59–66), yielding about 75 complete or reasonably reconstructed lines of text (of about 200 lines originally on those pages).³ In 2007, the first four pages (59–62) were fairly well

¹ I thank Christian Bull, Hugo Lundhaug, Mark M. Mattison, Timothy Moore, John D. Turner, and Kaysie Wachs for their comments and suggestions on drafts of this article.

² The actual title of the tractate appeared as a superscript at the top of p. 59 but has unfortunately been lost in a lacuna. See notes to the edition below.

³ R. Kasser and G. Wurst, *The Gospel of Judas together with the Letter of Peter to Philip, James, and a Book of Allogenes from Codex Tchacos: Critical Edition* (Washington, DC 2007) 261–275.

preserved, while pages 63–66 were in a much more deplorable condition and yielded no complete lines.

The situation greatly improved in 2010 when Gregor Wurst posted photographs of several more fragments of CT,4 on his research website at the University of Augsburg, which include more lines of pages 63–66 and one fragment from an unknown page showing the final six lines of the tractate.⁴ The latter fragment also reveals that there was at least one more tractate in the codex (CT,5), since its opposite side shows the opening lines of *Corpus Hermeticum XIII* in Coptic translation.⁵ A transcription of these fragments was published by Wurst in 2012, although not collated with the rest of the text.⁶

The fragments that became available in 2010 were evidently separated from the rest of the codex in 2000 when its owner, Frieda Tchacos Nussberger, sold the codex to the American antiquities dealer Bruce Ferrini of Ohio.⁷ When Mr. Ferrini defaulted on payment for the codex, he returned it to Ms. Tchacos, but, unbeknownst to her, kept a number of fragments in his own collection. These fragments were discovered after Ferrini declared bankruptcy in 2005 and his estate was seized by the First Merit Bank of Ohio in order to pay his debts. When Ms. Tchacos sued Ferrini to have her property returned, the Ohio court had the fragments photographed and sent to Wurst to confirm that they belonged to Codex Tchacos. Fortunately, we possess photographs of these fragments (shared by Wurst), but unfortunately, the papyri themselves are not currently accessible. After the court case was settled in 2009, the papyri were repatriated to Egypt by the United States Immigration and Customs Enforcement agency at the request of Egypt's Supreme Council of Antiquities. Their current whereabouts remain unknown.

Then, in 2012, two more fragments of CT,4 were discovered by Alin Suciu in the Special Collections library of Lafayette College in Easton, Pennsylvania (inventoried as accession I.2 and II.1 respectively).⁸ Suciu

⁴ G. Wurst, "Neue Fragmente VII (Allogenes)," at <https://www.uni-augsburg.de/de/fakultaet/kthf/lehrstuhle-professuren/alte-kirchengeschichte/forschung/codex-tchacos/neue-fragmente-vii-allogenes/>.

⁵ The scribe of CT habitually starts each tractate at the top of a new page.

⁶ G. Wurst, "Weitere neue Fragmente aus Codex Tchacos: zum 'Buch des Allogenes' und zu Corpus Hermeticum XIII," in E.E. Popkes and G. Wurst (eds.), *Judasevangelium und Codex Tchacos: Studien zur religionsgeschichtlichen Verortung einer gnostischen Schriftensammlung* (Tübingen 2012) 1–12.

⁷ H. Krosney, M. Meyer, and G. Wurst, "Preliminary Report on Codex Tchacos," *Early Christianity* 1 (2010) 282–294.

⁸ Photographs at <https://sites.lafayette.edu/papyrus/other-egyptian-artifacts/>.

correctly identified the first fragment (I.2) as belonging to the leaf with pages 59/60, thus filling in most of 59,4–9 and 60,4–8. The second, smaller fragment (II.1) comes from an unknown page, but probably belongs to CT,4 (see the edition below). Suciu reported on his discovery in October of 2012,⁹ but the fragments have heretofore not been transcribed or collated with the rest of the text. In June 2019 I had the opportunity to examine them in Easton and learn more about their acquisition history. According to the library's records, the two pieces were donated to Lafayette College in December of 2005 by two separate individuals who had, in turn, purchased them from Bruce Ferrini.¹⁰ Given the way these fragments eventually came to light, and the channels through which they passed, one can hope that even more of CT's lost content will surface in the future.

Codicology and Contents of Codex Tchacos

When the codex was first seen by scholars in 1983, its back cover was already missing, presumably along with many of the now lost pages.¹¹ Two extant quires contain the first three tractates (pp. 1–58) and the first eight pages of CT,4 (pp. 59–66; see Fig. 1). How many more quires and pages the codex originally had is unknown, but as noted above, CT,4 was followed by at least one more tractate, a Coptic translation of *Corpus Hermeticum* XIII (CT,5), Hermes Trismegistus's discourse on spiritual rebirth.¹²

Fortunately, another small fragment inscribed with the page number $\overline{\text{PH}}$ (108) allows us to speculate to some extent about additional quires and pages in the codex.¹³ At the very least, 108 pages necessitate a third

⁹ A. Suciú, "Newly Found Fragments of Codex Tchacos," October 10, 2012, at <https://alinsuciu.com/2012/10/10/found-fragments-of-codex-tchacos/>.

¹⁰ I thank Diane Shaw, former director of Lafayette College's Special Collections library, for her generosity and assistance.

¹¹ The first scholars to see the codex were Stephen Emmel, Ludwig Koenen, and David Noel Freedman. Emmel's written recollection of the event is published by J.M. Robinson, *The Secrets of Judas: The Story of the Misunderstood Disciple and His Lost Gospel* (New York 2006) 95–100; cf. J.M. Robinson, *The Nag Hammadi Codices Facsimile Edition: Introduction* (Leiden 1984) 21; H. Krosney, *The Lost Gospel: The Quest for the Gospel of Judas Iscariot* (Washington, DC 2006) 105–116.

¹² G. Wurst, "Preliminary Codicological Analysis of Codex Tchacos," in Kasser and Wurst (n. 3) 27–33.

¹³ I thank Professor Wurst for sharing with me a photograph of the fragment, which is currently not available on his website.

QUIRE	PAGES	TRACTATE
1 (8 sheets)	[A/B ?]	
	[C/D]	
	1↑/2→	<i>Peter's Letter to Philip</i> (1–9)
	3/4	
	5/6	
	7/8	
	9/10	
	11/12	<i>James</i> (10–30)
	13/14	
	15/16	
	17/18	
	19/20	
	21/22	
	23/24	
	25/26	
	27/28	
	29/30	
2 (9 sheets)	[31/32 ?]	
	33↑/34→	<i>Gospel of Judas</i> (33–58)
	35/36	
	37/38	
	39/40	
	41/42	
	43/44	
	45/46	
	47/48	
	49/50	
	51/52	
	53/54	
	55/56	
	57/58	
	59/60	<i>B[ook of Allogenes]</i> (59–?)
	61/62	
	63/64	
	65/66	
	[67/68]	

Fig. 1: Codex Tchacos, Quires 1 and 2.¹⁴

quire consisting of no fewer than ten sheets (pp. 69/70–107/108). It is more likely, however, that there was a fourth quire, since there is no reason

¹⁴ A hypothetical ninth sheet (A/B + 31/32) is included in Fig. 1 only to show the possibility that it existed. It is more likely, however, that quire 1 had only eight sheets. The absence of a leaf with pp. 31/32 is best explained as the result of a pagination error on the part of the scribe. For detailed discussion of the issue, see Wurst (n. 12) 32; L. Jenott, *The Gospel of Judas: Text, Translation, and Historical Interpretation of the "Betrayed's Gospel"* (Tübingen 2011) 108–109.

to assume that page 108 was the final page of the codex. Assuming that each quire in the codex had eight or nine sheets, following the pattern in quires 1 and 2, there might have been about 140 pages in the codex (see Fig. 2). Depending on the length of CT,4, which remains unknown, there might have been even more quires and pages needed to accommodate it and the copy of *Corpus Hermeticum* XIII. Fig. 2 depicts this arrangement.

QUIRE	PAGES	TRACTATE
3 (9 sheets)	[69/70]	
	[71/72]	
	[73/74]	
	[75/76]	
	[77/78]	?
	[79/80]	
	[81/82]	
	[83/84]	
	[85/86]	
	[87/88]	
	[89/90]	
	[91/92]	
	[93/94]	
	[95/96]	
	[97/98]	?
	[99/100]	
	[101/102]	
	[103/104]	
4 (9 sheets)	[105/106]	
	[107/108→	
	[109/110]	
	[111/112]	
	[113/114]	?
	[115/116]	
	[117/118]	
	[119/120]	
	[121/122]	
	[123/124]	
	[125/126]	
	[127/128]	
	[129/130]	
	[131/132]	
	[133/134]	?
	[135/136]	
	[137/138]	
	[139/140]	

Fig. 2: Codex Tchacos, Hypothetical Quires 3 and 4, based on the extant fragment showing page number 108.

The Book of Allogenes (CT,4): Outline of Contents

1. Title (59,1–2)
2. Exhortation to pray (59,3–12)
3. Ascent of Mt. Tabor and prayer (59,12–25)
4. Allogenes's temptation by Satan in the wilderness (59,25–61,16)
5. Allogenes cries out to God for help (61,16–62,9)
6. Allogenes's revelation from a luminous cloud (62,9–?)
 - a. Instructions for bypassing heavenly authorities (63,9–66,8)
 - i. The first authority, desire (63,9–21)
 - ii. The second authority, darkness (63,22–64,8)
 - iii. The third authority, ignorance (64,9–21)
 - iv. The fourth authority, the seeking of death (64,22–65,7)
 - v. The fifth authority, the kingdom of the flesh (65,8–65,17)
 - vi. The sixth authority, the foolish teaching of flesh (65,18–66,2)
 - b. Description of heavenly places around the seventh authority and exhortation to be courageous and strong (66,3–?)
- (Unknown number of missing pages)
7. Concluding benediction of peace upon the person who wrote (or copied) the words and upon whoever will observe them (unknown page).

In what follows, I present an edition and translation of the *Book of Allogenes*, analyze the elements of its narrative, and then discuss which Christians in antiquity might have composed, transmitted, and read it.

2. Edition and Translation

Note on the Edition

I have taken a conservative approach in preparing the edition, transcribing the manuscript without emendation or standardization of spelling. I have reconstructed some lacunae where it seemed plausible to do so, and in less certain cases suggested reconstructions in the notes. I have left *nomina sacra* abbreviated as they appear in the text instead of expanding them into their full form; thus $\pi\bar{\alpha}\bar{\chi}\bar{\varsigma} = \pi\bar{\alpha}(\omicron\epsilon\iota)\varsigma$, $\pi\bar{\nu}\bar{\tau} = \pi\bar{\nu}(\omicron\gamma)\tau$ (for Sahidic $\pi\bar{\nu}\omicron\gamma\tau\epsilon$). I have also transcribed scribal marks found in and around the textual column in order to show how the scribe formatted and punctuated the text (e.g., colon [·], dicolon [:], paragraphus [ⵈ], diple [>], and empty spaces within the column [vac]).

In the notes, references to Codex Tchacos (CT), the Nag Hammadi Codices (NHC), and Codex Berolinensis 8502 (BG) are to tractate title, manuscript page, and line(s), following the convention used in scholarship on these manuscripts. Thus *James* CT 26,4–10 refers to the tractate entitled *James* in Codex Tchacos, manuscript page 26, lines 4–10. Reference to an entire tractate such as NHC XI,3 refers to the third tractate in Nag Hammadi Codex XI.

The abbreviation KW refers to Kasser and Wurst's 2007 *editio princeps* of CT (see n. 3 above), and Wurst refers to Gregor Wurst's 2012 edition of new fragments (see n. 6 above). Quotations from the *Gospel of Mary* BG,1 (*Gos. Mary.*) follow the edition of R.McL. Wilson and G. MacRae (see n. 35 below).

The edition is based on three sources: (1) photographs of CT 59–62 published in the 2007 *Critical Edition*; (2) digital reconstructions of CT 63–66 and the fragment of the tractate's conclusion prepared by Gregor Wurst;¹⁵ and (3) my examination of the two fragments at Lafayette College. The reader is advised on two points regarding the photographs and digital reconstructions where I believe some adjustments are necessary:

- i. p. 61: The upper left-hand fragment should be moved one line up in the photograph so that [α]ΜΟΥ at the beginning of line 3 and €1 at the end of line 4 are clearly set on different lines.
- ii. p. 66: The lower right-hand fragment in the digital reconstruction should be slightly enlarged so that the final visible line (24) sits one line farther down the page. (Note the discrepancy between the placement of the same fragments on pp. 65 and 66 in the digital reconstructions).

¹⁵ <https://www.uni-augsburg.de/de/fakultaet/kthf/lehrstuhle-professuren/alte-kirchen-geschichte/forschung/codex-tchacos/neue-fragmente-vii-allogenes/>.

1 The title may have started with πχ[ωωμε] “The Book” (so KW) or the shorter spelling πχ[ωμε], or a thematic word such as πχ[αειε] “The [Wilderness],” referring to the the book’s narrative setting (61,24).

2 The title may have wrapped to a second line; perhaps [ν]α[λλογενης] “[of] A[llogenes].”

3 Cf. “my son, Messos” in *Allogenes* NHC XI 50,19–20.

8 For the “spirit of knowledge,” see Isa 11:2; *James* CT 26,4–10.

9–10 On the form of επχινητ̄ν̄σογωνη (literally “for our knowing ourselves,” repeated at 59,22), see Kasser, “Étude dialectale,” in KW 68 and Crum, *Dict.* 819a. The superlinear stroke in [ν̄τα] is visible on the Lafayette College fragment.

10–12 Cf. Clem. *exc. Thdot.* 78.2 (*GCS* 17, p. 131, trans. mine): ἡ γινῶσις, τίνες ἦμεν, τί γεγόναμεν· ποῦ ἦμεν, [ἡ] ποῦ ἐνεβλήθημεν· ποῦ σπεύδομεν, πόθεν λυτρούμεθα· τί γέννησις, τί ἀναγέννησις “the knowledge of who we were and what we have become; where we were and where we have been cast; where we are rushing and from where we are released; what birth is, and rebirth.”

15 Mt. Tabor (ὄρος Θαβωρ LXX) is the site of Jesus’s transfiguration according to patristic tradition (Hier. *Ep.* 46.13, 108.13; Cyr. H. *catech.* 12.16; Or. *sel. in Ps.* 88:13 LXX [Migne, *PG* 12, col. 1548]); in the Bible, it is the site of an Israelite victory over Caananites (Judg 4:6–15).

Ξ

- ̄ΝΘ[Ι ΠCΑΤΑΝΑC 2Ι]ΧΜ ΠΚΑ2
 ΕϞ[ΑΜΑ2ΤΕ ̄ΜΠΚΟCΜ]ΟC ΠΕ
 ΧΑ[Ϟ ΝΑϞ ΧΕ]
 ̄Ν [.] Υ
 5 .. [.] ΝΕΚ : ΕΚΜΟ >
 ΨΕ [2]ΡΑΪ 2ΙΧ̄Ν ΠΕΕΙΤΟΟΥ
 ΕΚΚΩΤΕ ΓΑΡ ̄ΝΚΝΑΘ̄ΝΛΑ
 ΑΥ ᾹΝ ΑΛΛΑ ΑΜΟΥ
 Ν̄Κ[ΧΙ ΝΑ]Κ ̄ΝΝΕΤ2ΡΑ[Ι] 2̄Μ
 10 ΠΑΚΟ[Ϟ]ΜΟC : ̄ΝΚΟΥΩΜ ΕΒΟ[Λ]
 2ΡΑΪ 2[̄Ν] ΝΑΑΓΑΘΟΝ : Ν̄ΚΧΙ
 ΝΑΚ ̄Μ[Π]2ΑΤ Μ̄Ν ΠΝΟΥΒ Μ̄Ν
 Ν2ΟΕ[ΙΤ]Ϟ ΑΦΟΥΩΨ̄ ΔΕ ̄Ν
 15 ΒΙ ΑΛΛΟ[Γ]ΕΝΗC ΕϞΧΩ ̄ΜΜΟC
 ΧΕ CΑ[2]ΩΚ ΕΒΟΛ ̄ΜΜΟΪ ΠCΑ
 ΤΑΝΑ[Ϟ] ΑΝΟΚ ΓΑΡ ΠΕ ΕΙΚΩ
 ΤΕ Ν[Ϟ]ΩΚ ΑΝ' ΑΛΛΑ ̄ΝCΑ ΠΑ
 ΕΙΩΤ ΠΑΕΙ ΕΤCΟΤ̄Π ΕΝΙΝΟΘ
 ΝΑΙΩΝ : ΤΗΡΟΥ : ΑΝΟΚ ΓΑΡ
 20 ̄ΝΤΑΥΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟΕΙ ΧΕ ΑΛ
 ΛΟΓΕΝΗC ΧΕ ΑΝΚΟΥΕΒΟΛ
 2̄ΝΚΑΙΓΕΝΟC : ΑΝΚΟΥΕΒΟΛ
 ΑΝ 2̄Μ ΠΕΚΓΕΝΟC : ^{vac} ΤΟΤΕ
 ΠΕΧΑϞ ΝΑϞ ̄ΝΒΙ ΠΕΤΑΜΑ
 25 2̄ΤΕ ̄ΜΠΚΟ[ϞΜΟ]Ϟ ΧΕ ΑΝΟΝ

60

on the earth,
 since he [constrains the world].
 He said [to him, "]
 []
 [] while you
 are walking up this mountain.
 For although you seek, you will find
 nothing. But come []
 and [take for] yourself what is in
 my world. Eat from
 my delicacies. Take
 for yourself silver, gold, and
 clothes." But Allogenes
 responded, saying,
 "Get away from me,
 Satan! For I am not seeking
 after you, but after my
 father who is superior to all
 the great ages. For I
 was called Allogenes
 because I am from
 another race. I am not
 from your race." Then
 he who constrains the
 world said to him, "We

- 1 Restored by KW.
- 2 See 60,24–25 for the restoration.
- 3 Perhaps $\overline{\zeta\beta}$ at the end of the line.

8 Ink traces of 4–5 characters at the end of line 8 (visible on Lafayette College fragment accession I.2) are obscure. Perhaps read $\overline{\eta\mu\epsilon\iota}$ “with me.” A superlinear stroke is visible above the first ink trace, and the final two ink traces resemble the tops of $\epsilon\iota$ or $\omicron\iota$.

[32a]

2ωω[\bar{n}^{±16}]
 μαγ ἀ [\bar{n}^{±16}]
 [α]μϝγ [\bar{n}^{±14}]
 [.....^{±16}]ει :
 5 ζ̄μ πακϝς[$\bar{\mu}$ ος : ^{vac} τοτε] πε
 χαρ ναρ \bar{n} βι αλλο[γεν]ης χε
 σαζωκ εβολ \bar{m} μ[οϊ πς]ατανας
 ἀναχωρι νακ αν[κπω]κ γαρ
 αν : ^{vac} τοτε αρσα[ρε εβ]ολ
 10 \bar{m} μορ \bar{n} βι πсатаη[ас] \bar{m} \bar{n}
 \bar{n} са тρερ† \bar{n} ογϝς ναρ \bar{n}
 ζαζ \bar{n} соп· αγω \bar{m} περϝμ
 сом ερ̄ζαλ \bar{m} μο[q] ντερογ
 χρο δε ερορ αρ̄α[να]χωρι >
 15 ναρ επερμα ζ̄ \bar{n} ο[γ]ηος \bar{n} >
 ψιπε : ^{vac} τοτε α[λλ]ογενης
 αρωψ εζ̄ραϊ ζ̄ \bar{n} ογηος \bar{n} сμη
 ερ̄χω \bar{m} μος : χε ω̄ π̄ \bar{n} † πε
 τ̄ζραϊ ζ̄ \bar{n} ηηος ναϊων сω >
 20 τ̄ \bar{m} етасμη \bar{n} к̄ \bar{n} α ναϊ \bar{n} к̄
 наζ̄мет εβολ ζ̄ \bar{m} πεθοογ
 ηηη : сωψ† εζ̄ραϊ εχωει
 αγω \bar{n} к̄сωτ̄ \bar{m} εροει εει :
 25 ζ̄ \bar{m} ραϊ ζ̄ \bar{m} πεε[ιμ]α \bar{n} χαειε >>>>
 теноγ ϝ[ε μαρε]q̄ρογο̄ηη ε
 ϝοϊ \bar{n} βι ϝ[γογο̄ηη]ηηηαχε

[61]

ourselves []
 ... []
 Come []
 []
 in my [world.” Then]
 Allogenes said to him,
 “Get away from me, Satan!
 Go away! For I do not
 [belong to] you.” Then Satan
 withdrew from him after
 making him angry
 many times, and he was not
 able to deceive him. And when
 he was defeated he withdrew
 to his place in great
 shame. Then Allogenes
 cried out in a loud voice,
 saying, “God, he who
 is in the great ages, hear
 my voice, have mercy on me,
 and save me from every evil.
 Look upon me
 and hear me while I am
 in this deserted place.
 Now, therefore, [let] an ineffable
 [light] illuminate me

3 ἀμφοῦ KW.

5 [μοc : αφογωϣ̄] KW, but see : ^{vac} τοτε at 60,13, 60,24, 61,9, 61,16.

8 αν[κπω]κ KW.

20–21 Cf. the Lord's Prayer in Matt 6:13 ηγναζμεν εβολ ζιτμ
ππονηρος.

25 Reconstructed by Hedrick in KW.

26 π[εκογοϊ]η Funk in KW.

3] ̣ KW.

6 [ἴN α]ειο KW.

11–18 Cf. Matt 17:5, οὔκλαολε ἡ̄ογοειν “a luminous cloud”
in the transfiguration of Jesus.

[ṣr]

[63]

	εκεσο[οϋν	]	you will [know]
	οϋονζ[	]	appear []
	[. . .] . []	[]
	[.] . []	[]
5	πω[	σω]	[	body]
	μα βωλ ε[βολ	]	dissolves []
	νει πεπ[να	]	the [spirit]
	[	σα]	[]
✓	ντ[π]ε εκωανει δ[ε εβολ κ]		[above]. Now when you leave, [you]	
10	νηϋ ετοοτς ντωορη ν		will come into the hands of the first	
	νεζοϋσια ετε τωομ ντε		authority, who is the power of	
	πιθυμια τε : αγω σνααμα		desire. And that one	
	ζεε μμοκ' νει [τ]ετμμαϋ		will constrain you	
	ντχνοϋκ δε ε[κ]ναβωκ' ε		and interrogate you, saying, 'Where are	
15	των ω αλλογενης : ντοκ		you going, Allogenes?' But as for you,	
	δε αχις δε αγωτβ μπε		say 'He who constrains me	
	ταμαρτε μμοϊ αγω αγκα		has been killed, and I have been	
	ατ εβολ εειναβωκ' εζεραει		set free. I am going up	
	ωαπαειωτ : παϊ ετσατπε		to my father, who is above	
20	ννινοσ ναιων τηροϋ αγω		all the great ages.' And	
	σνακαακ εβολ νει τετμμαϋ		that one will let you go.	
	τοτε κνηϋ ετοοτς ντμεζ		Then you will come into the hands of	
	β νεζοϋσια ετε τωομ μ		the second authority, who is the power of	
	πκακε [τε αγω σ]νααμαρτε		darkness. [And that one] will constrain	
25	[μμοκ νει τετμ]μαϋ ντ		[you] and it will	

1 εκεσφ[τ̄м KW.

5–6 сω]м̄а KW. The first letter on line 6 is obscure, but it is consistent with the shape of the scribe's four-stroke м (cf. м̄маγ at line 13), whereas elsewhere the scribe writes a more curved three-stroke м.

7 πεπ[н̄а KW.

8–9 са]н̄т[п]ε, cf. *Gos. Mary* 16,3.

9 н̄т[п]ε εκωανει [αε κ] Wurst, but there is space for six characters in the lacuna. Cf. 62,24.

10–12 Cf. *Gos. Mary* 15–16: “the first is darkness (πκακε), the second is desire (επιθυμια), the third is ignorance (τμντατσοογн), the fourth is eagerness for death (пκωз мпмоγ), the fifth is the kingdom of the flesh (τμντερο нтсарз), the sixth is the foolish wisdom of flesh (τμνтсавε нсебн н̄сарз), the seventh is the wisdom of an enraged person (тсоφια н̄ρεγнoγс). These are the seven powers of wrath.”

16–17 πεταμαзте probably refers to Satan (60,24–25). A similar phrase appears in *Gos. Mary* 16,17–18 πετεмазте м̄мої αγκонс̄q̄ “What constrains me has been slain” (see discussion below).

[3A]

- [ΧΝΟΥΚ ΧΕ ΕΚΝΑΒΩΚ'] ΕΤΩΝ
 [Ω̄ ΑΛΛΟΓΕΝΗΣ : ΝΤΟ]Κ ΔΕ ΑΧ[ΙC]
 [ΧΕ ΑΥΖΩΤΒ̄ Μ̄ΠΕΤΑΜ]Α[ΖΤΕ]
 [Μ̄ΜΟΪ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΚΑΑΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΕΙΝΑ]
 5 [ΒΩΚ ΕΖ̄ΡΑΕΙ ΨΑΠΑΕΙΩΤ :] ΠΑΙ Ε
 [ΤCΑΤΠΕ Ν̄ΝΙΝΟC Ν]ΑΙΩΝ ΤΗ
 [ΡΟΥ ΑΥΩ CΝΑΚΑ]ΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄
 [ΒΙ ΤΕΤΜΜΑΥ >>>>>]>>>.
 [ΑΥΩ ΚΝ]ΗΥ ΕΤΟΟΤC [Ν̄]ΤΜΕΖ
 10 Γ̄ [ΝΝΕ]ΞΟΥCΙΑ ΤΑΕΙ ΕΨΑΥ
 ΜΟΥΤΕ ΕΡΟC ΧΕ ΤΜΝΤΑΤCΟ
 ΟΥΝ CΝΑΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΜΜΟΚ ΝΒΙ
 ΤΕΤ[ΜΜ]ΑΥ CΝΑΧΟΟC ΝΑΚ
 ΧΕ ΕΚ[ΝΑΒ]ΩΚ ΕΤΩΝ Ω̄ ΑΛΛΟ
 15 ΓΕΝΗ[C] : Ν̄ΤΟΚ ΔΕ ΑΧΙC ΝΑC
 ΧΕ ΑΥ[Ζ]ΩΤΒ̄ Μ̄ΠΕΤΑΜΑΖΤΕ
 Μ̄ΜΟ[Ι] : ΑΥΚΑΑΤ ΕΒΟΛ' ΑΝΟΚ
 ΔΕ ΕΕΙΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΖ̄ΡΑΕΙ ΨΑΠΑ
 ΕΙΩΤ : ΠΑΪ ΕΤCΑΤΠΕ Ν̄ΝΙ ^{vac}
 20 ΝΟC ΤΗΡΟΥ ΝΑΙΩΝ ΤΟΤΕ
 CΝΑΚΑΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ Ν̄ΒΙ ΤΕΤΜΜΑΥ
 ΑΥΩ ΚΝΗΥ ΕΤΟΟΤC̄ Ν̄ΤΜΕΖ
 Q̄Δ ΝΕΞΟΥCΙΑ ΕΤΕ ΠΩΙΝΕ
 ΜΠΜΟΥ [ΤΕ CΝΑ]ΧΟΟC ΝΑΚ
 25 Χ[Ε] Ε[ΚΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΤΩΝ Ω̄ ΑΛΛΟ]

[64]

[interrogate you, saying,] 'Where [are you
 going, Allogenes?'] But as for you, say
 ['He who constrains me has been killed,]
 [and I have been set free. I am]
 [going up to my father,] who is
 [above all the great] ages.'
 [And that one]
 [will let you go.]
 [And you] will come into the hands of the
 third authority, who is
 called ignorance.
 That one will constrain you
 and say to you,
 'Where are you going,
 Allogenes?' But as for you, say to it
 'He who constrains me has been killed,
 and I have been set free. As for me,
 I am going up to my
 father, who is above
 all the great ages.' Then
 that one will let you go.
 And you will come into the hands of the
 fourth authority, which is the seeking
 of death. It will say to you,
 ['Where are you going, Allogenes?']

1–8 Restoration is approximate following 63,14–21.

5 The ink traces before ϵ at the end of the line are very obscure.

9 Conjectural *ekthesis* is based on 63,22 and 64,22.

10 $\tau\alpha\epsilon\iota\epsilon\tau\epsilon\omega\alpha\gamma$ Wurst.

14 $\epsilon\kappa[\mathbf{B}]\omega\kappa$ Wurst, but the lacuna has space for three characters (cf. 63,14).

23 $q\grave{\alpha}$ KW, $q[\tau\omicron]$ Wurst, but ink traces show $\overline{q\grave{\alpha}}$, a hybrid form of the ordinal number combining $\tau\mu\epsilon\zeta q\tau\omicron$ and $\tau\mu\epsilon\zeta\overline{\alpha}$. See Kasser, “Étude dialectale,” in KW 66–67.

24 The reading of $\chi\omicron\omicron\chi\ \eta\grave{\alpha}\kappa$ is conjectural and based on the formula at 64,13, 65,10, and 65,20.

25 The reading of χ is conjectural. The restoration of this line and what follows assumes that the repeated formula did not include the sentence “That one will constrain you” ($\varsigma\eta\alpha\alpha\mu\alpha\zeta\overline{\tau\epsilon}\ \overline{\mu\mu}\omicron\kappa\ \overline{\eta\epsilon\iota}\ \tau\epsilon\tau\overline{\mu\mu}\alpha\gamma$), which is also omitted from the descriptions of the fifth and sixth authorities (65,8–17, 65,18–66,2).

[ῥε]

[65]

- [ΓΕΝΗΣ : ΝΤΟΚ ΔΕ ΑΧΙΣ ΧΕ]
 [ΑΥΖΩΤΒ ΜΠΕΤΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΜΜΟΙ]
 [ΑΥΩ ΑΥΚΑΑΤ ΕΒΟΛ ΕΕΙΝΑ]
 [ΒΩΚ ΕΖΡΑΕΙ ΨΑΠΑΕΙΩΤ :]
 5 [ΠΑΙ ΕΤΣΑΤΠΕ ΝΝΙΝΟΘ ΝΑΙΩΝ]
 [ΤΗΡΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΣΝΑΚΑΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ]
 [ΝΒΙ ΤΕΤΜΜΑΥ >>>>>>—]
 [ΑΥΩ ΚΝΗΥ ΕΤΟΟΤΣ ΝΤΜΕΖ]
 [Ε Ν]ΕΞΟΥΨΙΑ Ε[ΤΕ ΤΜΝ]ΤΕΡΟ
 10 [ΝΤ]ΣΑΡΑΞ ΤΕ : [ΑΥΩ ΣΝΑ]ΧΟΟΣ ΝΑΚ
 [ΧΕ] ΕΚΝΑΒ[ΩΚ ΕΤΩΝ Ω] ΑΛΛΟΥΕ
 [ΝΗ]Σ : ΝΤΟ[Κ ΔΕ ΑΧΙΣ ΝΑ]Σ ΧΕ ΑΥ
 [ΖΩ]ΤΒ ΜΠΕΤΑ[ΜΑΖΤΕ Μ]ΜΟΕΙ :
 [ΑΥ]ΚΑΑΤ ΕΒΟΛ [ΤΕΝ]ΟΥ ΘΕ ΕΕΙ
 15 [ΝΑ]ΒΩΚ ΕΖΡΑ[ΕΙ ΨΑΠΑΕΙΩ]Τ : ΠΑ!
 [ΕΤ]ΣΑ Τ'ΠΕ [ΝΝΙΝ]ΟΥ ΝΝΑΙΩΝ ΤΗ
 [ΡΟΥ ΑΥΩ ΣΝΑ]ΚΑΑΚ ΕΒΟΛ >>>—
 [ΑΥΩ ΚΝΗΥ ΕΤΟΟ]ΤΣ ΝΤΜ[Ε]Ζ
 [ΝΕΞΟΥΨΙΑ ΕΤ]Ε ΤΕΣΒΩ Ν[Σ]ΟΥ
 20 [Ν]ΣΑΡΑΞ ΤΕ ΑΥ[Ω ΣΝΑ]ΧΟΟΣ ΝΑΚ
 [ΧΕ ΚΝΑΒΩΚ] ΕΤΩΝ Ω ΑΛΛΟ
 [ΓΕΝΗΣ : ΝΤΟ]Κ ΔΕ ΑΧΙΣ ΝΑΨ ΧΕ
 [ΑΥΖΩΤΒ ΜΠΕ]ΤΑΜΑΖΤΕ ΜΜΟ
 [ΕΙ ΑΥΩ ΑΥΚΑ]ΑΤ ΕΒΟ[Λ] ^{vac}
 25 [ΕΕΙΝΑΒΩΚ ΕΖΡΑΕΙ Ψ]ΑΠ[ΑΕΙΩΤ]

[But as for you, say]
 ['He who constrains me has been killed]
 [and I have been set free. I am]
 [going up to my father,]
 [who is above all the great ages.']
 [And that one will]
 [let you go].
 [And you will come into the hands of the]
 [fifth] authority, [which is the] kingdom
 [of the] flesh. [And it will] say to you,
 ['Where are] you [going], Allogenes?']
 [But] as for you, [say to] it
 'He who [constrains] me has been [killed],
 and I have been set free. [Now], therefore, I
 [am] going up [to my father], who
 is above [all the great] ages.'
 [And it will] let you go.
 [And you will come into the hands] of the sixth
 [authority], which is the foolish teaching of
 [flesh. And] it will say to you,
 'Where [are you going], Allogenes?'
 But [as you for you], say to it
 'He who constrains me [has been killed]
 [And] I [have been set] free.
 [I am going up to my father,]

* Line 8 = Wurst's line 9 (and so forth).

1–7 Restoration is approximate following 63,9–21, 64,9–21, and 65,18–25.

11 ΝΤΦ[Κ ΔΕ ΑΧΙ]C Wurst, but the lacuna has space for eight or nine characters. Cf. 64,15.

13 [ΤΕΝ]ΟΥ ΔΕ cf. 61,25.

19–20 The reading of Ν[Σ]ΦΦ is rather uncertain and based on the parallel in *Gos. Mary* 16 ΤΜΝΤCABE ΝCΕΘΗ ΝCΑΡΞ. The restoration by Wurst (ΤΕCΒΩ Ν[ΣΕΙΘΗ ΝCΑΡΑΞ ΤΕ ΑΥ]Ω CΝΑΧΦΦC ΝΑΚ) is probably too long for the lacuna on line 20, which can accommodate about ten characters.

23 [ΕΙ ΑΥΚΑΑΤ ΕΒΟΛ Τ]ΦΤΕ [ΕΕΙΝΑ] Wurst, but the ink traces fit ΚΑ]ΑΤ ΕΒΦ[Λ better than Τ]ΦΤΕ. Cf. 63,17–18 for the restoration.

25–26 Restoration is based on 63,18–19 and 64,18–19.

	[παῖ ἐτσατπε ἡνινοε ναιων]	[who is above all the great ages.]
	[τηρογ αγω σνακαακ εβολ]	[And it will let you go.]
	[]	[]
	[]	[]
5	[]	[]
	[]	[]
	[]	[]
	[]	[]
	[]	[]
	. ε : [. . .] . κ . . μ . [. ⁺⁷]	[]
10	ἡζη[τ . α]γω κναβ[ωκ εζραει]	in [. . .]. And you will [go up]
	εχῆ [νειαρ]γελοσ [. ⁺⁷]	over [these] angel[s]
	.. [.] μα ε . [. ⁺⁷]	[]
	οσε [.] . ρος η̄δ[. ⁺⁷]	[]
	τβα η̄[α]ργελοσ ε[γογααβ]	myriads of [holy] angels
15	.. [.] .. τ η̄ζ[εντβα η̄αρ]	[myriads of]
	γελοσ : αγ . . . [. ⁺¹⁰]	angels []
	ε . οο . μη̄[. ⁺¹³]	... []
	μη̄ρρεαβζ[ητ ⁺¹⁰]	Do not be cowardly []
	.. οῡνε̄ν . [. ⁺¹³]	[]
20	.. τη̄ ^{vac} χρο [. ω̂ αλλο]	[] Be strong [Allo-]
	γενης εκ[. ⁺¹³]	genes []
	μη̄ρρη̄ζοτε [. ⁺¹²]	Do not fear []
	ἡταυχφοσ [. ⁺¹²]	which was mentioned []
	[.] . τη̄ . [. ⁺¹⁶]	[]
25	[]	[]

* The present line enumeration is based on p. 65 (the reverse of 66), the reconstruction of which is fairly certain based on the repeated formula with descriptions of the fifth and sixth authorities. However, this arrangement does not provide enough space at the top of p. 66 for a description of a seventh authority following the same formula previously encountered. The first line of extant text on line 9 (Wurst's line 10) does not correspond to the formula and seems to initiate a description of what lies beyond the first six authorities. If CT,4 did include a description of a seventh authority, which seems plausible based on the parallel with the *Gospel of Mary*, then it probably appeared after this page. The material at this point in the revelation may have served as an introduction to a climactic encounter with the seventh authority.

9 The first two characters are probably $\overline{\eta}\epsilon$ or $\overline{\eta}\epsilon$.

10 Probably $\overline{\eta}\zeta\eta[\tau\kappa$ "in you"; $\overline{\eta}\zeta\eta[\tau\varsigma$ "in it/her"; or $\overline{\eta}\zeta\eta[\tau\varrho$ "in it/him."

13 $\overline{\eta}\varsigma[\iota\zeta\epsilon\eta$ Wurst, but about seven characters are needed to fill out the line. Perhaps $\overline{\eta}\varsigma[\omicron\mu\overline{\mu}\overline{\eta}\zeta\epsilon\eta$.

17 $\epsilon\theta\theta\theta\gamma$ Wurst.

20 Perhaps $\zeta\eta\tau\kappa$.

Fragment from an unplaceable leaf (Lafayette College accession II.1)

→	]ΝΑΝ Φ . []	[
	]ΦΒ` ΜΜΟΚ [	]	you [
	] . ΜΕ ΠΕΥΖΡ[	]	their[
	]ΝΟΥΝΟΣ Ν . [	]	a great [
5	]ΠΕΧΛΕΙΝΑ . []	[
	] . . . . ΝΗΤ . []	[
	]ΝΑΕΙ Ε . [	]	will go [
	] . ΣΜΑ . . []	[

* The papyrus has suffered from chipping and faded ink, leaving many of the characters illegible.

1 The ink trace after Φ is consistent with α. Perhaps Φ ἀ[λλογενής.

2 Perhaps ϸ]ΦΒ` ΜΜΟΚ “baptize you”; Τ]ΦΒ` ΜΜΟΚ “seal you”; or ϸ]ΦΒ` ΜΜΟΚ “send you.” The second character may also be *kappa*: κ]ΦΚ` ΜΜΟΚ “divest you”; ϸ]ΦΚ` ΜΜΟΚ “lead you”; Τ]ΦΚ` ΜΜΟΚ “strengthen you”; χ]ΦΚ` ΜΜΟΚ (± ΕΒΟΛ) “complete you”; or ϸ]ΦΚ` ΜΜΟΚ “form you.”

7 Perhaps κ]ΝΑΕΙ ΕΖ[ΡΑΪ “[you] will go [up].”

↓	. . .] . . . []	[
	] . . . ΕΤ[]	[
	Ν]ΘΙ ΝΑΓΓΕΛ[ΟC	]	angels[
	]ΟΥΝ ΦΘΟΜ[	]	it is possible [
5	]ΤΕΥ ΕΥΧ[]	[
	]ΜΕϸ : . Ε . . []	[
	χ]Φ ΜΜΟC χ[Ε	]	saying that [
	] . . ΠΝΤ[	]	God[
	] . Κ . . []	[

6 The character after the *dicolon* is probably α or λ.

9 Perhaps ΙΚΕ.

Conclusion of CT,4 from an unknown page

[. αλ]λογεν[HC]	[Al]logen[es]
[.] . γ ἀφτνοοϋ [. .]	[] he sent [. .]
[. . . .] . γ : κε εϋεπ[. .]	[] so that they might [. .]
[. . . τ]εκρις : τρη[HH]	[the] judgement. Peace
5 [μ]πρωμ]ι ντα[q]cζαϊcoϋ [m̄n]	[to the person] who wrote them [and]
[πετνα]αρεζ εροοϋ >>>[>>>]	[whoever will] observe them.
] >>>>>[>>] >>>>>>>>[>>>>>]	
>[>>>>>>]>	

* Restoration assumes about 18–20 characters per line. Line numbers refer to the text visible on the fragment, not to line numbers of the page. However, the fragment likely belongs to the top half of the page, since the opposite side has the opening lines of *Corpus Hermeticum XIII*, and the scribe's practice was to begin each tractate at the top of a new page. Accordingly, the missing lower portion of this page, with space for about 17 lines, might have been filled out with a subscript title and decoration, comparable to the title of the *Letter of Peter to Philip* CT,1 and the decorative crosses on CT 9.

4 τε]εκρις Wurst.

5–6 Reconstruction suggested by Wurst. For the spelling of ρωμ]ι, compare πν̄τ (for Sahidic πνοϋτε) at 59,17, 61,18 and κωτ (for κωτε) at 62,11–12. The pronoun “them” may refer to something like “these words” or “these books” mentioned in the preceding lacunae. Compare the conclusion to *Allogenes* NHC XI 68,34–69,19: “These are the things that were revealed to me, O my son [Messos . . .] (13 lines missing). Proclaim [them as the] seal of all the [bo]oks [of] Allogenes” ([τ]cφραγς [n̄]τε [νιχω]ωμε τηροϋ n̄[τε] παλλο[γε]νης). For similar peace benedictions in colophons, see H. Lundhaug and L. Jenott, *The Monastic Origins of the Nag Hammadi Codices* (Tübingen 2015) 186 n. 32.

3. *Literary and Historical Analysis*

Biblical Allusions: Temptation, Transfiguration, and Tabor

The reader familiar with the New Testament cannot help but notice a similarity between the experiences of Allogenes in this book and of Jesus in the canonical Gospels. Both are tempted by Satan in the wilderness, but manage to drive him away (CT 59,25–61,16; Mark 1:12–13; Matt 4:1–11; Luke 4:1–13); and both hear a revelatory voice speaking from a luminous cloud, Allogenes upon Mt. Tabor (59,15, 62,11), and Jesus during his transfiguration on a high mountain (Mark 9:2–8; Matt 17:1–9; Luke 9:28–36).¹⁶ Revelation from clouds is of course a common motif in biblical tradition,¹⁷ but the comparison between the mystical experience of Allogenes and the transfiguration of Jesus is strengthened by the fact that some ancient Christians identified Mt. Tabor as the site of the transfiguration.¹⁸ Most commentators on this text have therefore concluded that the figure of Allogenes here should be understood as a cryptic representation of Jesus himself.¹⁹ According to Marvin Meyer, the book tells “a Gnostic version of the temptation story” and “seems to portray Jesus as the Stranger [i.e., Allogenes] during his lifetime, before his passion and crucifixion.”²⁰

However, I think we can understand Allogenes in this book not as Jesus himself, but as someone who undergoes experiences modelled after those of Jesus, in the tradition of *imitatio Christi*. Despite the similarities between their experiences, there are also important differences. Both Allogenes and Jesus are tempted by Satan in the wilderness, but the specific temptations are quite different. Satan tempts Jesus with three things: turning stones into bread, because of Jesus’s sheer hunger after fasting for forty days and nights; putting God to the test, by leaping from the top of

¹⁶ In the Gospel accounts of the transfiguration, only Matthew describes the cloud as luminous (νεφέλη φωτεινή 17:5).

¹⁷ E.g., Exod 19:9, 24:16; Ezek 1:4; Rev 10:1, 14:14.

¹⁸ Hier. *Ep.* 46.13, 108.13; Cyr. H. *catech.* 12.16; and Or. *sel. in Ps.* 88:13 LXX (Migne, *PG* 12, col. 1548), whose attribution to Origen is disputed.

¹⁹ M. Meyer, “The Book of Allogenes (Codex Tchacos, 4),” in M. Meyer (ed.), *The Nag Hammadi Scriptures* (San Francisco 2007) 771–775; J. Brankaer and H.-G. Bethge, *Codex Tchacos. Texte und Analysen* (Berlin 2007) 376; M. Scopello, “Allogène au Thabor dans le Quatrième traité du Codex Tchacos,” in M. Scopello (ed.), “Gnosis and Revelation: Ten Studies on Codex Tchacos,” *Rivista di Storia e Letteratura Religiosa* 44.3 (Firenze 2008) 698; B. Pearson, “The *Book of Allogenes* (CT.4) and Sethian Gnosticism,” in K. Corrigán and T. Rasimus (eds.), *Gnosticism, Platonism and the Late Ancient World: Essays in Honour of John D. Turner* (Leiden 2013) 108–111.

²⁰ Meyer (n. 19) 772–773.

the Jerusalem temple; and political power over the kingdoms of the world (Matt 4:1–9; Luke 4:1–11 in a different order). In contrast, Satan first tempts Allogenes with sumptuous treats (“eat from my delicacies”), not mere bread, and then with gold, silver, and fine clothing. Unlike Jesus, Allogenes is tempted by the kind of “lures of this world” that appear frequently in Christian ascetic literature contemporary with Codex Tchacos.²¹ The fact that Allogenes undergoes a temptation by Satan in the wilderness need not mean that he is Jesus, but rather that Jesus’s temptation provided a model for his experience, as it did for other Christian ascetics in the wilderness such as Antony and Evagrius.²²

Furthermore, when it comes to the revelations received by Allogenes and Jesus on a high mountain, the content and circumstances of each one are quite different. In CT,4, the voice from the cloud speaks directly to Allogenes, who appears to be alone at this point in the story and brings him “the good news” before he departs from this world. In the Gospels, the voice speaks to Jesus’s disciples (Peter, James, and John), and does so in order to endorse Jesus’s authority (“This is my beloved son, with whom I am well pleased. Listen to him” [Matt 17:5]). The circumstances that prompt the revelation are also entirely different. Allogenes cries out to God in a state of fearful desperation following his encounter with Satan (61,18–24), whereas Jesus confidently leads his inner circle up the mountain in order to show them his awesome glory. Finally, Allogenes is never “transfigured” in this story as Jesus is in the Gospels.²³ To merely equate Allogenes with Jesus in a “gnostic” retelling of the Gospel narratives not only obscures interesting differences between the two, but also potentially leads us to overlook other ways of interpreting the unique features of this tractate.

Instead of seeing Allogenes as a gnostic Jesus, I suggest that this book portrays him as a religious pilgrim who, like other Christian pilgrims in antiquity, ascends Mt. Tabor in the footsteps of the Savior in order to

²¹ Temptations of wealth, silver, gold, food, and clothing appear in, e.g., Ath. v. *Anton.* 5, 11–12, 45, 50; Pachomius, *Instruction 1* (CSCO 150, p. 21); Evagrius of Pontus, *Antirrhetikos* 1.13, 47, 49–50, 3.1, 15, 17, 31–32, 35 (trans. D. Brakke, *Evagrius of Pontus, Talking Back/Antirrhetikos* [Collegeville 2009] 56, 63–64, 85, 88–89, 92, 93). See also M. Scopello, “The Temptation of Allogenes (Codex Tchacos, Tractate IV),” in Corrigan and Rasimus (n. 19) 117–137. Scopello finds many instances of food, silver, gold, and clothing presented as demonic lures in the Nag Hammadi texts, but does not look beyond that corpus into the wider literature of Egyptian asceticism.

²² Ath. v. *Anton.* 37; Evagrius of Pontus, *Antirrhetikos* Prol. 2 (trans. Brakke [n. 21] 49–50).

²³ Pace Meyer (n. 19) 772: “In the third scene (61,16–62,25 ff.), the Stranger is transfigured.”

seek revelation in prayer (cf. Luke 9:28).²⁴ By the fourth century, the site of Mt. Tabor had become a notable destination for Christian pilgrims in the Holy Land. The pious travelers Paula and Eustochium planned to visit Tabor on their tour, where, according to Jerome, they too looked forward to having a contemplative experience: “We shall proceed to Itabyrium (i.e., Tabor) and to the tents of the Savior and (there) we shall contemplate him, not as Peter once wanted, with Moses and Elijah, but with the Father and Holy Spirit.”²⁵ In CT,4, Allogenes also expects Tabor to be a place particularly well suited for prayer and for receiving “a spirit of knowledge” from the heavenly father (59,1–25).

The story of Allogenes’s journey up Tabor and his esoteric experiences there also resemble a pattern of allegorical exegesis already established by Origen before the physical site of Tabor became a destination for Christian pilgrims. According to Origen, the ascent of Jesus and his disciples up the mountain of transfiguration symbolizes the believer’s progress toward virtue and enlightenment:

εἰ τις οὖν ἡμῶν βούλεται τοῦ Ἰησοῦ παραλαμβάνοντος αὐτὸν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ ἀναχθῆναι εἰς τὸ ὕψηλόν ὄρος καὶ ἀξιοθῆναι τοῦ κατ’ ἰδίαν θεωρῆσαι τὴν μεταμόρφωσιν αὐτοῦ, ὑπεραναβαινεῖτω τὰς ἑξ ἡμέρας, διὰ τὸ μὴ σκοπεῖν ἔτι «τὰ βλεπόμενα» μηδὲ ἀγαπᾶν ἔτι «τὸν κόσμον μηδὲ τὰ ἐν κόσμῳ», μηδὲ τίνα κοσμικὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἐπιθυμεῖν. ἥτις ἐστὶν ἐπιθυμία σωμάτων καὶ τοῦ ἐν σώματι πλούτου καὶ τῆς κατὰ σάρκα δόξης, καὶ ὅσα πέφυκε τὴν ψυχὴν περισπᾶν καὶ περιέλκειν ἀπὸ τῶν κρειττόνων καὶ θειοτέρων καὶ καταβιβάζειν καὶ ἐρεΐδειν τῇ ἀπάτῃ τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἐν πλούτῳ καὶ δόξῃ καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἐχθραῖς ἀληθείᾳ ἐπιθυμίαις.

If one of us wants to be taken by Christ and led up onto the high mountain and be deemed worthy of seeing his transformation in private, let him traverse the six days²⁶ by no longer looking at what is visible, and by no longer loving the world or what is in the world, and by not desiring after some worldly desire. Such is the desire of bodies and riches in the body and glory according

²⁴ Where Mark and Matthew merely say that Jesus took his disciples up the mountain, Luke adds “to pray” (προσεύξασθαι).

²⁵ Hier. Ep. 46.13 (CSEL 54, p. 344, trans. mine): *pergemus ad Itabyrium et ad tabernacula salvatoris, non, ut Petrus quondam voluit, <eum> cum Moysi et Helia, sed cum patre cernemus et spiritu sancto*. In Jerome’s funeral oration for Paula (Ep. 108.13), he also mentions Mt. Tabor, *in quo transfiguratus est Dominus*, among the many holy sites she visited.

²⁶ Matt 17:1: “After six days, Jesus took Peter and James and John his brother and brought them up on a high mountain in private.” According to Origen, the six days represent the *cosmos*, created in six days (Gen 1), from which one must become disentangled. One could see in this interpretation a further similarity with the *Book of Allogenes*’s teaching that one must bypass a series of celestial authorities on the way to the heavenly father, especially since only six authorities appear in the extant text. However, one expects that a seventh authority was also mentioned (probably after CT 66) based on the parallels with the *Gospel of Mary*, the testimony of Epiphanius on the Archontics, and the general Hellenistic cosmology of seven heavens (see discussion below).

to the flesh, all those things that naturally draw the soul and drag it away from what is better and more divine and pull it down and prop it up on the deceit of this age in riches and glory and the rest of the desires that hate truth.²⁷

Allogenes follows a similar program of progress as Origen imagined in his allegorical reading of the transfiguration. He must first overcome the temptations of this world before receiving revelation of higher mysteries on the mountain. Furthermore, the specific desires Allogenes overcomes (luxurious foods, silver, gold, and clothes) are just the kind of “worldly desires” alluded to by Origen, namely “desire of bodies and riches in the body and glory according to the flesh.” Allogenes’s story – his ascent of Tabor, prayer, overcoming desires, and ultimate illumination – closely follows both the actual journeys of Christian pilgrims in the fourth century and Origen’s earlier allegory of the mountain as the path of spiritual progress.

Thus the figure of Allogenes “the Foreigner” in this book provides an ideal type with whom the pious reader can identify. Allogenes wants to know where he comes from and where he is going, and perhaps more importantly, what he should do in the here-and-now “to live” (59,22–25). These questions are inherently concerned with grasping a deeper understanding of one’s true self apart from the plastic identities people necessarily develop while living in human society. The questions that once drove Christians into the solitude of the desert, as described by the Trappist monk Thomas Merton, aptly apply to the religious and existential questions raised by Allogenes:

What the Fathers sought most of all was their own true self, in Christ. And in order to do this, they had to reject completely the false, formal self, fabricated under social compulsion in “the world.” They sought a way to God that was uncharted and freely chosen, not inherited from others who had mapped it out beforehand. They sought a God whom they alone could find, not one who was “given” in a set, stereotyped form by somebody else.²⁸

Likewise, the *Book of Allogenes* encourages the reader to understand him- or herself as a “foreigner” to Satan’s world, to see oneself as a child of the heavenly father, and like Allogenes, as a member of “another race.”²⁹

²⁷ Or. *comm. in Mt. 36* (GCS 40, pp. 151–152, trans. mine). Monastic instruction books from the Byzantine period continue Origen’s legacy by speaking of the mountain of transfiguration as a symbol for spiritual progress, ascent, and contemplation. See M. Van Parys, “De l’Horeb au Thabor: le Christ transfiguré dans les homélies byzantines,” *Irénikon* 80 (2007) 236–266.

²⁸ T. Merton, *The Wisdom of the Desert: Sayings of the Desert Fathers in the Fourth Century* (New York 1960) 5–6.

²⁹ J.D. Turner, “Introduction,” in W.-P. Funk et al., *L’Allogène (NH XI,3)* (Québec 2004) 5–6 likewise describes the figure of Allogenes in NHC XI,3 as “the model for human spiritual

The answer the book gives to Allogenes's last question – what should we do to live? – involves proper lifestyle and morality. Through the example of Allogenes, the book encourages its readers to renounce the corrupting luxuries of fine food, silver, gold, and clothes. The call to such renunciations stems from the recognition of human weakness in the face of gluttony, wealth, and vanity that warp recognition of one's true self. Allogenes's victory over Satan thus provides an example for the aspiring ascetic to follow in the pursuit of purification of body and mind on the path to enlightenment.

A Book of Demonology and Apotropaic Prayer

After Allogenes overcomes Satan's temptations, he learns by revelation that he must again confront desire and other harmful passions. These new challenges are not incited by Satan on earth, as they were before, but are now represented by a series of demonic authorities in the heavens, each of whom, in turn, will detain Allogenes and ask him where he is going. As previous commentators have observed, this section of the book has close affinities with the Coptic *Gospel of Mary* (BG 8502,1). There, Mary recounts to the other apostles a private revelation she received from Jesus concerning hostile authorities, called "the seven powers of wrath," whom the soul must overcome on its ascent to heaven. The names and sequence of the authorities in the *Gospel of Mary* and the *Book of Allogenes* clearly reflect a shared demonological tradition, probably dependent on a common literary source:

<i>Gospel of Mary</i> (BG) 15–16	<i>Book of Allogenes</i> (CT,4)
1. πκακε, darkness	1. επιθυμια, desire
2. επιθυμια, desire	2. πκακε, darkness
3. τμντατσοογν, ignorance	3. τμντατσοογν, ignorance
4. πκωζ μπμογ, eagerness for death	4. πωινε μπμογ, the seeking of death
5. τμντερο ντσαρξ, the kingdom of the flesh	5. [τμν]τερο [ντ]σαρξ, the kingdom of the flesh
6. τμντcαβε нсебн н̄cαpξ, the foolish wisdom of flesh	6. τcβω н̄cоp̄ н̄[сαpαξ], the foolish teaching of flesh
7. τcоφiα н̄pεqнoγc, the wisdom of an enraged person	7. (?)

enlightenment ... an anonymous ideal type of genuine humanity." Similarly Brankaer and Bethge (n. 19) 376 posit that the name is "eine generische Bezeichnung."

The two lists are nearly identical, except that the names of the first and second authorities (desire and darkness) are reversed in the *Book of Allogenes*. The placement of desire (ἐπιθυμία) as the first authority may perhaps be due to the fact that ancient Christian moralists from the apostle Paul onward regarded desire – sexual and otherwise – as a chief obstacle to bodily purity and self-mastery, as we saw above in Origen’s allegory of the mountain.³⁰

It is possible that one text is directly dependent upon the other, but if so, it is difficult to determine which used the other as a source. The *Gospel of Mary* has a more elaborate schema, wherein the seven powers of wrath are embedded in yet another sequence of four powers (“When the soul defeated the third power, it went up and saw the fourth power, which took on seven forms ...” [*Gos. Mary* 16]). One could speculate that the author of the *Gospel of Mary* adopted the names of the seven powers from their simpler form in the *Book of Allogenes* and worked them into a more complex configuration. However, caution should be exercised when making these kinds of decisions, since redactors can simplify material just as easy as they expand it. In the absence of further evidence, it would be more prudent to imagine that both drew from a common source.

In any event, both texts are concerned with the obstacles faced by the soul on its ascent through the heavens. In the *Book of Allogenes*, the revealer says that he has come to reveal the good news “before you leave [this place]” (62,23–24), which refers not to Allogenes’s departure from Mt. Tabor, but to his journey to the heavenly father (“I am going to my father, who is above all the great ages”). Less clear is whether this ascent occurs as a post-mortem experience³¹ or as the kind of temporary, esoteric journeys one finds in other apocalypses (e.g., *I Enoch*, the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, 2 Corinthians 12, *Zostrianos*). Both interpretations are possible, and perhaps the distinction is insignificant: if you are going to travel through the heavens, either in this life or the next, the book teaches you what to expect.

The assumption that spirits, sometimes called toll collectors (τελῶνται), hinder the soul on its way to the afterlife, and that the soul must tell them the correct phrases in order to pass, appears in various religious traditions in antiquity. Before the Christian era one finds it in the Orphic

³⁰ D. Martin, *The Corinthian Body* (New Haven 1995) 198–228; S. Stowers, *A Rereading of Romans: Jews, Justice, and Gentiles* (New Haven 1994) 42–82.

³¹ A severely damaged passage which follows may refer to the dissolution of the body (63,5–7).

golden tablets, and by the second century CE it was incorporated into the “last rites” of some Christian sects.³² In the following centuries, orthodox Christians also embraced the idea in various forms.³³ Today one still finds the concept visually depicted in brilliant color paintings on the walls of Orthodox churches from Europe to Alaska, wherein a twisted serpent, punctuated at intervals by the toll houses of menacing demons, represents the upward path of the departed soul.³⁴

What is most important is that the revealer teaches Allogenes how to bypass the authorities by repeating a specific formula, like a mantra: “He who constrains me has been killed, and I have been set free. I am going up to my father, who is above all the great ages” (αγρωτῶ ἡπεταμαζετῆ μμοῖ αγω αγκαατ εβολ εειναβωκ’ εζραει ψαπαειωτ : παῖ ετσατπε ἡνινοε ναιων τηροϋ [63,16–20]). This formula is repeated at least six times in the book, once for each authority described in the extant text. Elements of Allogenes’s mantra also appear in the *Gospel of Mary*, in a hymnic pronouncement the soul delivers in response to the seven powers of wrath:

πετεμαζετε ἡμοῖ ἀγκονσῶ
 αγω πετκτο μμοῖ ἀγογος<q>
 αγω ταεπιθῦμια αςχωκ εβολ
 αγω τμντατσοοϋ<n> αςμοϋ
 ζῆ οὔκρςμος ἡταγβολτ’ εβολ ζῆν οὔκοςμος
 [αγ]ω ζῆ οὔτυπος εβολ ζῆ οὔτυπος ετῆμσα ντπε
 αγω τμῖρε ντῶε ετωοοπ προς ογοῖψ

What constrains me has been slain,
 and what surrounds me has been defeated.
 My desire has ceased,
 and ignorance has died.

³² Iren. *haer.* 1.21.5. For comparison with the Orphic tablets, see E. Thomassen, “The Valentinian Materials in James (NHC V,3 and CT,2),” in E. Iricinschi et al. (eds.), *Beyond the Gnostic Gospels* (Tübingen 2013) 79–90; E. Thomassen, *The Spiritual Seed: The Church of the Valentinians* (Leiden 2008) 406–414; N. Denzey Lewis, “Apolytrosis as Ritual and Sacrament: Determining a Ritual Context for Death in Second-Century Marcionian Valentinianism,” *JECS* 17 (2009) 525–561.

³³ E.g., Ath. v. *Anton.* 65–66.

³⁴ A massive collection of textual and artistic evidence for this tradition can be found in a volume recently published by the monks of St. Anthony’s Greek Orthodox Monastery in Arizona, *The Departure of the Soul according to the Teaching of the Orthodox Church: A Patristic Anthology* (Florence, AZ 2017), including color plates of the motif in icons, wall paintings, and illuminated manuscripts (468–680).

Through a world I have been set free from a world,
and through an image from an image above,
even the chain of forgetfulness that exists (only) for a time.³⁵

As one can see, the soul’s longer, more elaborate response in the *Gospel of Mary* includes two of the important statements in Allogenes’s mantra. The differences in Coptic verbiage are negligible and suggest a common Greek Vorlage.³⁶

<i>Gospel of Mary</i> (BG,I)	Allogenes (CT,4)
What/he who constrains me has been slain πετεμαρτε ἡμοῖ ἀγκονςῑ	What/he who constrains me has been killed αὔρωτῑ ἡπεταμαρτε ἡμοῖ
I have been set free ἡταυβολτ̅ εβολ	I have been set free αὔκαατ εβολ

In the *Book of Allogenes*, “He who constrains (πεταμαρτε) me” probably refers to Satan, who earlier in the narrative is called “He who constrains the world” (πεταμαρτε ἡπκῳ[ςμο]ς at 60,24–25, the equivalent of ὁ κοσμοκράτωρ). Thus in order to bypass the authorities, Allogenes must declare to each of them that their earthly counterpart, the devil, “has been killed.” This claim – that in some sense Satan has already been vanquished – probably assumes both the story of Allogenes driving Satan away and the common Christian soteriology of the Christus Victor, that is, the belief that Christ’s death and resurrection has broken Satan’s grasp on the redeemed.³⁷

³⁵ *Gos. Mary* 16,17–17,7 (ed. R.McL. Wilson and G. MacRae, “The Gospel According to Mary,” in D. Parrott, *Nag Hammadi Codices V,2–5 and VI with Papyrus Berolinensis* 8502, 1 and 4 [Leiden 1979] 464–466, trans. and parsing mine). The cryptic “image (τύπος) in the heavens” from which the soul is liberated may refer to Fate and/or the cycle of reincarnation, described here as a chain of forgetfulness that exists temporarily.

³⁶ The verbs κωνῑ (*Gospel of Mary*) and ρωτῑ (CT,4) are closely related in meaning and can translate the same Greek verbs interchangeably (e.g., ἀποκτείνειν and σφάζειν). See Crum, *Dict.* 723b, with reference to the interchange of these words in Sahidic and Bohairic translations of Ezek 21:11 and 1 John 3:12.

³⁷ G. Aulén, *Christus Victor: An Historical Study of the Three Main Types of the Idea of Atonement*, trans. A.G. Herbert (New York 1956). The interpretation of Christ’s death as a victory over the powers of evil runs so strongly throughout the first three tractates of CT that, for readers of this codex, it would be reinforced all the more in the *Book of Allogenes*. See Jenott (n. 14) 7–11, 23–36, 128.

The repetitive character of Allogenes's mantra suggests its practical application as an apotropaic prayer. In the fourth century, Church fathers such as Gregory of Nazianzus composed apotropaic prayers for the faithful to recite directly to demons (e.g., "Go away, go away, evil one, manslayer ... Go away, Christ is within, to whom I have offered and given my soul").³⁸ Other fathers such as Bishop Athanasius, leery of too much personal innovation, prescribed the recitation of Scripture, especially the Psalms, as a form of prayer against demons.³⁹ While Allogenes's mantra ("He who constrains me has been killed, and I have been set free") is not a clear quotation from Scripture, it may be inspired by Ps 123:7, ἡ παγὶς συνετρίβη καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐρρύσθημεν "The snare has been destroyed, and we have been set free." Loose adaptation of the Psalms for the creation of apotropaic prayers would not be surprising, since Athanasius explicitly prohibits it.⁴⁰ Although Allogenes is taught to recite the mantra during his ascent to heaven, one can imagine that pious readers of his book, still living "in the kingdom of the flesh" on earth, found in it words of power, which they too could recite in their everyday struggles against nagging desire, moral darkness, and the other passions the prayer promises to thwart.⁴¹

Narrative Voices

The *Book of Allogenes* involves a number of puzzling shifts in narrative voice that deserve comment. The first ten lines (59,3–12) are spoken by an anonymous person exhorting his son to pray ("My so[n, let us pray to God] ..."). After this exhortation, the treatise continues for about two pages (59,13–62,9) in the voice of an anonymous narrator speaking in the third person ("And *they* came out and went up on a mountain ..."). In this

³⁸ D. Kalleres, "Demons and Divine Illumination: A Consideration of Eight Prayers by Gregory of Nazianzus," *VigChr* 61 (2007) 157–188. The excerpt is from prayer 5 in Kalleres's enumeration (Migne, *PG* 37, col. 1403).

³⁹ Athanasius prescribes the recitation of Psalms in his *Letter to Marcellinus*. Similarly Evagrius, in *Antirrhetikos*, explains which verses from Scripture are effective against different kinds of demonic temptation.

⁴⁰ Ath. *ep. Marcell.* 31: "Do not let anyone amplify these words of the Psalter with the persuasive phrases of the profane, and do not let him attempt to recast or completely change the words. Rather let him recite and chant, without artifice, the things written just as they were spoken" (trans. R. Gregg, *Athanasius: The Life of Antony and Letter to Marcellinus* [New York 1980], 127).

⁴¹ L. Painchaud, "Le quatrième écrit du Codex Tchacos: Les Livres d'Allogène et la tradition littéraire séthienne," in Corrigan and Rasimus (n. 19) 98 suggests that the repetitive character of Allogenes's instruction might have served readers as a mnemonic device used in baptism or other rituals. See similarly Brankaer and Bethge (n. 19) 376–377.

passage, the pronoun “they” presumably refers to the speaker and his son from the opening lines, and it quickly becomes clear that one of them is Allogenes (“After Allogenes spoke these words ...” [59,25–26]).⁴² From this point on, the narrator focuses exclusively on Allogenes himself, relating the latter’s temptation by Satan in the wilderness and his cry to God for help (57,25–62,9). The narrator then disappears abruptly, giving way to Allogenes’s own first-person account of his revelation (“While *I* was saying this ...” [62,9]).

While such abrupt changes in speaker are not without precedent, the question is how to interpret them: are they the hallmarks of poor composition, the literary seams of a careless editor, or an author’s deliberate literary device? In the Nag Hammadi corpus, for example, one finds the same sudden shift from anonymous third-person narrator to first-person discourse in the *Apocalypse of Paul* (NHC V,2 20,5) and the *Hypostasis of the Archons* (NHC II,4 93,14), while a shift in the opposite direction occurs in the *Acts of Peter and the Twelve Apostles* (NHC V,1 8,20). Commentators have adduced such changes in speaker either as evidence of poorly composed treatises,⁴³ or, more commonly, as evidence of redactional activity, suggesting that editors “sewed” together originally independent sources into new narratives.⁴⁴

However, in Bentley Layton’s extensive study of the *Hypostasis of the Archons*, he argues that the abrupt change from third-person narrator to Norea’s first-person speech can be explained as a “stylistic device with the function of an eye-witness report,” which is widely attested in pagan, Jewish, and Christian literature.⁴⁵ As Layton notes, H.R. Smid compiled

⁴² Commentators who identify Allogenes with Jesus understand the plural pronoun “they” in reference to an entire group, the disciples of Allogenes-Jesus (so Meyer [n. 19] 772; Pearson [n. 19] 107). The speaker who exhorts his son in CT,4 is probably Allogenes, just as Allogenes teaches his son Messos in NHC XI,3. It remains a possibility, however, that Allogenes is the son who receives instruction from his father, who could be Seth according to the testimony of Epiphanius (see below).

⁴³ W. Murdock and G. MacRae, “The Apocalypse of Paul NHC V,2:17,19–24,9,” in Parrott (n. 35) 48: “The inconsistency may perhaps be attributed to literary carelessness rather than to multiple sources, for at these points in the narrative no clear ‘seams’ can be detected on other grounds.”

⁴⁴ K. Stifel, *Die Taten des Petrus und der zwölf Apostel: (NHC VI,1)* (Berlin 2019) 22–25, summarizes source theories proposed by previous commentators that were based both on changes in speaker and perceived contradictions in the narrative. Stifel cautiously observes, however, that redaction criticism based only on changes in speaker is methodologically questionable since ancient styles could vary considerably. She furthermore proposes that the alleged tensions in content can be resolved through a more careful reading of the text, even if its author drew from multiple sources.

⁴⁵ B. Layton, “The Hypostasis of the Archons (Conclusion),” *HTR* 69 (1976) 66, quoting H.R. Smid, *Protoevangelium Jacobi: A Commentary* (Assen 1965) 176–178.

a detailed appendix concerning the phenomenon in his commentary on the *Protoevangelium Jacobi* (where the same abrupt shift occurs at 18.2), citing many similar instances in Christian apocrypha as well as Greek poetry and histories.⁴⁶ Smid summarizes the function of the device as follows:

Besides the reason that the first person presents the fiction of an eye-witness report, this form of style serves to enable the apostle or one of his companions, when in the throes of joy, sorrow, anger, rapture or desperation, to express this in self-communion. The course of the narrative is deliberately interrupted, because it is also an effective means of increasing the tension ... enlivening the narrative ...⁴⁷

Smid's description of the device and its function applies fittingly to the *Book of Allogenes* as well, especially when Allogenes vividly narrates the revelation he received in response to his emotionally charged prayer for divine assistance (62,9). But the first instance in which Allogenes speaks, in the opening lines of the book, functions in an additional way. By addressing his son directly and offering him instruction following the hortatory conventions of ancient wisdom literature ("My son ..."), the book invites the reader to identify with the son and learn from Allogenes's teaching and experience.⁴⁸

Sectarian Affiliation and Ancient Readers

When and by whom might the *Book of Allogenes* have been composed, transmitted, and read in antiquity? We know that books attributed to Allogenes already circulated in the third century, since the philosopher Porphyry says that Christian sectarians in the time of his teacher Plotinus "produced revelations (ἀποκαλύψεις τε προφέροντες) by Zoroaster and

⁴⁶ Smid (n. 45) 176–178, "Appendix 3. Transition from the third to the first person."

⁴⁷ Smid (n. 45) 177–178. One may also think of such first-person speeches as instances of the speech-in-character device (*prosopopoiia*) taught in Greco-Roman rhetorical schools and used widely in antiquity. According to Quintilian (*Inst.* 9.2.30–33, trans. Russell, Loeb 127, p. 51), *prosopopoiia* allows one "to introduce conversations between ourselves and others ... and to provide appropriate characters for words of advice, reproach, complaint, praise, or pity." See G. Kennedy, *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors* (Princeton 1983) 64; and the useful overview in Stowers (n. 30) 16–21.

⁴⁸ E.g., Prov 1:8 *et passim*, and its ancient Near Eastern precedents such as the *Instructions of Amenemhet I to his Son* (trans. M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature. Volume 1: The Old and Middle Kingdoms* [Berkeley 1973] 134–139). Further examples closer to the time of the *Book of Allogenes* include the discourses of Hermes to his son Tat in the *Corpus Hermeticum* and Pachomius's *Instruction I* (CSCO 150, p. 1), which similarly begins with the words *παῦνρε, σωτῆ νῆρσαβε* "My son, listen and be wise." On the genre, see R. Clifford, *The Wisdom Literature* (Nashville 1998).

Zostrianos and Nicotheos and Allogenes and Messos, and other people of the kind, deceiving themselves and deceiving many, alleging that Plato had not penetrated to the depths of intelligible reality.”⁴⁹ The book entitled *Allogenes* in NHC XI is often considered by scholars to be among the apocalypses known in Plotinus’s school, since it assumes the kind of neo-Platonic cosmology refuted by Plotinus and his students.⁵⁰ Whether the *Book of Allogenes* from CT was also among the apocalypses known to Porphyry remains an open question. Some scholars have dated its composition as early as the second century, others to the early third.⁵¹

However, as I will show, we know from Epiphanius of Salamis that books of *Allogenes* were still being composed in the fourth century by sectarians whom Epiphanius calls Archontics. According to his description of this sect, it appears to have been a group of semi-eremitic monks based in Palestine led by a defrocked Christian priest named Peter. In addition to the fact that Epiphanius says the Archontics wrote their own *Allogenes* books, close similarities between the theology of the Archontics and the *Book of Allogenes* from CT suggest that this book was one of their compositions. Perhaps it was originally written in Palestine in Greek and later taken to Egypt and translated into Coptic by Egyptian ascetics affiliated with the Archontics. Given that the Archontics were practicing ascetics of the semi-eremitic type, its author and later readers would likely have been interested in *Allogenes* as an exemplary “foreigner” to this world.

According to Epiphanius, books of *Allogenes* were written at different times and by different groups of sectarians, whom he calls Sethians and Archontics respectively. He reports on the Sethians that,

βίβλους δὲ τινὰς συγγράφοντες ἐξ ὀνόματος μεγάλων ἀνδρῶν, ἐξ ὀνόματος μὲν Σῆθ ἐπτὰ λέγουσιν εἶναι βίβλους, ἄλλας δὲ βίβλους ἑτέρας Ἀλλογενεῖς οὕτω καλοῦσιν, ἄλλην δὲ ἐξ ὀνόματος Ἀβραάμ, ἣν καὶ ἀποκάλυψιν φάσκουσιν εἶναι, πάσης κακίας ἐμπλεον, ἑτέρας δὲ ἐξ ὀνόματος τοῦ Μωσέως καὶ ἄλλας ἄλλων.

Composing certain books in the names of eminent men, they say there are seven books in the name of Seth, but other, different books they simply call *Allogeneis* (Foreigners), and another in the name of Abraham, which they claim is also an apocalypse, full of evil, and others in the name of Moses, and others in the names of other people.⁵²

⁴⁹ Porph. *Plot.* 16 (trans. Armstrong, Loeb 440, p. 45).

⁵⁰ Turner (n. 29) 3–4. For a different view, which maintains that NHC XI,3 is a later, fourth-century composition, see D. Burns, “Apophatic Strategies in *Allogenes* (NHC XI,3),” *HTR* 103 (2010) 161–179.

⁵¹ Meyer (n. 19) 773 (second century); Pearson (n. 19) 115 (early third century).

⁵² Epiph. *haer.* 39.5.1 (*GCS* 31, p. 75; all translations of Epiphanius are my own).

Epiphanius indicates that the Sethians had nearly disappeared by the 370s when he wrote his *Panarion*, though their books were still in circulation.⁵³ The so-called Archontics were still active in his time, however, and “and these,” he says, “likewise forged some apocryphal books of their own.”⁵⁴ The Archontics evidently possessed older *Allogenes* books that they received from previous generations (ἤδη δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἀλλογενέσι καλουμένοις κέχρηται), but they also wrote newer books of *Allogenes* themselves:

καὶ βιβλους τινὰς ἐξετύπωσαν εἰς ὄνομα αὐτοῦ τοῦ Σῆθ γεγραμμένας, παρ’ αὐτοῦ αὐτὰς δεδόσθαι λέγοντες, ἄλλας δὲ εἰς ὄνομα αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἑπτὰ υἱῶν αὐτοῦ. φασὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἑπτὰ γεγεννηκέναι <υἱοῦς> Ἀλλογενεῖς καλουμένους, ὥς καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις αἰρέσεσιν εἰρήκαμεν, Γνωστικῶν φημι καὶ Σηθιανῶν.

They have also composed some books written in the name of Seth himself, saying they were handed-down by him, and other books in his name *and that of his seven sons*; for they say he sired seven sons named *Allogeneis*, as we also mentioned among other sectarians, I mean Gnostics and Sethians.⁵⁵

We therefore cannot be certain whether the *Book of Allogenes* from CT was written in the second or third century, and thus was among those known to Porphyry, or was one of the later compositions made by the Archontics. The latter scenario is quite plausible, however. Although we do not have the entire text, the extant sections contain none of the platonizing metaphysics that drew criticism from Plotinus and his students, nor do they exhibit any of the distinctive features, mythemes, and characters that distinguish a given writing as part of the Sethian literary corpus (e.g., the Invisible Spirit, Barbelo, Autogenes, the four luminaries, Yaldabaoth, Saklas).⁵⁶ Instead the *Book of Allogenes* involves more themes drawn from biblical tradition (Mt. Tabor, Satan, allusions to Jesus’s temptation and transfiguration) and assumes ideas that resemble some of the chief doctrines taught by the Archontics in the fourth century.

⁵³ Epiph. *haer.* 39.1.1 (GCS 31, pp. 71–72).

⁵⁴ Epiph. *haer.* 40.2.1–2 (GCS 31, p. 82): καὶ οὗτοι δὲ ὁμοίως βιβλους ἑαυτοῖς ἐπλαιογράφησάν τινας ἀποκρύφους.

⁵⁵ Epiph. *haer.* 40.7.4–5 (GCS 31, p. 88).

⁵⁶ H.-M. Schenke, “Das sethianische System nach Nag-Hammadi-Handschriften,” in P. Nagel (ed.), *Studia Coptica* (Berlin 1974) 165–173; H.-M. Schenke, “The Phenomenon and Significance of Gnostic Sethianism,” in B. Layton (ed.), *The Rediscovery of Gnosticism: Proceedings of the International Conference on Gnosticism at Yale, New Haven, Connecticut, March 28–31, 1978. Volume 2: Sethian Gnosticism* (Leiden 1981) 588–616. For an argument that CT,4 is related to the Platonizing Sethian treatises in the Nag Hammadi Codices, see Painchaud (n. 41) 95–97.

According to Epiphanius, one of the Archontics' books entitled the *Harmony* taught that a ruler presides over each of the seven heavens through which the soul must pass on its way to the highest heaven.⁵⁷ The soul which attains to knowledge "ascends heaven by heaven and gives a defense to each authority (ἐξουσίᾳ) and thus goes up to the superior mother and father of all things, whence it came into the world."⁵⁸ As we have seen, the *Book of Allogenes* teaches quite similar ideas: Allogenes prays for a "spirit of knowledge" prior to his revelation (59); he presents himself as belonging to the race of the heavenly father (60); and he is told that he must bypass various authorities (ἐξουσίαι) – at least six before the text breaks off – on his way to the father (63–66).

Furthermore, whereas the prominence of Satan in the *Book of Allogenes* would be hard to explain in terms of classic Sethian thought, it too accords with the theology of the Archontics. Satan plays no role in classic Sethian books such as the *Apocryphon of John*, the *Holy Book of the Great Invisible Spirit*, and *Zostrianos*, because the embodiment of evil is assigned to the malicious creator god Yaldabaoth/Saklas, whom Sethians identified with the God of Israel. In contrast, the Archontics believed in the existence of Satan, who according to their mythology came to earth after rebelling against his father Sabaoth.⁵⁹ Likewise, the *Book of Allogenes* not only includes a Satan figure, but also emphasizes that the earth is his domain; it is Satan "who constrains the world" (60,24–25). I find it likely, then, that the *Book of Allogenes* was one of the later books of Allogenes composed in the fourth century by Archontics.

Given the testimonies of Porphyry and Epiphanius, and the two books of Allogenes that have been discovered so far (NHC XI,3 and CT,4), it appears that different kinds of Allogenes books were written over the course of the third and fourth centuries by sectarians with different points of view. Some included more platonizing philosophical content, as seen in NHC XI,3, and others more biblical content, as in CT,4, the differences undoubtedly depending on an author's own theology, intended message, and audience. Louis Painchaud has proposed a number of ways we might imagine the relationship among these books and how they came to circulate in the kind of collections mentioned by Epiphanius. They could have

⁵⁷ Epiph. *haer.* 40.2.3 (GCS 31, p. 82): καὶ τοὺς μὲν εἶναι εἰς τοὺς ἑπτὰ οὐρανούς, καθ' ἓνα οὐρανὸν ἓνα ἄρχοντα, τάξεις δὲ εἶναι ἐκάστῳ ἄρχοντι.

⁵⁸ Epiph. *haer.* 40.2.8 (GCS 31, p. 83): ἀνιέναι καθ' ἕκαστον οὐρανὸν καὶ ἀπολογίαν διδόναι ἐκάστη ἐξουσίᾳ καὶ οὕτως ὑπερβαίνειν πρὸς τὴν ἀνωτέραν Μητέρα καὶ Πατέρα τῶν ὅλων, ὅθεν δὴ κατήλθεν εἰς τὸνδε τὸν κόσμον.

⁵⁹ Epiph. *haer.* 40.5.1–5 (GCS 31, p. 85).

been composed as a planned series of *Allogenes* books; or they could have been written independently, by different authors, over a long period of time and were later compiled into collections (perhaps with some redaction); or some combination of the two. According to Painchaud, we might imagine that the *Book of Allogenes* from CT served as an introductory treatise designed to lead the reader into more complicated philosophical subjects like those found in *Allogenes* NHC XI. The latter would, then, serve as a fitting capstone to the series, especially with its claim to be the “seal” of all the books of *Allogenes*.⁶⁰

While the existence of some kind of collection of *Allogenes* books is implied by Epiphanius’s testimony, the two books discovered so far show that they also circulated independently from one another. Some of these books came to be included in new, innovative collections, bound in codices such as CT and NHC XI with other Christian apocrypha, theological treatises, and pagan wisdom literature such as *Corpus Hermeticum* XIII. Thus one can also imagine different authors, inspired by the literary figure of *Allogenes*, composing new treatises intended to circulate on their own or with other, non-*Allogenes* books. The claim to be the “seal” of all the books of *Allogenes* may even indicate a degree of competition among authors of these pseudepigrapha. Is it one author’s attempt at having the “final word,” so to speak, among a plethora of *Allogenes* revelations?⁶¹

In any event, Epiphanius’s description of the Archontics provides a uniquely detailed account of the kinds of Christians who might have composed, transmitted, and read *Allogenes* books in the fourth century. He says that during the reign of Constantius II (r. 337–361), the teachings of the sect spread as far as Armenia due to the proselytizing efforts of a certain traveler named Eutactus. On his way home from Egypt, Eutactus stopped in Palestine, where he learned the sect’s doctrines from a hermit named Peter; he then took them to Armenia, where they became popular among wealthy persons, including a woman of senatorial rank.⁶²

Peter the hermit, the source of the “heresy” according to Epiphanius, had once been a priest in the orthodox church, but was eventually exposed and excommunicated (Epiphanius adds that he anathematized him personally). Peter then took to the eremitic life: he lived in a cave near his village, dressed in a sheep’s fleece, gave alms to the poor daily, and gathered around himself disciples who regarded him as their spiritual father. Despite

⁶⁰ Painchaud (n. 41) 92–93.

⁶¹ See similarly Turner (n. 29) 25–26.

⁶² Epiph. *haer.* 40.1.1–9 (*GCS* 31, pp. 80–82).

the fact that Epiphanius labels Peter and his community as a *hairesis* with their own name, “the Archontics,” his description of their way of life reveals that they were a Christian monastic group of the anchorite type.⁶³ Epiphanius himself compares them to monks when he complains that they fast and observe other ascetic disciplines, “priding themselves over some renunciation *in the guise of monks*” (προσχήματι μοναζόντων ἀποταξίαν τινὰ σεμνυνόμενοι).⁶⁴ Of course in Epiphanius’s eyes, they could not be genuine monks since they maintained heterodox teaching. But in lifestyle and practice, they do not seem to have differed much from the many semi-eremitic groups that began to dot the Christian landscape of the fourth century: for example, the brotherhood gathered around Pachomius’s spiritual father Palamon in Egypt.⁶⁵ Such persons likely would have been interested in the figure of Allogenes, especially the one presented in the *Book of Allogenes* from CT, as a paradigmatic “foreigner” to this world.

Thus one can imagine that copies of Allogenes books circulated in different regions (Palestine, Armenia, Egypt), in different languages (Greek, Coptic, perhaps Syriac and Armenian too), and were read by people of vastly different social and economic standing, from Eutactus’s affluent Armenians to Peter’s humble hermits. Whoever composed the *Book of Allogenes* from CT probably knew about pilgrims travelling to Mt. Tabor in northern Palestine to pray and seek guidance from the Spirit, as did Jerome’s friends Paula and Eustochium. Perhaps the author lived in Palestine, like Peter the hermit, and visited Mt. Tabor him- or herself. Ascetic readers of this book, whether its original audience or those who read it in Coptic translation, would have empathized with the story of Allogenes’s temptation “in the wilderness” and been encouraged by his victory over Satan’s luxurious lures. In their daily struggles against demons they would have been edified by Allogenes’s mantra (“He who constrains me has been killed, and I have been set free”), which offers deliverance from desire and other “demonic” oppressions on the spiritual journey to the heavenly father. In summary, readers would have been inspired by Allogenes’s example to transform themselves into “strangers” to this world

⁶³ It is doubtful that such persons ever referred to themselves as the Archontics or had a special name for themselves other than Christian. Epiphanius fabricated many of the names with which he labels his opponents since he programmatically organized his catalog into eighty heresies based on the typology of eighty concubines in Songs 6:8. See M. Williams, *Rethinking “Gnosticism”: An Argument for Dismantling a Dubious Category* (Princeton 1996) 179–184.

⁶⁴ Epiph. *haer.* 40.2.4 (GCS 31, p. 82).

⁶⁵ First Greek *Life of Pachomius* 6 (ed. F. Halkin, *Sancti Pachomii Vitae Graecae* [Brussels 1932] 4–5); Bohairic *Life of Pachomius* (CSCO 89, pp. 7–16).

PAPYRI TELL TALES: CREATING NARRATIVES FROM DOCUMENTS

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Abstract. — This contribution recommends the construction of narratives as a way to make the riches of documentary papyri accessible to a wider, non-specialist audience.

Keywords: narrative, documents, historical methodology

This is a paper I have reworked once a year over the last four years, each time under a different title, for audiences of differing composition and character.¹ It was first a keynote address, then a public lecture.² In its third iteration it was just one contribution to an Eastern Mediterranean Seminar held at the University of Chicago during the 2016–2017 academic year.³ The seminar's theme, "Papyri and History," was nebulous enough, or so I thought, to leave it open for interpretation. Presumably speakers on "Papyri and History" could choose to demonstrate how they have been using specific papyri to create specific historically useful results; but "Papyri and History" may also, or instead, have been meant to evoke reflection on how papyri in general can be used as historical sources. The majority of the seminar papers seemed to lean toward the former alternative, taking a familiar pattern that goes something like this. Here is material (a papyrus or a group of them) that I have been working on. It is new, just recently come to light. Or it has been known but regrettably (of course)

¹ The text, minus introductory jokes, is in substance that delivered under the present title to students at the Summer Institute in Papyrology, Washington University, St. Louis, July 20, 2018. It retains its personal tone and perspective from that occasion. I thank Roger Bagnall and Todd Hickey for inviting me to participate in the 2018 summer institute; the *BASP* readers for their comments; and the editor for accepting into the pages of *BASP* so unconventional a piece as this one.

² Keynote: "Narrative History and the Documentary Papyri: A Personal Journey," North American Papyrology Seminar 1, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, May 15, 2015. Lecture: "'They Were All about Dung Receipts!': A Papyrologist's Progress," 15th Distinguished Visiting Lecture, The Center for the Tebtunis Papyri, University of California at Berkeley, March 15, 2016.

³ My thanks to Clifford Ando and Sofia Torallas for this invitation. Sessions were held on October 7, 2016, March 3 and April 14–15, 2017; my title: "Creating Narratives from Documents," April 14, 2017.

neglected and understudied. Here is what emerges from preliminary decipherment (or reconsideration) and attendant contemplation. The procedure is primarily descriptive; it is the perfectly legitimate and necessary means by which new information is announced and absorbed into the papyrological “database.” But this format, as I recall, prompted a difficult question from an audience member in the one of the seminar’s question-and-answer sessions ... but let me correct myself. The questioner, like reporters at presidential news conferences – in those days of olde when we regularly had such events – when finally called upon, did not limit herself to one question: she asked two. And as often happens in such circumstances, the first got answered, but the second got lost. To paraphrase my recollection of the lost question: how do we get from descriptions of papyrological discoveries to history itself? This, it seems to me, was *the* critical question for the seminar, one I have been thinking about for many years. I see this paper, like my Chicago paper, as a partial, because one-dimensional, response to the lost question.⁴ Simply put, one way is for papyrologists to adopt the narrative mode and make their papyri tell tales.

It was not coincidental that when I was composing the first version of this paper I had just read a novella whose English title is *Afterimage*, by the 2014 Nobel Prize winner Patrick Modiano. He is an author whose work should appeal to documentary papyrologists owing to his creative use of sources like the Paris phone book and his manufacture of fictional documents in bureaucratic diction and style, documents that tend to provoke and drive his mysterious plots. The plots themselves sometimes concern attempts, as in police procedurals, to locate missing persons, to retrace and reconstruct “footsteps,” especially of persons who disappeared during the Occupation. In *Afterimage* the first-person narrator recalls a time in his youth when through a chance meeting he was given charge of three suitcases stuffed with photographs, mostly of Parisian street scenes. An aging and once-renowned photographer has allowed him the privilege of cataloguing them. In the course of his work, our narrator decides that one catalogue is not enough, so he proceeds to make two, one for the photographer, one for himself. One evening the photographer, noticing the young man’s efforts, nudges him slyly, gently:

“If I were you” [he says], “I’d go farther ... I wouldn’t stop at just two notebooks ... I’d make an alphabetical index of every person and place that appear in those photos ...”

⁴ Needless to say, I can now no longer recall what her first question was.

The narrator proceeds to do just that, but when the old photographer sees this, he says:

“I was joking, kid . . . And you took me seriously . . .”⁵

Now surely, even if you are new to papyrology, you probably know that documentary papyrologists don’t joke about projects like those of Modiano’s naïve cataloguer – they take them seriously. They’d only have to think of the history of their discipline, of Friedrich Preisigke’s *Wörterbuch, Namenbuch, and Berichtigungsliste*, of Aristide Calderini’s *Dizionario* of place names, not to mention today’s online databases accessible through the Papyrological Navigator, to embark on indexes of any information that seemed worth compiling.⁶ In certain ways such fact-gathering is at the core of the papyrological enterprise, essential for its progress. Among other contributions, once they have been organized, the data serve as aids to future decipherments and to corrections of past editions. Their very mass can cause dismay or admiration on the part of non-papyrologists, more often the former than the latter. One of the admirers, to judge from a paragraph in his *Handbook for Classical Research*, is Israeli ancient historian David Schaps, who amusingly classifies the documentary papyrologist as (and I quote) “the spy master of classical scholarship.” “Modern military intelligence gathering,” he continues, as if from personal experience,

is chiefly a matter of careful analysis of every bit of writing or speech our agents [note the possessive pronoun] can collect from our enemies in the hope of building up an accurate prediction of their actions. The ancient Greeks, Romans, and Egyptians are not our enemies [says Schaps], but documentary papyrologists work as intelligence agents do, building up an understanding of the people who interest them from whatever written material they may have allowed to reach our hands.⁷

Of course, the ancients, when they dumped their waste paper, were not thinking about us, although it is true that in Egypt they did leave an awful lot behind.⁸ This is the “written material” that epigraphist Louis

⁵ P. Modiano, “Afterimage,” in *Suspended Sentences* (New Haven and London 2014) 14–15 (ellipses in the original; translation revised in two minor details).

⁶ Cf. J.G. Keenan, “The History of the Discipline,” in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (Oxford 2009) 59–78, esp. 65.

⁷ D.M. Schaps, *Handbook for Classical Research* (London and New York 2011) 238–239.

⁸ Cf. A. Luijendijk, “Sacred Scriptures as Trash: Biblical Papyri from Oxyrhynchus,” *Vigiliae Christianae* 64 (2010) 217–254; A. Hoffman and P. Cole, *Sacred Trash: The Lost and Found World of the Cairo Genizah* (New York 2011).

Robert once labeled a “paperasserie,” and ancient historian Moses Finley, going a step farther, called “a paperasserie on a breathtaking scale.”⁹ Suppose we start by accepting as accurately estimated the million and a half papyri thought to exist in today’s collections worldwide, most of them part of the “torrent” of finds from the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Next consider that not even 100,000 of them have been published. Deduct from the million and a half the hundreds of thousands that are “practically useless”: the hundreds of thousands that remain will still, at current rates, take easily more than a thousand years to publish, to reach the end point of what Eric Turner once referred to as papyrology’s “will o’ the wisp” – that is, full publication of all known papyri.¹⁰ The endeavor calls to mind the ancient philosopher Zeno’s most famous paradox, but with pertinent twists. Imagine, if you will, a Wily Coyote-Roadrunner type of cartoon, in which Achilles the Papyrologist, in frustration, tries vainly to catch up to a papyrus-stuffed tortoise.

The problem of mass is compounded if one takes into account what I have elsewhere called “known unknowns,” in reference to lost papyri whose past existence is confirmed by citations in surviving papyri.¹¹ Some of this evidence can be creatively reconstituted, almost verbatim, and thereby added to the evidentiary conglomerate, somewhat in the manner that existing papyri with their gaps, holes, and tears can be painstakingly restored. One thinks of the aged Brother Sarl’s project to recover the record of his religious order’s history by “restoring missing words and phrases to some of the old fragments of original text,” one small bit at a time. The method, like that of Sherlock Holmes, “is founded upon the observation of trifles,” a deep knowledge of the relevant facts and their ambient structures.¹²

⁹ L. Robert, *Choix d’écrits* (Paris 2007) 92 (from an article first published in 1961); M.I. Finley, *Ancient History: Evidence and Models* (New York 1986) 34.

¹⁰ Cf. P. van Minnen, “The Millennium of Papyrology (2001–),” in *PapCongrXXIII* (Vienna 2007) 703–714, and “The Future of Papyrology,” in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (New York 2009) 644–660. “Torrent” and “practically useless” are terms taken from B.P. Grenfell’s report to the Egypt Exploration Fund on the first season’s excavations at Oxyrhynchus, reprinted in A.K. Bowman et al. (eds.), *Oxyrhynchus: A City and Its Texts* (London 2007) 345–352, at 349 and 351. “Will o’ the wisp”: in conversation with the author during the 1969 Summer Institute in Papyrology at the University of California, Berkeley.

¹¹ J.G. Keenan, “Known Unknowns: Thoughts on Lost (Papyrus) Evidence,” a paper first presented at the Summer Institute in Papyrology at Princeton on July 16, 2014; later at the 5th International Conference of the Research Network Imperium & Officium in Vienna, November 6–8, 2014.

¹² “Brother Sarl”: Walter Miller, Jr., *A Canticle for Leibowitz* (New York 2006 [1959]) 72 (this and the following half page are especially worth reading). “Trifles”: from “The Boscombe Valley Mystery” in Arthur Conan Doyle, *The Complete Sherlock Holmes* (Garden

But this perspective may better describe the papyrologist's work when it comes to the textual criticism of already published texts: the papyrologist senses something in an edition is just not right – a peculiar detail that is out of kilter – and knows what it takes to fix the problem.¹³ There is, however, another way to consider the papyrologist's work – as that of the “tinkerer” as described by biologist François Jacob, writing about the artisan who

manages with odds and ends. Often without even knowing what he is going to produce, he uses whatever he finds around him, old cardboards, pieces of string, fragments of wood or metal, to make some kind of workable object ... What can be said about any of these objects is just that “it could be of some use.”¹⁴

For my purposes Jacob's description of the tinkerer captures the mindset of the papyrologist who, like you, is just beginning work on previously unseen pieces, and Jacob's “workable object” is, by analogy, equivalent to the edition you will have created when the editing part of the work is done. Of course, each papyrus-document that you have made “workable” is itself a fact containing numerous sub-facts, these often referring to still other lost facts – the “known unknowns” again. What is a scholar to do with all of these facts, especially if the scholar in question is not satisfied with a papyrological engagement that limits itself to producing editions of papyri, the papyrologist who wants to fit the editions into the larger world of history?

For anyone so inclined, a preliminary task is to put the facts into their proper historical setting. It is common to speak of the riches of the papyri as spanning “the papyrological millennium” – a long millennium, by the way, traditionally stretching from the late fourth century BC into the early eighth century AD. And it has been customary, since the early days of papyrology, to divide the millennium into Ptolemaic, Roman, and Byzantine periods, the tripartite scheme canonized by Ludwig Mitteis and Ulrich Wilcken's *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde* (Leipzig 1912). About the Ptolemaic and Roman labels, there has been no serious contestation; but the “Byzantine,” which has been problematic almost from the start, seems in the past generation to have been displaced, first partly, now more regularly, by the label “Late Antique,” spelled with capital

City, n.d.) 214, but the point is explicit or implicit in all the Holmes stories. Cf. Edward Muir's “Introduction: Observing Trifles,” in E. Muir and G. Ruggiero (eds.), *Microhistory and the Lost Peoples of Europe* (Baltimore and London 1991) vii–xxviii.

¹³ H.C. Youtie, *The Textual Criticism of Documentary Papyri*² (London 1974).

¹⁴ F. Jacob, *The Possible and the Actual* (Seattle and London 1982) 34.

letters, or the qualifying phrase “in Late Antiquity,” as in “Egypt in Late Antiquity.”¹⁵ Reference to an early Islamic period, a coda at the end of the millennium (but really the start of a new one), is standard, and consideration of the transition from Byzantine to Islamic rule and culture is a recently invigorated enterprise. How to integrate Coptic studies into this historical sequence is a related and difficult challenge. And if Greek is dropped from papyrology’s definition (see below), a resurgence of Arabic papyrology pushes the “millennium” forward into the tenth or eleventh century, thereby stretching the papyrological millennium close to a millennium and a half.

Like any relabeling, the shift from “Byzantine” to “Late Antique” implies that there is no such thing as a simple thing. Drop a pebble in a pond and watch the ripples.¹⁶ In this respect a statement by one papyrologist and response by another in the late 1980s and early 1990s, infrequently recalled and little known outside papyrological circles,¹⁷ argue the question of how in their millennium documentary papyri should as a whole be historically framed.

The statement is Deborah Hobson’s “Towards a Broader Context for the Study of Greco-Roman Egypt.”¹⁸ In this lively essay, published in 1988, Hobson, at once tongue in cheek but also deadly earnest, urged extending what Roger Bagnall has called papyrology’s “vertical [or chronological] axis” on both sides of its millennium, seeing Egyptian history as a continuum running from Pharaonic times to the present.¹⁹ Papyrologists, she argued, not without humor, needed closer contact with Egyptologists and their work, but they should also know about conditions in modern Egypt, becoming acquainted firsthand with the country’s agrarian terrain, enriching their studies by reading and using the perspectives of cultural anthropology and the insights even of modern Egyptian fiction ... and maybe taking a camel ride or two. The response by Leslie MacCoul was swift as these things go and unusually polemical given the

¹⁵ See A. Giardina, “Egitto bizantino o tardoantico? Problemi della terminologia e della periodizzazione,” in L. Criscuolo and G. Geraci (eds.), *Egitto e storia antica* (Bologna 1989) 89–103.

¹⁶ The sentiment and image are taken from Frank Waters, *The Man Who Killed the Deer: A Novel of Pueblo Indian Life* (1942; repr. Columbus, OH 1989).

¹⁷ Exception: R.S. Bagnall, *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History*² (London and New York 2020) 59–60 (69–71 in the 1995 edition), referring to Hobson’s article (next note) as “influential.” I am not so sure.

¹⁸ D. Hobson, “Towards a Broader Context for the Study of Greco-Roman Egypt,” *Échos du Monde Classique/Classical Views* 32 (1988) 353–363.

¹⁹ “Axis”: Bagnall, *Reading Papyri* (above, n. 17) 58 (68–69 in the 1995 edition).

supposed traditional *amicitia papyrologorum*.²⁰ We most of us, MacCoull argued, come to papyrology through the study of classics and its two essential languages, especially Greek. To follow Hobson's lead would be to return Egypt to the sealed-off "special place" (*Sonderstellung*) to which it had been consigned since papyrology's early days, this in reference to the doctrine that Egypt was *such* a peculiar place operating under *such* abnormal conditions as to make its papyrus evidence, in an extreme statement of the view, relevant *only* to Egypt.²¹ MacCoull, as she widened papyrology's "horizontal [or geographical] axis," rather saw Late Antique Egypt as participating in a "global," or at least an East Mediterranean *koiné*, even its Coptic culture standing as a natural extension of what might be called Egyptian Hellenism, a world sharply distinguished from Hobson's Egyptocentric "Greco-Roman Egypt."²²

In this MacCoull returned the very word papyrology to one of its earliest definitions as a branch of "Greek study," one that in 1900 was, according to a reviewer in the cultural journal *Athenæum*, "devouring all the rest."²³ This is a definition that is echoed in Jean-Luc Fournet's inaugural lecture at the Collège de France, where papyrology is identified as "the *science* of texts written above all in Greek," originating mostly from Egypt during the periods cited above.²⁴ Although the connotations of the French word *science* differ from those of the English word *science*, it is worth pointing out that shortly after its association specifically with the Greek language, papyrology in 1901 was classified by an American book reviewer as a science,²⁵ and so it appears in the article on the subject in the *Encyclopedia Britannica*'s 1962 edition. Succinctly put by C. Bradford Welles, "The care, reading and interpretation of papyri from Egypt is the science of papyrology."²⁶ Nevertheless, it seems to me, as we move through Welles's tripartite definition from care (or conservation)

²⁰ L.S.B. MacCoull, "Towards an Appropriate Context for the Study of Late Antique Egypt," *Ancient History Bulletin* 6 (1992) 73–79 = MacCoull, *Coptic Perspectives on Late Antiquity* (Aldershot and Brookfield, VT 1993) chapter XXIX.

²¹ J.G. Keenan, "Egypt's 'Special Place'," in E.P. Cueva, S.N. Byrne, and F. Benda, S.J. (eds.), *Jesuit Education and the Classics* (Newcastle upon Tyne 2009) 177–192.

²² The debate, with focus on Hobson, is also summarized by Bagnall, *Reading Papyri* (above, n. 17) 59–60 (69–71 in the 1995 edition).

²³ Cited in Keenan, "The History of the Discipline" (above, n. 6) 61.

²⁴ On January 7, 2016: J.-L. Fournet, *Ces lambeaux, gardiens de le mémoire des hommes. Papyrus et culture de l'Antiquité tardive* (Paris 2016) 24–25: "La papyrologie est la science des textes écrits avant tout en grec ..."

²⁵ J.J. Robinson, reviewing O. Gradenwitz, *Einführung in die Papyrskunde* in *AJP* 22 (1901) 210–214.

²⁶ *Encyclopedia Britannica* 17.293–296, at 293.

through reading (or decipherment) to interpretation, science must shade into art. And it is in the last of the three elements, interpretation, at least in its catholic, disciplinary sense, that papyrologists as a group have not been much given to self-reflection. Two exceptions are Roger Bagnall and Todd Hickey, who should be singled out as having written most pointedly on the subject of “Papyri and History.”

Bagnall’s book *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History* takes a descriptive path, summarizing and criticizing examples of what he judges to be models of the use of papyri in the writing of history. The book in both its editions (1995, 2020) proceeds to show what papyrologists and historians *can do* with papyrological evidence if they absorb awareness of Bagnall’s examples, chosen as they were for their “positive didactic purpose.”²⁷ In what follows, the message, to a large extent, is delivered subliminally. In its shorter compass, Todd Hickey’s essay “Writing Histories from the Papyri” comes across as more provocative than Bagnall’s book.²⁸ The tone, in my reading of it, is polemical, if gently so, scolding, if mildly so, and his message explicitly prescriptive: here are the kinds of things papyrologists *should do* with their evidence if only they would; but for this they’d need to reject the limits imposed by Herbert Youtie’s image of the papyrologist as an “artificer of fact,” the editor morally committed to creating the soundest evidence possible, then releasing it for other interested parties to use, the papyrologist’s work having been done.²⁹

Where Hickey and Bagnall, coming at the issue from different angles, converge is in their approval of an experiment of mine, now nearly thirty years old, in which in a little eight-page article I tried to create a narrative from a single document, *P.Cair.Masp.* 2.67126.³⁰ The document was a loan of 20 gold coins (*solidi*) incurred by two men from the Egyptian village of Aphrodito, temporarily resident in Constantinople; it was recorded on 7 January 541 in a papyrus from the archive of the notary and poet Dioscorus of Aphrodito. Published by Jean Maspero in 1913, it had often been cited in connection with the villagers’ attempts to repel a threat to their right to autonomous collection of their own taxes, their claim, well known among Byzantine papyrologists, of *autopragia*.³¹ The connection

²⁷ Bagnall, *Reading Papyri* (above, n. 17) 4–5 (7 in the 1995 edition).

²⁸ T.M. Hickey, “Writing Histories from the Papyri,” in R.S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (New York 2009) 495–520.

²⁹ H.C. Youtie, “The Papyrologist: Artificer of Fact,” in *Scriptiunculae*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam 1973) 9–32.

³⁰ J.G. Keenan, “A Constantinople Loan, A.D. 541,” *BASP* 29 (1992) 175–182.

³¹ For the village and its tax problems see C. Zuckerman in *P.Aphrod.Reg.*, passim, but especially the epilogue to chapter 3 at 213–219.

between this and the Constantinople loan was – and remains – inferential, since the loan contract makes no reference to this local-turned-imperial fiscal conflict.

The move toward exploiting this papyrus as a foundation for narrative may have been prompted by Lawrence Stone's paper on "The Revival of Narrative," first published in *Past & Present* in 1979, later reprinted in his 1987 collection, *The Past and the Present Revisited*, as a pushback against the trend besmirching modern historians' own narrative reliability.³² But just as likely is that it was occasioned by a fresh re-reading of David Bradley's *Chaneyville Incident*, with its legitimate claim to be, in my view, if not *the*, then at least *a* Great American Novel.³³ Its protagonist is a conflicted African American historian, professor at what may be the University of Pennsylvania. He is lured by a cache of documents to investigate his family's past, specifically, his father's murder – and this investigation leads him to try to unravel the mystery of a mass suicide by runaway slaves at a stop along the Underground Railroad in rural south-central Pennsylvania. He has all the facts, he has mastered the historian's craft, but lacks the imagination to solve the mystery, to reincarnate the event behind the facts he is studying. "I had put the facts together," he reflects,

all of them, everything I could cull from those books and [my father's] notebooks and my notebooks: everything. I had put it together and I had studied it until I could command every fact, and then I had stepped back and looked at the whole and seen ... nothing. Not a thing. Oh, I had seen the facts, there was no shortage of facts; but I could not discern the shape that they filled in ... I had everything I needed, knowledge and time and even, by then, a measure of skill – I could follow a fact through shifts and twists of history, do it and love it. But I could not imagine. And if you cannot imagine, you can discover only facts, and more cold facts; you will never know the truth. I had seen the future stretching out before me, my life an endless round of fact-gathering and reference-searching, my only discoveries silly little deductions, full of cold, incontrovertible logic, never any of the burning inductive leaps that take you from here to there and let you really *understand* anything.³⁴

The understanding, when it finally comes to the historian, as you may already have guessed, comes to him, in a flash, in the form of inspired narrative.

³² L. Stone, "The Revival of Narrative: Reflections on a New Old History," in *The Past and the Present Revisited* (London and New York 1987) 74–96.

³³ D. Bradley, *The Chaneyville Incident* (New York 1981).

³⁴ Bradley, *Chaneyville Incident* 146–147 (the first ellipsis is in the original; the second is mine; the stress at the end is original).

Even if my memories about the influence of Stone's essay and Bradley's novel are false, it is a fact that the little article I am talking about, written as a 20-minute paper for a conference, as a throwaway without intentions as to publication, drew Bagnall and Hickey's attentions, with Hickey expressly complimenting it "for its narrative (and microhistorical) sensibilities."³⁵ And I guess after all it was innovative in its fashioning of a narrative from the contract's internal facts and external likelihoods. As such, the story focused first on the villagers, on what the journey to and months-long stay in Constantinople must have been like for these two Egyptians – whom I went overboard, according to one critic, in characterizing as country bumpkins, sightseeing gawkers in the imperial city.³⁶ I was, in any case, concerned with how they managed to negotiate their loan; what its underlying purpose may have been; how the loan was secured; and how, where, when, and under what conditions it was to be repaid; in short, the practicalities from the debtors' point of view. It then turned to the person and interests of the lending banker and the mechanics of the transaction itself, its recording, its collateral, and its witnessing. Lastly came the subsequent career of the physical document after it was taken from Constantinople and brought to Aphrodito, its archaeological provenance, first to be preserved, then discarded, then rediscovered nearly 1365 years later and more than a thousand miles from where it had been written. All this, as I see it now, was colored by an effort to lend a sense of place to the pertinent events. In metaphorical terms it was an attempt to take the freeze frame of the document, its single point in time, one day in January 541, and to stretch its details across time and space into a short film with a chronological track and dramatic coherence, meanwhile coaxing visual out of verbal description. It made unconscious use of what Collingwood in *The Idea of History* called "interpolation," which I take to mean, for my purposes, the imaginative supplementation of what must have happened between the fixed points of fact provided by the document itself.³⁷ This does not just amount to summarizing what the document makes obvious, but in a way hard to define goes beyond that, and does so, ideally, with limited use of subjunctive verbs and, preferably, no annoying,

³⁵ Bagnall, *Reading Papyri* (above, n. 17) 33–34 (37–38 in the 1995 edition); Hickey, "Writing Histories" (above, n. 28) 508.

³⁶ G.R. Ruffini, *Social Networks in Byzantine Egypt* (Cambridge 2008) 153–154.

³⁷ R.G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History* (revised edition, Oxford and New York 1994) 240–245. I use the same wording and follow the same principles in "The Will of Flavius Phoibammon," in S. Huebner (ed.), *Living the End of Antiquity* (Berlin 2020) 107–115 (wording at 110).

open-ended rhetorical questions. It foregrounds internal clues that would be glossed if the papyrus were treated simply as a conveyer of text. An appropriate analogy may be poetic or art-historical description, that is, ecphrasis, of a work of art, especially a painting full of human busyness – a Grecian urn, let's say, or Icarus plummeting from the sky, or an anatomy lesson.

Where Bagnall and Hickey diverge in their thoughts about narrative that the article provoked is in their conflicting estimates on how many documents would lend themselves to this kind of treatment – only a few in Bagnall's view,³⁸ a position deemed “too pessimistic” by Hickey.³⁹ But maybe it is better to split the difference and maintain that some documents, more than a few but far from all, are more susceptible to this approach and therefore give better results than others. One such is the Manchester Museum papyrus recording the sale of an enslaved girl, in two main fragments, edited in 2010 by Amin Benaissa with rich introduction and commentary.⁴⁰ The first fragment, objective in form, preserves the sale document itself; the second, in subjective form, includes (in lines 5–12) a copied version of the document empowering the seller's agent. Unlike the Constantinople loan, which comes with an archival context, the sale is a singleton; but it still leads the editor beyond just editing the papyrus to a careful tracking of what he calls, though in scare quotes, “The ‘Story’ of the Document.”⁴¹ If I boil his treatment down to its essentials and strive to keep the focus on the sale's object, this, with several embellishments, is the sequence that emerges.

In the early AD 270s a baby girl named Zonena, “Little Beauty” in the local dialect, a Syrian by race (γένι Σύραν, 1.10), was born outside Egypt – whether into slavery, or free but later enslaved, is unknown. On first meeting her, we find she was owned, or had come to be owned, by Aurelius Zenon from a village in the territory of Eleutheropolis, a city in the province of Syria Palaestina. He subsequently sold Zonena, in the Egyptian Delta city of Tanis, to Aurelius Kattabos. He, from an otherwise unknown village, was, based solely on his name, probably Nabataean by

³⁸ Bagnall, *Reading Papyri* (above, n. 17) 34 (38 in the 1995 edition): “Only a relatively small handful of papyri offer the raw material for such an approach to be more than trivially useful ...”

³⁹ Hickey, “Writing Histories” (above, n. 28) 515, n. 86.

⁴⁰ A. Benaissa, “A Syrian Slave Girl Twice Sold in Egypt,” *ZPE* 173 (2010) 175–189.

⁴¹ Benaissa (preceding note) 175–180. In the next paragraphs, numbers in parentheses are to fragment and line numbers. My debt to Benaissa is extensive; his own references to J.A. Straus, *L'achat et la vente des esclaves dans l'Égypte romaine* (Munich 2004) are worth note. Any errors of fact or interpretation are mine, not theirs.

race, perhaps therefore a native of the Roman province of Arabia. He or Zenon was probably responsible for bestowing upon Zonena the alliterative nickname Zoë, “Life,” apparently one in a number of typical slave names, including “lucky” ones like Eutyches and Eutychia, or Kalemera (Καλημέρα), “Good-morning,” and a clear and ironic emblem of her social death.⁴² In September 282 Kattabos commissioned the services of an agent, Aurelius Maximus, a resident of Pelusium, a port city of the Egyptian Delta, for the purpose of reselling Zonena a.k.a. Zoë – which should we call her? The arrangement between Kattabos and Maximus was the same as the Roman contract of mandate (the Greek equivalent is ἀποσυστατικόν, 1.6, 2.5–12), apparently here not a general mandate, but one limited to this one transaction (1.5–6, 2.12–13).⁴³ Pursuant to this Maximus soon took Zoë to the Egyptian city of Oxyrhynchus, selling her there to a woman named Aurelia Aias, but not before the slave girl had submitted to examination (ἀνάκρισις) before the nome *strategos* (1.11–12). She was there subject to interrogation, presumably conducted in Greek – did she even know Greek? – to confirm her servile status.⁴⁴ Presumably also, then or before, she had submitted to a physical examination, as a result of which she was declared free from epilepsy, a hidden defect, and leprosy,⁴⁵ a defect obviously not so hidden, either of which would have granted the buyer a basis for rescission of the sale and, in this case, “a twofold return of price” (1.13–14). This sale in Oxyrhynchus was transacted, as the saying went, “in (the) street,” ἐν ἀγυῖᾳ (1.8), the equivalent of *in transitu*, “in transit,” in the Latin legal texts, before the *agoranomos*, “recorder of deeds.”⁴⁶

⁴² Zoë: *P.Oxy.* 6.903.5, cf. *P.Stras.* 7.684.5, 19; Eutyches: *BGU* 7.1589.8–9, 9.1891.100, 557 (a freedman), *O.Mich.* 1.563.5, *O.Wilck.* 129.1 and 130.1 (a freedman); Eutychia: *P.Cair.Preis.* 2.1.4, *SB* 18.13173.26, 135; Kalemera: *SB* 5.8007.4, 7. “Social death”: O. Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge, MA and London 1982) 54–58, at 55: “The changing of a name is almost universally a symbolic act of stripping a person of his former identity ... [T]he new name was often a badge of inferiority and contempt. Sometimes the names were either peculiarly or characteristically servile.”

⁴³ “Same”: but only if the arrangement was gratuitous: W. W. Buckland, *A Text-Book of Roman Law from Augustus to Justinian* (Cambridge 1921) 512–518. Note the invocation of *bona fides* at 2.8; cf. Gaius, *Inst.* 3.155, 4.62.

⁴⁴ See, e.g., *PSI* 12.1254 with introductory comments by J.A. Straus, “Slaves and Slavery in the Roman Period,” in J.G. Keenan, J.G. Manning and U. Yiftach-Firanko (eds.), *Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest: A Selection of Papyrological Sources in Translation, with Introductions and Commentary* (Cambridge 2014) chapter 9.2, at 456–457; *P.Herm.* 18.

⁴⁵ “Leprosy”: or liability for seizure at law, e.g., noxal surrender or something akin to it; thus J. Urbanik, “*P.Cair.Masp.* I 67120 *Recto* and the Liability for Hidden Defects in the Late Antique Slave Sales or Back to *Epaphe*,” *JJP* 40 (2010) 219–247, esp. 232–247.

⁴⁶ Cf. the following sales of enslaved persons: *P.Oxy.* 1.95 (= *M.Chr.* = *Jur.Pap.* 34 = *Sel.Pap.* 1.32), 9.1209, 14.1706, and 31.2582.

Where this official was headed at the moment is unstated. To or from his office (ἀγορανομεῖον καὶ μνημονεῖον, cf. 1.3) seems likely, but the Roman legal texts suggest more recreational and, under the circumstances, ironical possibilities: the baths, the theater, the games.⁴⁷ Also on hand at the moment of the transaction were the buyer with her guardian, a soldier of the *Legio II Traiana Probiana Fortis*, and the agent Maximus with his signatory, since Maximus himself “did not know letters,” and his local co-guarantor, Aurelius Demetrios.

The *dramatis personae* present at the moment of sale accordingly numbered seven: the *agoranomos*, the sale agent, his signatory and his local co-guarantor, the buyer and her guardian, and, center stage, the girl Zoë.⁴⁸ This does not match the cast of characters expected of a Roman-law *mancipatio*, a now defunct ritual, but it is clear at least that the buyer had been informed, probably first orally, then in writing, of the enslaved girl’s Syrian race (γένος, *natio*), such notice conforming to the jurist Ulpian’s requirement in his Commentary on the Edict of the Curule Aediles – since some races, or so the presumption went, produce better (less worse?) slaves than others,⁴⁹ with a likely influence on price. And so one can picture this Syrian girl, now twelve years old (1.10), therefore classifiable as an *ancilla viripotens* (*Digest* 29.5.1.32), that is, as a “maiden capable of (receiving) a man,” experiencing yet another “wrenching rearrangement” of her life’s circumstances: alone, surrounded by adults, parent-less, dislocated, traumatized, under new ownership, hundreds of miles from her birthplace, with a future uncertain except for its likelihood of continuing urban domestic service and, coming soon, the birthing of her own children into slavery by a mate she doesn’t – yet? – know and over whom she will have no choice.⁵⁰ Her purchase price, by the way, was five and a half talents (33,000 drachmas), paid “on the spot” (αὐτόθι, 1.[16], 2.14),

⁴⁷ Gaius, *Inst.* 1.20 = Justinian, *Inst.* 1.5.2 (*adeo ut vel in transitu manumittantur, veluti cum praetor aut pro consule in balneum vel in theatrum eat*); *Dig.* 40.2.7 (*aut lavandi aut gestandi aut ludorum gratia*). The context for the latter is also manumission, cf. *P.Oxy.* 4.722–723. For slave sales ἐν ἀγνῶ see, e.g., *CPR* 8.18, *P.Col.* 8.22, *P.Oxy.* 1.95 (above, n. 46).

⁴⁸ It is hard to know how to fit into the scenario the anonymous drafter of the sale-plus-mandate document, possibly an eighth participant, unless he had prepared it in advance.

⁴⁹ *Dig.* 21.1.31.21: *Qui mancipia vendunt, nationem cuiusque in venditione pronuntiare debent: plerumque enim natio servi aut provocat aut deterret emptorem: idcirco interest nostra scire nationem: praesumptum etenim est quosdam servos bonos esse, quia natione sunt non infamata, quosdam malos videri, quia ea natione sunt, quae magis infamis est. quod si de natione ita pronuntiatum non erit, iudicium emptori omnibusque ad quos ea res pertinebit dabitur, per quod emptor redhibet mancipium.*

⁵⁰ “Wrenching rearrangement”: H.R. Isaacs, *Idols of the Tribe: Group Identity and Political Change* (Cambridge, MA and London 1975) 40–45, at 41.

a concrete manifestation to her of her own value – on the assumption that she, probably watching in silent acceptance, could see the transfer of money and had the necessary degree of numismatic literacy.⁵¹ The transaction having been completed, Zonena-Zoë leaves, it may be presumed, with Aïas to join her new household in Oxyrhynchus; Aïas brings home the documentation pertinent to the sale, including, for safekeeping, a signed record (1.12) of the *anakrasis* application, while Maximus (1.16–17) returns to Tanis to hand over to Kattabos the proceeds from the sale and to receive reimbursement for expenses incurred in execution of his mandate. This last exchange must have been effected as the eventful reign (276–282) of “the heroic” emperor Probus was at or even beyond its end, the Manchester papyrus paying homage to his valor in the victory titles – *Gothicus maximus*, *Persicus* [or *Parthicus*, cf. 1.1–2 n.] *maximus*, *Germanicus maximus* – in the clause (1.1–2) by which it is dated.⁵²

All this is extracted from the “script” provided by a single document, one of those documents, as Philip F. Venticinque has written, that “essentially represent one moment in time in the lives of the parties, sometimes the only moment visible in the historical record.”⁵³ Nevertheless, as you have surely gathered, this is a document that implies more than one moment, not just its “αὐτόθι-moment,” and more than one document. Among other things, it refers to, and in its second fragment includes a copy of the mandate upon whose basis Maximus was authorized to sell Zonena-Zoë. Of course, the original is lost – it’s a “known unknown.” Likewise lost is the application for *anakrasis* with the signature of the *strategos* that Zoë’s new mistress will retain for safekeeping (1.11–12) – another “known unknown.” It seems our seemingly lonesome single document both has and implies company. In effect, it was once part of a little dossier consisting of documents relevant to the sale, more than implying a “network” of documents of different yet complementary types; to put them in chronological order: an original sale contract, lost; the mandate for subsequent sale, original lost but copied into the contract

⁵¹ “Silent”: Zora Neale Hurston, Introduction to *Barracoon: The Story of the Last “Black Cargo”* (New York 2018), an attempt to give voice to a victim of the slave trade: “All these words from the seller, but not one word from the sold.” “Acceptance”: Isaacs, *Idols* (preceding note) 43, with the caste system as his leading example: “All, including the master groups at the top and the lowest at the bottom ... accept themselves as they are told they are and accept the belief system that fixes the condition of their lives.”

⁵² “Heroic”: Edward Gibbon, *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, vol. 1, 281–292 of the Modern Library edition (New York, n.d.).

⁵³ P.F. Venticinque, *Honor Among Thieves: Craftsmen, Merchants, and Associations in Roman and Late Roman Egypt* (Ann Arbor 2016) 32.

of secondary sale; the application for *anakrisis*, lost but referenced in the sale contract, and the sale contract itself as preserved on the Manchester Museum papyrus.

Thus this papyrus can be taken to prove the truth of Michel Foucault's claim about books: if we substitute "documents" for Foucault's "books" we can assert that the frontiers ("les marges") of documents "are never clear-cut." Each one "is caught up in a system of references to other [documents]: it is a node within a network."⁵⁴ Reconstructing a network based on documentary papyri means, sometimes, working against the convention of grouping, publishing, and studying texts according to type (petitions, loans, leases, and so forth), a practice that remains useful for linguistic and juristic, but may be less conducive to historical purposes.⁵⁵

I tried to create a network of documents of different types in the co-edited volume on *Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest* in a section on "Criminal Procedure in the Roman Period."⁵⁶ This experiment, conscious that no such dossier had actually been preserved, reconstructed from start to near finish a law case precipitated by a violent attack, assembling a virtual dossier, including an initiating petition, an application for medical exam, a doctor's report, an arrest warrant, trial report, and judge's procedural, but not final decision. It was possible in this way to construct an implied narrative, transmitting important information about process not recoverable from individual documents treated separately as distinct types. It was the sequencing of disparate but related texts that told a story. Anna Kaiser adopted much the same method in her paper on "Recruiting Procedures in Late Roman Egypt," which uses a string of documents to show the steps the individual soldier went through from his initial drafting to arrival at his assigned military unit.⁵⁷

⁵⁴ M. Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (New York 2010) 23 = *L'archéologie du savoir* (Paris 1969) 34.

⁵⁵ Sebastian Richter's narratological study of Coptic child donations is an exception to the rule: T.S. Richter, "What's in a Story? Cultural Narratology and Coptic Child Donation Documents," *JJP* 35 (2005) 237–264. So are the studies of petitions by A.Z. Bryen, *Violence in Roman Egypt: A Study in Legal Interpretation* (Philadelphia 2013) and B. Kelly, *Petitions, Litigation, and Social Control in Roman Egypt* (Oxford 2011) – which are not just about petitions.

⁵⁶ J.G. Keenan, "Criminal Procedure in the Roman Period," in J.G. Keenan, J.G. Manning and U. Yiftach-Firanko (eds.), *Law and Legal Practice in Egypt from Alexander to the Arab Conquest: A Selection of Papyrological Sources in Translation, with Introductions and Commentary* (Cambridge 2014) chapter 10.4 (502–517).

⁵⁷ A. Kaiser, "Recruiting Procedures in Late Roman Egypt," in *Comparative Studies in Ancient Bureaucracy and Officialdom, Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference of the Research Network Imperium & Officium*, Vienna, 6–8 November 2014.

Reconstructed networks like my criminal case and Kaiser's recruitment procedures can unroll like stories. But each document that contributes to these stories has its own double narrative whose other half, as a good Buddhist might insist, begins with lines of connection that ultimately result in commitment of writing to a piece of papyrus. Each document begins, of course, with the papyrus plant itself, its growth and harvest; the manufacture of its paper; the document's physical make-up, its ancient cutting, inscription, and eventual deposition. There follow its centuries of slumber before retrieval through approved or clandestine excavation; its modern acquisition, conservation, decipherment, publication, and – often – subsequent emendation or even republication. Every papyrus has its own story that just happens to merge with its specific use (and sometimes reuse) at the precise time of its inscription. What better aim for a papyrologist than to recreate as richly as possible, using all possible clues, the dramatic moment at which the papyrus as a form of paper became a document that entered, however grandly or humbly, the consciousness of history, the moment when the message and the medium collided?

In theory all papyrus-documents, even the most mundane, lend themselves to this kind of treatment. Elsewhere I suggest the method can even be applied to so-called dike certificates, those Roman-period chits that record a peasant's annual five-day's work on the canals, that is, if we meditate upon these like Jonathan Swift upon his broomstick.⁵⁸ But if papyrologists were to treat each and every document in this way, the pace of publication would become much slower than it is.⁵⁹ In the early days in the field some pioneers placed a premium upon quantity, getting out as many texts as possible without much fuss about context or commentary and without translation. There was a sense of urgency (it seems) about this. But as matters have developed in my lifetime, notwithstanding the accumulation of helpful parallels and the advantages afforded by

⁵⁸ J.G. Keenan, review of A. Verhoogt, *Discarded, Discovered, Collected: The University of Michigan Papyrus Collection* (Ann Arbor 2017), *BASP* 55 (2018) 354–356; J. Swift, "A Meditation upon a Broomstick" (written 1701; pirated edition, London, 1710; corrected edition, 1711), readily available online and reprinted many times, e.g., in E. Rosenheim, Jr. (ed.), *Jonathan Swift: Selected Prose and Poetry* (New York 1961) 289–290. Darwin's earthworms also come to mind: "He worked on a completely new – though not unrelated – paper on earthworms ... giving him another chance to dwell on the power of little things to produce great effects. Soon, he hardly knew where to stop" – Janet Browne, *Charles Darwin Voyaging: A Biography* (Princeton 1995) 367.

⁵⁹ P. van Minnen, "The Millennium of Papyrology" (above, n. 10), esp. 707–708.

online resources, the job of editing a papyrus in the 2010s has become in some ways more demanding than it was fifty years ago. Translations into the modern languages of academe, for example, are now absolutely required, having been introduced by Grenfell and Hunt as a practice that only fitfully came to be seen as necessary, eventually being endorsed by Herbert Youtie as the editor's final and definitive commentary on a text.⁶⁰ Beginning in 1978 with Eric Turner's *Recto and Verso: The Anatomy of the Papyrus Roll*,⁶¹ the list of details an editor is expected to identify, measure, and report began to be extended and standardized. It's no longer enough to say, for example, that "the writing is along the fibers on the recto, the verso is blank," and to leave it at that. Some editors' critical apparatuses, thanks to font designs and drawing programs, have become works of art, ironically trying to present as closely as possible what can be seen on the papyrus at the same time as images have become so readily available online.

Greater care in declaring a document's provenance, which may entail trying to determine the precise moment when it and any related documents were anciently deposited, has likewise become important.⁶² This is helpful for the practical purposes of museum archaeology, that is, the virtual reconstitution of papyrus archives and dossiers that were upon clandestine discovery dispersed through the antiquities market.⁶³ But professional ethics are also at stake, an issue brought into prominence by Todd Hickey and incorporated into the American Society of Papyrologists' policy requiring of authors, editors, and curators "a frank and thorough discussion of the provenance of every item" they present under the society's auspices.⁶⁴ If, as uncommonly happens, a findspot is archaeologically documented, this also requires discussion. Finally, in the pioneer days, it seems to me, there was less fear, more tolerance of error than today, today, a greater insistence

⁶⁰ B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, Preface to *P.Oxy. I*: [T]ranslations were provided "at the request of several subscribers to the Graeco-Roman Branch" of the Egypt Exploration Fund (later Society); H.C. Youtie, "The Papyrologist: Artificer of Fact" (above, n. 29) 12: "The translation is not there to be read for its own sake; it is there as additional and almost certainly more effective commentary [sc. on the text]."

⁶¹ E.G. Turner, *Recto and Verso: The Anatomy of the Papyrus Roll* (Brussels 1978).

⁶² A. Verhoogt, "Papyri in the Archaeological Record," in C. Riggs (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Roman Egypt* (New York 2012) 507–515, at 510.

⁶³ K. Vandorpe, "Archives and Dossiers," in R. S. Bagnall (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (New York 2009) 216–255.

⁶⁴ "ASP Resolution concerning the Illicit Trade in Papyri," *BASP* 44 (2007) 289–290; also accessible on the Society's website under "Resolutions" (last accessed 26 July 2018). Cf. Bagnall, *Reading Papyri* (above, n. 17) ix–x.

on editorial perfection than before: we papyrologists, I think, now worry “overmuch about the enduring consequences of our errors.”⁶⁵

These concerns have arisen, not through concerted conscious policy, but in steps that have brought papyrology to the point where each new papyrus as published will be described more fully than in decades past, and some of those already published will be re-described, in terms independently codified for medieval diplomatists by Father Leonard Boyle in an article that reaches back for its principles to Mabillon’s foundational *De re diplomatica* of 1681.⁶⁶ In the medievalists’ arena, in addition to precise and complete physical description of a manuscript, the fundamental questions are, in their order, which need not be ours:

- *Quis?* Who are the document’s “principals”?
- *Quid?* What is the document’s status? Is it, e.g., an original, a copy, a draft, or a formulary?
- *Quomodo?* What formula, form, style does it assume?
- *Quibus auxiliis?* Who else is involved, e.g., scribe, notary, witnesses? (This element is a salutary reminder that document-production is often a social occasion.)
- *Cur?* What is the document’s purpose?
- *Ubi?* Where was it written, found?
- *Quando?* What is its date?

In the past, the papyrologist’s responsibility was as a rule taken to be principally philological: to date, to identify by type, to decipher and establish a usable text. There is no question that the papyrologist’s primary responsibility remains to the documents themselves, but now there is, or should be, an added responsibility, to make them “speak again with a full distinct voice” (Father Boyle); “to use them to recreate in all its richness the lost world that produced them” (James Turner); to explore what they have to say about “what it was like to live in the past” (Lawrence Stone); to test whether it is possible, after all and *mutatis mutandis*, for “an Oxford don” to “work himself into the mind of a serf of Louis the

⁶⁵ B.N. Cardozo, *The Nature of the Judicial Process* (New Haven and London 1921) 179. Justice Cardozo continues, with inspirational optimism: “They [sc. our errors] may work a little confusion for a time. In the end they will be modified or corrected or their teachings ignored. The future takes care of such things. In the endless process of testing and retesting, there is a constant rejection of the dross, and a constant retention of whatever is pure and sound and fine.”

⁶⁶ L.E. Boyle, “Diplomatics,” in J. M. Powell (ed.), *Medieval Studies: An Introduction*² (Syracuse, NY 1992) 82–113.

Pious” (E. Evans-Pritchard).⁶⁷ These are aims that “that inevitably lead back to the use of narrative” (Lawrence Stone again), turning papyrologists from fact-gathering spymasters into imaginative detectives, from scientists into artists.⁶⁸

Alas, it *is* true, as critics used to claim (and some still do), that Egypt is an unusual place, that most papyrus-documents are ordinary in substance. As Bernhard Palme once neatly put the latter point, “Selten klopft die sogennante Weltgeschichte an die Zimmertüre des Papyrologen.”⁶⁹ Nevertheless, papyrologists, on the one hand, should not be embarrassed by the land that gave them almost all their material – every other Mediterranean eco-zone, as presented in Horden and Purcell’s *Corrupting Sea*, had its own particularity;⁷⁰ on the other, they should, as photographer Sally Mann has written, “relish the aesthetic challenge posed by the limitations of the ordinary.”⁷¹ The kind of treatment of papyrus-documents I have been recommending, and as I repeat here, is obviously too consuming of time to apply to each and every one, but it should be tried on

⁶⁷ Boyle, “Diplomatics” (preceding note) 91 (“full distinct voice”), cf. 92 (persuading “documents to speak with all their original vigor”); J. Turner, *Philology: The Forgotten Origins of the Modern Humanities* (Princeton and Oxford 2014) xii (recreating “the lost world”); Stone, “The Revival of Narrative” (above, n. 32) 85 (“what it was like”); E. Evans-Pritchard, *Anthropology and History: A Lecture Delivered at the University of Manchester with the Support of the Simon Fund for the Social Sciences* (Manchester 1961) 13–14 (“... and how, must I ask, can an Oxford don work himself into the mind of a serf of Louis the Pious?”). Cf. R.W. Winks (ed.), *The Historian as Detective* (New York, Evanston, and London 1968); V. Shklovsky, “Sherlock Holmes and the Mystery Story,” in *The Theory of Prose* (Champaign and London 1991) 101–116.

⁶⁸ Stone, “The Revival of Narrative” (above, n. 32) 85.

⁶⁹ B. Palme, “Papyrologie und Mentalitätsgeschichte der Antike,” in K. Strobel (ed.), *Von Noricum nach Ägypten: Eine Reise durch die Welt der Antike* (Klagenfurt and Ljubljana 2007) 193–220, at 195.

⁷⁰ I’ve had second thoughts about Egypt’s normalcy since seeing, Wednesday, July 18, 2018, the statue of Taweret, the hippopotamus goddess of fertility and maternity, in the exhibit “Sunken Cities: Egypt’s Lost Worlds” at the St. Louis Museum of Art. See the catalogue by F. Goddio and Aurélia Masson-Berghoff, *The BP Exhibition: Sunken Cities: Egypt’s Lost Worlds* (London 2016) at 207; image reproduced in the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, Nov. 17, 2017 https://www.stltoday.com/news/multimedia/sunken-cities-the-goddess-taweret/image_88790a4c-d026-58e8-a8cc-b92254288d17.html. “Eco-zone”: P. Horden and N. Purcell, *The Corrupting Sea: A Study of Mediterranean History* (Oxford 2000).

⁷¹ “Aesthetic challenge”: S. Mann, *Hold Still: A Memoir with Photographs* (New York 2015) xii. Cf. P. Modiano, *Discours à l’Académie suédoise* (Paris 2015) 20: “J’ai toujours cru que le poète et le romancier donnaient du mystère aux êtres qui semblent submergés par la vie quotidienne aux choses en apparence banales – et cela à force de les observer avec une attention soutenue et de façon presque hypnotique. Sous leur regard, la vie courante finit par s’envelopper de mystère et par rendre une sorte de phosphorescence qu’elle n’avait pas à première vue mais qui était cachée en profondeur.”

some, on the understanding that microscopic narratives, though fixed in time and place, can transcend them and be themselves historically explanatory. I submit this as one way to open up the world of documentary papyrology to a wider audience: try to make its products coherent, try to make them engaging, try to make them readable to an audience of non-specialists. In short, try to make the papyri tell their tales.⁷²

⁷² Nevertheless, chapter 8 (chapter 7 in the 1995 edition) of Bagnall's *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History* (above, n. 17) is an elegant reminder that papyrologists bring diverse talents and interests to the field, all of them contributing productively to the papyrological enterprise. Narrative is neither for every text nor for every papyrologist.

PAPYRI FROM THE SUMMER INSTITUTE IN PAPYROLOGY
AT WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY IN ST. LOUIS:
INTRODUCTION

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Abstract. — A conspectus of the 2018 Summer Institute in Papyrology and a brief history of the papyrus collection held by Washington University in St. Louis.

Keywords: Oxyrhynchus (al-Bahnasā), William Matthew Flinders Petrie, St. Louis Art Museum

The tenth installment of the ASP's Summer Institute in Papyrology (SIP) was hosted by Washington University in St. Louis from 9 July through 10 August 2018. The SIP was co-directed by Todd Hickey (University of California, Berkeley) and Roger S. Bagnall (Institute for the Study of the Ancient World), with supplemental instruction from William Bubelis (Washington University in St. Louis), Nikolaos Gonis (University College London), Lance Jenott (Washington University in St. Louis), James G. Keenan (Loyola University Chicago), AnneMarie Luijendijk (Princeton University), Giovanni Ruffini (Fairfield University), Peter van Minnen (University of Cincinnati), and Michael Zellmann-Rohrer (University of Oxford). The program was funded by the ASP's Summer Institute endowment, with additional support, in money and in kind, provided by Washington University's Department of Classics, the Julian Edison Department of Special Collections of the Washington University Libraries, and the Alexander S. Onassis Public Benefit Foundation (USA). For the time and energy that they expended towards ensuring a successful program, the ASP remains grateful to Professors Catherine Keane and Timothy Moore, both of the Washington University Department of Classics; to Joel Minor, curator of the modern literature collection and manuscripts, and his colleagues in Washington University Special Collections; and to Drs. Lisa Çakmak (associate curator of ancient art) and Sarah Biggs (research assistant) and their colleagues at the Saint Louis Art Museum. Cathy Marler (Washington University Department of Classics) provided administrative support.

Out of a large and competitive pool of applicants, twelve individuals, all students or early-career scholars, were selected to participate in the

SIP: Serena Causo (Universität Basel), Alan Taylor Farnes (Brigham Young University), Frederic Krueger (Freie Universität Berlin), Anna Monte (Humboldt Universität zu Berlin), Joseph Morgan (Yale University), Alejandro Quintana (Harvard University), Roxanne Bélanger Sarrazin (Université d'Ottawa/Université libre de Bruxelles), Rebecca Sausville (New York University), Irene Soto Marín (Universität Basel), Thu Ta (University of Southern California), Georgios Tsolakis (Institute for the Study of the Ancient World), and Nicholas Wagner (Duke University).¹ Most of the project material for the Institute came from Washington University's own collection.² After the publication of *P.Wash.Univ.* 1 and 2, many papyri meriting editorial attention remained; the vast majority of these pieces, perhaps unsurprisingly, dated from Late Antiquity. What follows represents a substantial portion of the research that the Institute's participants have produced using this residual material.³

The Washington University papyri were acquired through W.M.F. (Flinders) Petrie,⁴ who had been contacted regarding the assembly of a collection late in 1921.⁵ This overture from St. Louis may have helped spur Petrie's return to al-Bahnasā, ancient Oxyrhynchus, in February 1922, after an absence of over twenty-five years,⁶ but he did not bother to respond

¹ Academic affiliations are those at the time of acceptance into the program.

² The papyri held by the St. Louis Art Museum (SLAM) were among the other objects receiving attention, and one of its *P.Oxy. descripta* is edited in full by Farnes here. The SLAM pieces were acquired by the then City Art Museum when Washington University relinquished its interest in them (no doubt because it had decided to pursue the arrangement with Petrie discussed below). The University's original consignment consisted of *P.Oxy.* 10.1255, 1275, 1289, 1298; 11.1399; 12.1425, 1448, 1487, 1500, 1510, 1524, 1528, 1539, 1545, 1553, 1564, 1570, 1587; 14.1650, 1684, 1693, 1696, 1711, 1717, 1738, 1743, 1752, 1763, 1776; 15.1811, 1819. Of these, the Art Museum ended up with only 1275, 1298, 1524, 1553, 1564, 1650, 1696, 1743, 1752, 1763, and 1811, probably because it had informed the EES (letter of Director Samuel L. Sherer to EES American Branch Secretary Marie N. Buckman, 27 June 1922) that it "would be glad to receive fewer but better preserved specimens which would be suitable for framing and exhibition in our Egyptian Rooms." A payment of \$100 was made for the distribution (Minutes of the Art Museum's Administrative Board of Control, 21 June 1922). I thank Sarah Biggs for sharing this documentation.

³ One of Dr. Soto Marín's editions appeared in the immediately preceding issue of this journal: "Order from the *comes* Phoibammon for Payment to a Locksmith," *BASP* 56 (2019) 137–143.

⁴ This and the following paragraph draw on my ongoing research concerning the papyri from Petrie's 1922 season. A preliminary report about this work was presented at the 28th International Congress of Papyrology in Barcelona (1 August 2016). For Petrie, see M.L. Bierbrier, *Who Was Who in Egyptology*⁵ (London 2019) 363–365 and refs.

⁵ In a typescript copy of a 4 April 1922 letter from Petrie to an unnamed recipient, he indicates that he had been contacted "four months ago." I thank Tim Moore for sharing scans of this and other Washington University records with me.

⁶ For Petrie's brief first season at Oxyrhynchus – eventually Grenfell and Hunt's first one – see T.M. Hickey and J.G. Keenan, "At the Creation: Seven Letters from Grenfell, 1897," *Analecta Papyrologica* 28 (2016) 351–382. W.M.F. Petrie et al., *Tombs of the*

to it until he was about to end his season.⁷ At that time, he indicated that a subscription of \$100 or \$200 to his British School of Archaeology in Egypt (BSAE) would acquire “a fair output of material, between Augustus and Justinian,” although not before cautioning, “You may have an idea from the publications that they are all large and interesting. But there are a hundred scraps along with each good sized piece, so you must not expect whole letters or pages of authors. Among perhaps a thousand pieces there are only a dozen scraps of literary works.”⁸ Given that Petrie surely knew the approximate number and nature (if not the specifics) of the manuscripts he would soon be sending to England, his attempt to temper expectations may seem odd,⁹ but Washington University was not the only institution that was seeking papyri from him that season. Francis W. Kelsey had expressed the University of Michigan’s interest, and in that case there was an existing relationship;¹⁰ moreover, some items simply would not be dispatched to America, presumably owing to their interest for Petrie or others.¹¹ The response from St. Louis was nevertheless enthusiastic, and a subscription of \$200 was made. “I feel sure that the smallest legible fragments will have interest,” wrote Chancellor Frederic A. Hall. “That the majority of papyri are fragmentary is what my reading has led me to expect and I fully realize that a great amount of labor may be expended on them without commensurate results but that on the other hand a lucky chance may bring to light some fragment of intense interest.”¹²

Courtiers and Oxyrhynchos (London 1925), is the official account of his second season, which commenced on 16 February (see p. 1).

⁷ According to *Tombs of the Courtiers* (n. 6), p. 1, the season ended on 10 April. Petrie’s response: the letter mentioned in n. 5.

⁸ Letter cited in n. 5.

⁹ Moreover, Washington University was both green and keen: inexperienced in the acquisition of papyri and eager to obtain them. In a letter to A.S. Hunt, 22 March 1922, Petrie mentions “St Louis University [*sic*] rampant to get some to edit.” I thank Daniela Colomo for her assistance with this document, which is now the property of the EES and is located in the Papyrology Rooms of the Sackler Library.

¹⁰ Michigan’s acquisition of papyri from Petrie and the relationship between the excavator and Francis W. Kelsey are well documented by archival collections (Francis Willey Kelsey papers and Kelsey Museum of Archaeology records) held by the Bentley Historical Library. Details are beyond the scope of the present account, but the eventual composition of the Michigan lot is briefly discussed below (n. 26). For the first selection of archaeological material (not papyri) sent by Petrie to Ann Arbor, see L.E. Talalay and M.C. Root, *Pas-sionate Curiosities: Tales and Collections from the Kelsey Museum* (Ann Arbor 2015) 65–67 (but note that the year date for Kelsey and Petrie’s meeting at al-Lāhūn was 1920, not 1919).

¹¹ For the items that remain in England, see below, nn. 28–29. The letter to Hunt (n. 9) states, “[I]f you wish to publish any piece specially I hope you would do so.”

¹² The typescript copy of the quoted letter, dated 25 April 1922, is unsigned, but Hall’s authorship is clear from context. He was Collier Professor of Greek before becoming chancellor. His obituary: *St. Louis Star and Times*, 24 March 1925 (front page).

While at al-Bahnasā, Petrie obtained papyri through both excavation and purchase.¹³ Though his official report is laconic,¹⁴ he informed Arthur Hunt on 22 March that “[s]ebakh has been curried enormously, + much papyrus found. I am buying up all I can get, especially every scrap of uncial literary; feeling my way as to values by not [^]always[^] offering enough [^]always[^] for Byzantine accounts +c. There are three or four literary pieces of 100 words or so.”¹⁵ In the same letter Petrie asks Hunt to examine all of the papyri and “as a matter of business” to give a report on them in June. Hunt would in fact perform this service, but he could not accommodate Petrie’s schedule, and no distributions – save, perhaps, for some Hebrew fragments to the British Museum¹⁶ – occurred before the pair met in London to discuss the objects during the week of 20 November.¹⁷ Shortly after that meeting, on 27 November, Petrie dispatched Washington University’s share of the papyri, having noted at the outset of his explanatory letter that “considerably more than your subscription had been spent upon them.”¹⁸ He then highlighted fourteen items in the collection, including a letter of Dionysia, which he identified as “perfect, early Augustan, the finest piece of the year and rare of that date”;¹⁹ a piece of *Iliad* N;²⁰

¹³ Cf., e.g., M. Drower, ed., *Letters from the Desert: The Correspondence of Flinders and Hilda Petrie* (Oxford 2004) 210, 213; W.M.F. Petrie, *The Status of the Jews in Egypt* (London 1922) 38.

¹⁴ Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers* (n. 6) 1: “[M]any papyri were purchased from the diggers and dealers.” In regard to the former, it should be recalled that Petrie used the “purchase system” with his workers; see further M. Drower, *Flinders Petrie: A Life in Archaeology*² (Madison, Wisc., 1995) 71, 78, 283. But here he may have meant (or meant the term to include) diggers of *sebakh*.

¹⁵ Letter cited in n. 9.

¹⁶ Petrie offered these fragments and other objects to the Museum in a letter of 27 July 1922, stating that the papyri would be delivered after Dr. [Hartwig] Hirschfeld had “edited” them (but H. Hirschfeld, “Ancient Hebrew Papyri,” *The Jewish Guardian*, 9 June 1922, p. 12, is the only publication by him of which I am aware). Acquisition of the Petrie lot is documented by the Trustees’ Minutes of October 1922; the papyri are allotted £52 of the £75 purchase price. I am grateful to Elisabeth O’Connell and Francesca Hillier for assistance with these records. The papyri are now held by British Library (Ms. Or. 9180A–E); cf. C. Sirat, *Les papyrus en caractères hébraïques trouvés en Égypte* (Paris 1985) 115–117. Michael Zellmann-Rohrer and I are preparing an edition of 9180D.

¹⁷ Typescript copy of a 16 November 1922 postcard from Hilda Petrie to an unnamed addressee at Washington University. Whether the card was sent in response to a query is unclear.

¹⁸ Typescript copy of a letter dated 27 November 1922, name of addressee not present but perhaps Chancellor Hall (n. 12) or more probably Collier Professor of Greek George Throop, to whom Hall had indicated the papyri should be sent. For Throop, see <https://dbcs.rutgers.edu/all-scholars/9175-throop-george-reeves> (accessed 16 May 1920).

¹⁹ *P.Wash.Univ.* 2.106.

²⁰ *P.Wash.Univ.* 2.62.

an “unusual” journal of the third century;²¹ a magic charm of the fifth or sixth century;²² and “contracts of 514 A.D. and 530 A.D.”²³ Also mentioned was a Ptolemaic text of 74 B.C., which now seems to belong to the collection of Indiana University.²⁴ The shipment was rounded out by “[h]undreds of fragments which need study,”²⁵ and Petrie added that the materials had not been divided in such a way as to hinder this. Despite this claim, the possibility of links between the Washington University papyri and their siblings currently located in Ann Arbor,²⁶ Kyoto,²⁷ London,²⁸ and Oxford should still be explored.²⁹

²¹ *P.Wash.Univ.* 1.18.

²² *P.Wash.Univ.* 2.75.

²³ *P.Wash.Univ.* 1.17 and 25, respectively.

²⁴ *SB* 6.9092, published by V. Schuman, “The Indiana University Papyri,” *CP* 43 (1948) 110–111, where it is stated that it is one of several papyri “purchased by the editor in Egypt in 1929 for the Latin Department of Indiana University.” Schuman was also the editor of *P.Wash.Univ.* 1, to whose contents he was given publication rights in 1944 (p. ii of that volume).

²⁵ An unpublished manuscript (probably a version of the paper mentioned in *AJA* 35 [1931] 62) written by Frank M. Debatin, an associate professor of Latin at Washington University, states that there are “some 476 fragments.” Joel Minor (email, 28 July 2016) has reported 445 inventory numbers.

²⁶ *P.Mich. inv.* 1202–1260 (corresponding to more than 59 items). The number of literary and subliterate pieces is striking and no doubt reflects Petrie’s relationship with Kelsey and his hope for continued support from Ann Arbor. Among the published items are: 1202+1203+1209 (*Od.* λ, LDAB 1637; connection with Oxy. not indicated); 1205 ro (musical papyrus, LDAB 10046; connection with Oxy. not indicated); 1206 (Homeric scholia, LDAB 2078; connection with Oxy. not indicated); 1210 (*Il.* N, LDAB 1973; connection with Oxy. not indicated); 1213 (*Il.* Γ, LDAB 1974; connection with Oxy. not indicated); 1217b (*Il.* Ω, LDAB 10369; connection with Oxy. not indicated), 1218 (*Il.* B, LDAB 1638; connection with Oxy. not indicated), 1220 (*Od.* χ, LDAB 1808; connection with Oxy. not indicated); 1230 (*SB* 16.13003), 1252(3) (*Job*, LDAB 754952; connection with Oxy. not indicated), 1258 (*SB* 12.11226; the attempt in the *ed. pr.* to link this piece with the Fayyūm and Kerkeosiris more specifically is unconvincing).

²⁷ See T.M. Hickey, “The Papyrological Collection of the Kyoto University Museum,” in *From Petrie to Hamada: Egyptian Antiquities of Kyoto University* (Kyoto 2016) 54–59.

²⁸ Besides the Hebrew papyri now at the British Library (n. 16), there is the material discussed in *P.Coles*, p. 147 (note especially LDAB 442, 4226, 5422, 5720, and 10616), as well as the items held by the Petrie Museum itself: Twenty-six inventory numbers respond to the Boolean query “manuscripts” AND “Oxyrhynchus” in the Museum’s database (15 May 2020); see also *SB* 20.14319, 14503, and L. Blumell, *Analecta Papyrologica* 27 (2016) 19–22.

²⁹ For Oxford, note *SB* 24.16132, a quadrilingual text attributed by its editor to the 1922 season; the piece was donated to the Bodleian by Hunt’s widow Lucy. Hunt seems not to have gone through Petrie’s acquisitions with particular care; in a letter to Kelsey dated 11 March 1923 (Kelsey Museum of Archaeology records, Francis Willey Kelsey papers, box 84, folder 1), he indicates that he “did not make any inventory of the Petrie papyri. They included many small fragments, and he only asked me to look them over and sort out the better pieces.”

AN ASTROLOGICAL FRAGMENT FROM OXYRHYNCHUS

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Abstract. — Edition of a Greek astrological papyrus from Oxyrhynchus dated to the fifth or sixth century CE.

Keywords: astrology, list, house-lords

Most of the Oxyrhynchus papyri in the Washington University collection are documentary. There are, however, some literary and paraliterary papyri among them. A few of these were published in *P.Wash.Univ.* 2, including fragments of Homer, Apollonius of Rhodes, and Demosthenes, fragments of a medical treatise, a list of planet markers on a horoscope board, and two magical texts (*P.Wash.Univ.* 2.62, 64, 66, 67, 73, 74, and 75, respectively). Another of these paraliterary papyri is edited here.¹

The piece is a fragment of a light brown papyrus with five lines of Greek text written in black ink. The writing runs parallel to the fibers, and the back is blank. The flow of ink is rather irregular, with some words or letters being significantly fainter than the others (e.g. ἀφροδι in line 2 and καρ in l. 4). The hand is cursive, rich in ligatures, and characterized by elongated strokes that extend above and below the line. The shapes of the cursive δ (= d; l. 3) and η (= h; l. 4) are especially characteristic for the time period. The hand can thus be dated to the fifth or sixth century.²

The upper margin is preserved and measures 1.5 cm. The papyrus is regularly cut at the left-hand side and thus also preserves part of the left margin. Most of the right-hand side is damaged, but its very top also seems to have been cut regularly. Therefore, we probably have the full width of

¹ I wish to thank Roger Bagnall and Todd Hickey for their help and guidance during the edition of this papyrus. Special thanks to Michael Zellmann-Rohrer, who identified the fragment as an astrological text, and Jitse Dijkstra, Alexander Jones, and the two peer-reviewers, for their valuable comments and input on this text. I am also grateful to Catherine Keane, Chair of the Department of Classics, Washington University, as well as to Joel Minor and his colleagues in the Department of Special Collections, Washington University, for their support.

² For *comparanda*, see, for the fifth century: *P.Rain.Cent.* 99; *P.Yale* 1.71; *P.Oxy.* 72.4917; for the sixth century: *P.Mich.* 18.794; *P.Oxy.* 36.2780; *P.Flor.* 3.280.

the papyrus, which means that this document was written on a narrow strip of papyrus. The piece is broken off at l. 5, and we are certainly missing many lines at the bottom, at least seven if we expect a complete list (see comments below). The dark brown stains on the right, which are even more visible on the back (left), seem to indicate that the papyrus was burnt at some point.

The content of the fragment is certainly astrological, as it mentions both zodiac signs and heavenly bodies. As will be discussed in more detail below, in Greek astrology each of the zodiac signs is considered to be the “house” of one of the heavenly bodies. The sun and the moon have one house each, which are Leo and Cancer respectively, and each planet (Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn) has two houses. Elaborate horoscopes would sometimes include information about these houses, such as “Moon in Gemini, the house of Mercury.” Here, however, it seems that we only have a list of the different houses.

P.Wash.Univ. inv. 297

H × W = 6.5 × 5.7 cm

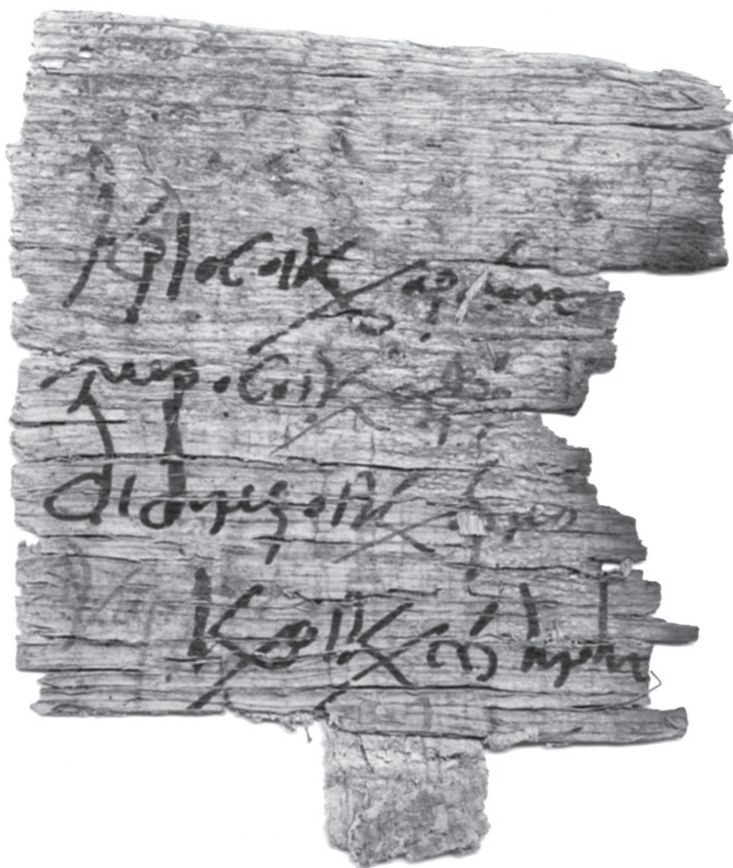
Oxyrhynchus
fifth/sixth century CE

Κριὸς οἶκ(ος) Ἄρεως
 Ταῦρος οἶκ(ος) Ἀφροδί[της]
 Δίδυμ(οι) οἶκ(ος) Ἑρμοῦ
 Καρκ(ίνος) οἶκ(ος) Σελήνης
 5 Ἀ[έων οἶκ(ος)] Ἡ[λ]ί[ο]υ

1 οἶκ pap. (so throughout) 3 διδύμῃ, Ἑρμοῦ pap. 4 καρκ pap. 5 ἡλιοῦ pap.

“Aries, the house of Mars. Taurus, the house of Venus. Gemini, the house of Mercury. Cancer, the house of the moon. Leo, the house of the sun ...”

5 Ἀ[έων οἶκ(ος)] Ἡ[λ]ί[ο]υ: We can only see traces of what was originally written in this line. However, if we assume that this papyrus contained a list of all the houses (see below), l. 5 should be Ἀέων οἶκος Ἡλίου. The trace at the beginning of the line could be the top of a large curved λ (cf. the λ in l. 4). After that first trace, there is space for more or less 8 letters, which is enough to complete the word Ἀέων followed by the abbreviation οἶκ(ος). Then we see the traces of three letters: the top of two verticals, which could well be of a cursive η and a ι, and a superscript υ at the end of the line (cf. the superscript υ in l. 3). Therefore, we can restore l. 5 as Ἀ[έων οἶκ(ος)] Ἡ[λ]ί[ο]υ.



A Fragment of a House System?

In order to understand with what kind of text we are dealing here, let us turn to some basic astronomical and astrological concepts.³ The 360°

³ On Greek astrology, see e.g. A. Bouché-Leclercq, *L'astrologie grecque* (Paris 1899), which is still an indispensable introduction; J. Tester, *A History of Western Astrology* (Woodbridge 1987), esp. pp. 30–97; S. Heilen, “Hadriani genitura,” *Die astrologischen Fragmente des Antigonos von Nikaia* (Berlin 2015). On astronomy, see, e.g., O. Neugebauer, *The Exact Sciences in Antiquity* (Providence 1957) and *A History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy*, 3 vols. (Berlin-New York 1975). On horoscopes, see, e.g., O. Neugebauer and H.B. van Hoesen, *Greek Horoscopes* (Philadelphia 1959); D. Baccani, *Oroscopi greci: documentazione papirologica* (Sicania 1992). For a study on the astronomical and astrological documents from Oxyrhynchus, see A. Jones, *Astronomical Papyri from Oxyrhynchus* (P. Oxy. 4133–4300a) (Philadelphia 1999).

of the ecliptic (that is, of the circle of the sun's apparent circuit) are divided into twelve equal zodiac signs. Counting from west to east, that is, in the direction of the sun's motion along the ecliptic, the beginning of Aries, the first sign, is located at 0°. We then work our way counterclockwise: Cancer begins at 90°, Libra at 180°, and Capricorn at 270°. To locate heavenly bodies, one must give two ecliptic coordinates: the longitude, calculated in degrees along the ecliptic, and the latitude, measured in degrees perpendicularly north or south from the ecliptic to the point in question (although latitudes rarely appear in the papyri).

In order to be able to extract many interpretations from the position of a planet, each zodiac sign was given different qualities and associations. For example, the signs are either male or female, those associated with the equinoxes and solstices are "tropical" (Aries, Cancer, Libra and Capricorn), the subsequent ones are "solid" (Taurus, Leo, Scorpio and Aquarius) and the remaining ones "bicorporal" (Gemini, Virgo, Sagittarius and Pisces). Moreover, each sign is the "house" of one of the heavenly bodies.

Ancient authors gave different explanations for the system of house-lords and why the sun, the moon, and the planets were associated with each zodiac sign. Some believed that the origin of these houses was connected to the position of the planets at the moment of the world's creation, as shown on the *thema mundi*, the "world horoscope."⁴ Another explanation is given by Claudius Ptolemy, who is one of our best sources for Egyptian astronomy and astrology.⁵ According to him, Leo and Cancer are the signs that produce the most heat and warmth. Therefore, they were assigned to the most powerful heavenly bodies: Leo, which is masculine, is the house of the sun and Cancer, which is feminine, is the house of the moon. Each planet, then, has two houses, one "diurnal" and the other "nocturnal." It is also interesting to note that the order of the planets in the system of house-lords reflects their presumed relative distances from the earth in the geocentric cosmology: Mercury was the planet believed to be nearest to and Saturn to be the furthest from the earth (see Table 1 and Fig. 1).⁶

⁴ E.g. Macrobius, *In Somn.* 1.21.27. On the *thema mundi*, an ancient "world horoscope" showing the zodiac signs and the position of the planets when the world was created, see e.g. Bouché-Leclercq (n. 3) 185–187; G. Bezza, "Sulla tradizione del *thema mundi*," in A. Panaino and G. Pellegrini (eds.), *Giovanni Schiaparelli: storico dell'astronomia e uomo di cultura* (Milan 1999) 169–185; Heilen (n. 3) 632–635 and 737–739.

⁵ Ptol. *Tetr.* 1.17.

⁶ Table 1 gives the astrological symbols assigned to the heavenly bodies and zodiac signs (cf. Bouché-Leclercq [n. 3] xix; Neugebauer and Van Hoesen [n. 3] 1; Jones [n. 3] 299). The sequence of the zodiac signs in the table follows the ancient Greek order, starting with Aries and ending with Pisces, as explained in Ptol. *Tetr.* 1.10. Fig. 1 is a representa-




















Heavenly Bodies	Zodiac Signs
 Sun	 Aries
 Moon	 Taurus
 Mercury	 Gemini
 Venus	 Cancer
 Mars	 Leo
 Jupiter	 Virgo
 Saturn	 Libra
	 Scorpio
	 Sagittarius
	 Capricorn
	 Aquarius
	 Pisces

Table 1:
Astrological
Symbols

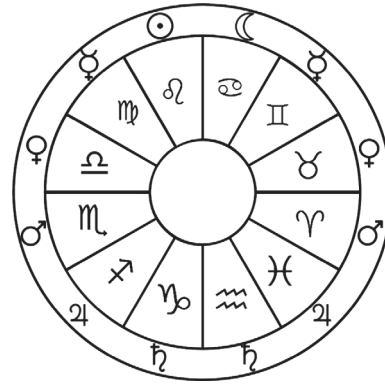


Fig. 1: System of house-lords

It seems that our papyrus originally consisted of what can be called a “house system,” not in the form of a table or diagram, but as a simple list, starting with Aries, the first zodiac sign, which is the house of Mars, and ending with Pisces, the last sign, which is the house of Jupiter. The complete list would run as follows:

Κριὸς οἶκος Ἄρεως
 Ταῦρος οἶκος Ἀφροδίτης
 Δίδυμοι οἶκος Ἑρμοῦ
 Καρκίνος οἶκος Σελήνης
 Λέων οἶκος Ἡλίου
 Παρθένος οἶκος Ἑρμοῦ
 Ζυγὸς οἶκος Ἀφροδίτης
 Σκορπίος οἶκος Ἄρεως
 Τοξότης οἶκος Διὸς
 Αἰγόκερως οἶκος Κρόνου
 Ὑδροχόος οἶκος Κρόνου
 Ἰχθύες οἶκος Διὸς

Aries, the house of Mars.
 Taurus, the house of Venus.
 Gemini, the house of Mercury.
 Cancer, the house of the moon.
 Leo, the house of the sun.
 Virgo, the house of Mercury.
 Libra, the house of Venus.
 Scorpio, the house of Mars.
 Sagittarius, the house of Jupiter.
 Capricorn, the house of Saturn.
 Aquarius, the house of Saturn.
 Pisces, the house of Jupiter.

tion of the system of house-lords. Heavenly bodies are in the outer circle, with the sun and the moon at the top. In each half of the circle, starting from the sun and the moon, planets are then arranged according to their geocentric positions (from closest to furthest from the earth). In the inner circle, zodiac signs are placed according to the ancient system of house-lords, with Leo as the house of the sun and Cancer as the house of the moon (cf. Ptol. *Tetr.* 1.17). For similar representations, see e.g. Bouché-Leclercq (n. 3) 187–188; Neugebauer and Van Hoesen (n. 3) 7; Heilen (n. 3) 737–738.

Now that we know what the content of our papyrus was, we can inquire into its purpose. Astrological papyri – that is, papyri that are concerned directly with the influence of heavenly bodies on the sublunary world – can be divided into four categories: horoscopes, tables, verse compositions, and prose texts.⁷ Horoscopes provide the positions of the sun, moon, and planets computed for the birthday of a person. Purely astrological tables are scarce, but some astronomical tables can contain strictly astrological data.⁸ Some astrological texts are verse compositions concerning the influence of the planets.⁹ As for the prose texts, they are typically reference manuals (containing theories or instructions)¹⁰ or astrological predictions.¹¹

Our papyrus is not a horoscope since it does not deal with the position of the heavenly bodies at a specific date. As mentioned earlier, more elaborate horoscopes sometimes included information about the houses, saying, for example, Κρόνος (ἐν) Κριῶ ὀϊκῷ Ἄρεως “Saturn in Aries, the house of Mars.”¹² In these cases, we would have the name of a planet in the nominative (Κρόνος) followed by the name of a sign in the dative (Κριῶ), ὀϊκῷ in the dative and a planet in the genitive (Ἄρεως). But this is not what we have in our papyrus, because there is nothing before the names of the signs, which are all nominatives.

Our fragment is not a verse composition or a table either, but a list. I would thus place it in the “prose text” category. We could compare it to *P.Oxy.* 65.4476, a larger papyrus which lists all the qualities (house, gender, ascendant, descendant, and so on) for each of the zodiac signs. Our piece,

⁷ A distinction needs to be made here between astronomical and astrological texts. The former are concerned with the observation and recording of the positions and movements of the sun, the moon and the planets, as well as with the description of certain phenomena like eclipses. The latter deal not only with the position of the heavenly bodies, but also with their influence on our world and on human fortunes. Tables, verse compositions and prose texts can be both of an astronomical and an astrological nature. Horoscopes, however, are solely astrological. Cf. Jones (n. 3) 4–5, who divides the “astronomical” papyri from Oxyrhynchus into three categories: numerical tables (used to calculate the positions of the heavenly bodies), prose texts (works on astronomical theory), and horoscopes, noting that these belong to the category of astrological texts.

⁸ In some ephemerides (tables that give day-by-day positions of the heavenly bodies for a range of dates organized according to calendar months) the columns evaluating days (indicating the auspiciousness of the days) contain astrological data, e.g. *P.Oxy.* 61.4180, 4182. See also *P.Oxy.* 61.4286 and 65.4477, two horoscopes in tabular form.

⁹ E.g. *P.Oxy.* 3.464 (astrological epigrams) and 66.4503–4507 (Anoubion, elegiacs). For Anubion’s didactic poem, see D. Obbink, *Anubio, Carmen astrologicum elegiacum* (Munich 2006); P. Schubert, *Anoubion, Poème astrologique* (Paris 2015).

¹⁰ E.g. *P.Oxy.* 65.4476.

¹¹ E.g. *P.Oxy.* 31.2554; 65.4472–4473.

¹² E.g. *P.Oxy.* 31.2555, 61.4276–4285; cf. Jones (n. 3) 10–11 and 282–290.

however, only features a list of the houses, and we might never know if more information was included following it. To my knowledge, there are no other Greek papyri presenting solely a similar list or “house system.” Therefore, it is practically impossible to determine what its precise purpose was. However, one can certainly imagine this small piece of papyrus as the property of an Oxyrhynchite astrologer, or more likely, of a trainee, learning the basics of astronomy and astrology and using it as an *aide-mémoire* to produce horoscopes.¹³

Astrological Papyri from Oxyrhynchus

Among the thousands and thousands of papyri recovered from Oxyrhynchus by B.P. Grenfell and A.S. Hunt, and by Flinders Petrie, astronomical and astrological papyri constitute only a small fraction of the texts. However, since this “small fraction” still consists of hundreds of pieces, it is important to discuss our papyrus within this larger context.

In his book *Astronomical Papyri from Oxyrhynchus*, A. Jones has published mostly astronomical texts (105 tables and 16 prose texts), but also included horoscopes (69).¹⁴ Additional astrological texts (horoscopes, verse compositions, and prose texts) have been published in other *P.Oxy.* volumes.¹⁵ The houses appear in some of the “deluxe” horoscopes (e.g. *P. Oxy.* 31.2555; 61.4236–4237, 4245, 4276–4285) and prose texts (*P.Oxy.* 65.4476), but, again, never in the form of a list.

A more interesting point about our papyrus is its date. In general, horoscopes can give an indication of the range of time in which astrology flourished in a particular place. At Oxyrhynchus, the earliest dated Greek horoscope was cast for someone born in 4 BCE (*P.Oxy.* 4.804),¹⁶ and the

¹³ On astrologers using tables and manuals to produce horoscopes, see A. Jones, “Astrologers and their Astronomy,” in A.K. Bowman et al. (eds.), *Oxyrhynchus: A City and its Texts* (London 2007) 307–314. A professional astrologer would certainly have memorised the system of house-lords, but a trainee could have used these types of memory aids featuring the different qualities of the zodiac signs, including the houses.

¹⁴ Jones (n. 3) edits and publishes the papyri *P.Oxy.* 61.4133–4300a, which are only listed in the *P.Oxy.* volume. At pp. 308–309, he also lists horoscopes published in prior *P.Oxy.* volumes. For a more comprehensive checklist of Greek horoscopes (not only from Oxyrhynchus), see Heilen (n. 3) 213–316.

¹⁵ E.g. (this is not an exhaustive list): *P.Oxy.* 3.464, 465, 585, 596; 12.1476, 1563–1565; 31.2554–2557; 65.4471–4477; 66.4503–4507. Another astrological text from Oxyrhynchus in the Washington University collection is *P.Wash.Univ.* 2.73. There are also hundreds of identified fragments with astrological contents in the Egypt Exploration Society collection still awaiting publication.

¹⁶ This horoscope was first edited in Neugebauer and Van Hoesen (n. 3) 17; *P.Oxy.* 4.804 only provides a translation.

latest for someone born in 508 CE (*P.Oxy.* 61.4275). However, more than half of the dated horoscopes are from the third century, and it seems that the decline of the discipline was rather rapid after the fourth century, with only five horoscopes dated after 400 CE. On the other hand, we should remember that the number of documents of a particular kind and date does not only depend on the production of such texts in Antiquity, but also on the biases of preservation and scholarship. At Oxyrhynchus, the number of papyri (regardless of the genre) is much smaller for the fifth and sixth centuries than for the previous centuries, and the astronomical and astrological papyri seem to reflect this broader pattern.¹⁷

As for our papyrus, the hand is characteristic of the fifth and sixth centuries (see above). This date places our fragment among the latest astrological papyri from Oxyrhynchus (and even from Egypt) that we have. Therefore, together with a few other papyri, this piece confirms that there were some astrologers still active in Oxyrhynchus at the end of the fifth and beginning of the sixth century. These astrologers produced horoscopes (*P.Oxy.* 65.4477 [430 CE], 16.2060 [478 CE], 61.4274 [480 and 503 CE], 4275 [508 CE]), used tables (*P.Oxy.* 61.4180 [465 CE]), and possessed other texts related to their practice, as witnessed by our papyrus.

¹⁷ For a discussion on the dates of the Oxyrhynchus papyri, see Jones (n. 3) 5–8 and 47–58.

A PRIVATE LETTER FROM OXYRRHYNCHUS CONCERNING ESTATE MANAGEMENT

Nicholas E. Wagner *Duke University*

Abstract. — Edition of P.Wash.Univ. inv. 353, dating to the second or third century AD and containing on the *recto* what appears to be a private letter with instructions concerning the management of an agricultural estate; the amounts recorded on the *verso* may concern the same estate.

Keyword: estate management

The fragment published here¹ contains one partial column of text on both the *recto* and *verso*. The left, right, and bottom sides of the fragment appear to have been cut, possibly by a modern dealer, while the top is torn irregularly. On the *recto*, the lower margin measures 14 mm and the right margin ca. 2 mm. Four large and evenly spaced holes indicate that the papyrus was rolled vertically with the *recto* facing up and then compressed, which explains the presence of what must be offset ink, especially visible on the *recto* between ll. 8–9 and 14–15.²

The script on the *recto* is an informal, rounded capital resembling hands dated to the second and third century AD (cf. *P.Mil.Vogl.* 1.24 [117 AD]; *PSI* 3.199 [203 AD]).³ The writing, which is roughly bilinear, can appear almost calligraphic: serifs adorn the ends of verticals and obliques, an organic trema distinguishes two vowels (l. 12), and there is an effort to maintain column justification with the use of a horizontal line-filler (l. 21) and supralinear letters (ll. 25, 28). Still, the hand's slow speed and shaky

¹ My thanks to the Institute's organizers, T.M. Hickey and R.S. Bagnall, for their unflinching support and many helpful suggestions. In addition, I am grateful to Catherine Keane, Chair, Department of Classics, Washington University in St. Louis, as well as to Joel Minor and his colleagues in the Department of Special Collections, for their support.

² On this format, see J.-L. Fournet, "Esquisse d'une anatomie de la lettre antique tardive d'après les papyrus," in R. Delmaire, J. Desmulliez, and P.-L. Gatier (eds.), *Correspondances. Documents pour l'histoire de l'Antiquité tardive. Actes du colloque international, Université Charles-de-Gaulle-Lille 3, 20–22 novembre 2003* (Lyon 2009) 26–32.

³ *PSI* 3.199 in H. Harrauer, *Handbuch der griechischen Paläographie*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart 2010) 349–350 (Nr. 162) and 2.150 (Abb. 147).

ductus contrast with similar, but more polished scripts of the period (cf. *P.Oxy.* 3.589; *P.Oxy.* 9.1182).⁴ While the hand is not so unpracticed as similarly formed, “zero-grade” school hands (cf. *P.Oxy.* 3.425), it should be classed as an “evolving hand” (cf. *P.Oxy.* 2.213).⁵ Further indication that our writer is not highly skilled is the inconsistent use of ligatures (esp. in the clusters αι and ει) and shift between capitals and cursives, the clearest example of which are the allophorms of ε (cf. esp. ll. 21–22). Moving vertically down the fragment, there is also a steady deterioration of the *ductus* and a gradual reduction in letter height, with averages of 4.2 mm in the fragment’s upper half and 3 mm in the lower. The average interlinear space similarly decreases: the upper half maintains an average of 3 mm, while the lower lines can meet as close as 1.4 mm. Some of this variation can be attributed to the hand’s tendency to track downwards (cf. ll. 17–18). The writer often suspends *scriptio continua* as a means of punctuation (ll. 1–3, 5, 8, 10, 14, 18–19, 24, 27, 29–30).

The script on the *verso* is more practiced and cursive, though a few letters such as ν are written in informal capitals. Distinguishing features of the hand are its cursive β and use of sigla typical of accounts. Parallels for the hand, while necessarily inconclusive given the sample size, date to the second and third century AD, just as the script on the *recto* (cf. *P.Mich.* 15.697 [177 AD]; *P.Oxy.Hels.* 47a [second century AD]; *P.Prag.* 2.137 [222 AD]).⁶

Several first-person verbs (ll. 8, 16, 26) and instructions to supply someone named Agathinos (l. 28) indicate that the *recto* functioned as a letter. We would not in any case expect a letter to have reached a height much beyond the fragment’s 24.7 cm nor, if a letter, that the *recto* would have held more than a single column.⁷ The few secure readings point to an agricultural context: an axle (ἄξονα in l. 17), something made of

⁴ *P.Oxy.* 3.589 in Harrauer (n. 3) 1.344 (Nr. 156) and 2.144 (Abb. 141); *P.Oxy.* 9.1182 in E.G. Turner, *Greek Manuscripts of the Ancient World* (2nd ed.; London 1987) 46–47 (no. 17).

⁵ *P.Oxy.* 3.425 in Turner (n. 4) 32–33 (no. 5); R. Criboire, *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Atlanta 1996) 221 (no. 207). *P.Oxy.* 2.213 in *ibid.* 236 (no. 265). For summaries of the “zero-grade” and “evolving hand,” see *ibid.* 112.

⁶ *P.Mich.* 15.697 in Harrauer (n. 3) 1.326–327 (Nr. 140) and 2.127 (Abb. 125); *P.Oxy.Hels.* 47a in *ibid.* 1.343–344 (Nr. 155) and 2.143 (Abb. 140); *P.Prag.* 2.137 in *ibid.* 1.358–359 (Nr. 169) and 2.157 (Abb. 154).

⁷ See A. Sarri, *Material Aspects of Letter-Writing in the Graeco-Roman World, 500 BC–AD 300* (Berlin and Boston 2018) 76–77, 107–113, 337–345. Sarri estimates that the average width : height ratio of Roman letters ranges from 0.5–0.8. With a height of 24.7 cm, we expect our papyrus’s width to have been at minimum between 12.35–19.76 cm or at least 6.85–14.26 cm now missing.

palm fibers (σεβε]γίνοις in l. 18), and a plant or tree (φυτόν in l. 24). Similarly, we note possible references to crushing, grinding, or general wear or damage (l. 4 n.), dung (l. 10 n.), and seed or sowing (l. 27 n.). This setting resembles that of several letters from the so-called Gemellus archive, which date to the late first to the early second century.⁸ Some of these letters instruct an estate manager named Epagathos in the care and maintenance of animals (e.g. sheep and pigs), cultivation and harvest of crops (mostly olives), and administration of staff. Perhaps similarly the fragment's *recto* contained instructions for the managing of an estate, presumably one that had arable land (l. 15 n., l. 27), equipment or machinery (l. 4 n., l. 17), and was large enough that the recipient required specific location markers (l. 9 n., l. 25). The second hand, possibly the recipient of the *recto*, may have then used the *verso* to record amounts (ll. 4–5, 7) concerning the same estate. Since the text is very fragmentary, I omit a running translation and refer the reader to my notes.

P.Wash.Univ. inv. 353 H × W = 24.7 × 5.5 cm Oxyrhynchus, II or III AD

Recto

→	[	ca.?	]	.	vac.	.	[
2	[		]στο	.	[
	[		] vac.	αἱ γάρ	τ	.	[
4	[		]ετρίβησαν				
	[		]σθραι	εἰς	τὸ		
6	[		] ἐντίθη[ε]θαι				
	[		] . ι[.]υ	.	.	.	υ
8	[		]ἀσθην	οἶα			
	[		]βικῆς	μη			
10	[		] . . ρι	παντὶ			
	[		ἐπ]	οῖησα	τὸν		
12	[		] . cαcθαι	ἵνα			
	[		]c[.]ι	.	.	[±3]	α
14	[		]η vac.	ἐν	τοιού-		

⁸ My thanks to T.M. Hickey for drawing my attention to the Gemellus archive. For background on the archive, see N. Hohlwein, "Le vétéran Lucius Bellienus Gemellus, gentleman-farmer au Fayoum," *ÉdP* 8 (1957) 69–91; R. Ast and G. Azzarello, "A Roman Veteran and his Skillful Administrator: Gemellus and Epagathus in Light of Unpublished Papyri," in P. Schubert (ed.), *Actes du 26^e Congrès international de papyrologie* (Geneva 2012) 67–71.

	[τ-	ἐπ]ικειμένης
16	[	] <i>vac.</i> ἐπέδῃσα
	[	] ἄξονα <i>c</i> φιν-
18	[	<i>cεβε</i>]γίνοις καὶ
	[	]οις καὶ τοῖς
20	[	] πάλιν οὐ
	[	]μεύειν
22	[	<i>π</i>]αρέλαβον
	[	] ὅς τε περὶ
24	[	] . φυτὸν ἄξο-
	[	ἐ]κ λιβὸς ὅπω\c/
26	[	]ἀναβληθῶ
	[	] . . ων <i>vac.</i> σπορα
28	[	] δὸς Ἀγαθεῖν(ω)
	[	] . ιων <i>εν</i> ια
30	[	]φηται <i>vac.</i> (δρ.) $\overline{\iota\alpha}$
	[	] (δρ.) $\overline{\varsigma}$ <i>vac.</i>
32	[	] <i>vac.</i> σται±4

7] . ι[.]υ . . . ὕ *pap.* 12 ἵνα *pap.* 23 περι *corr. ex πε . . ?*

Verso

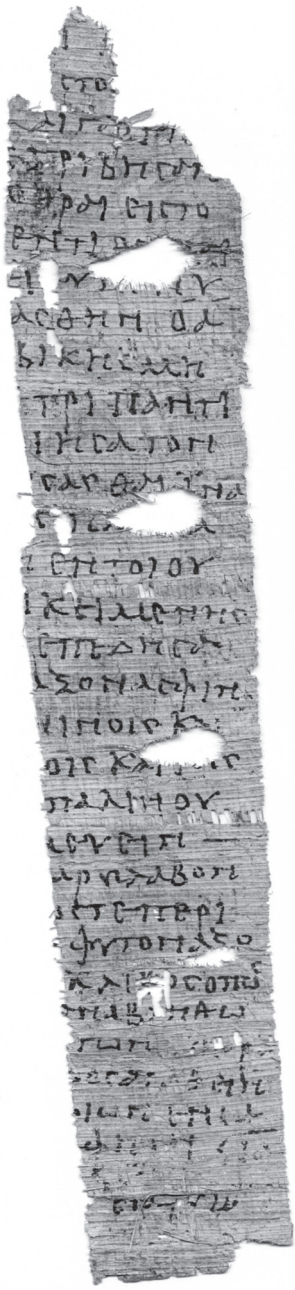
↑	[	ca.?]	.
2	[		]	. ανω
	[		]	. αι . [±4]
4	[		]	. <i>vac.</i> (ἀρτάβ.)
	[		]	. . ρους χο(ίνικες) [±3]
6	[		]	κεν
	[		]	<i>vac.</i> (ἀρτάβ.) β ∟
8	[		]	φay[±3] .

Recto 1 A space-gap of 7 mm separates two vertical strokes, which could indicate an opening address.

2 A space-gap of 2 mm before *c* indicates a sense break.

3 αἱ γάρ: The phraseology and preceding space-gap of 4.5 mm suggest a sense break.

4]ετρίβηcay: Likely ἐτρίβηcαν or a compound of the verb, here conveying crushing, grinding, or general wear or damage (cf. *SPP* 22.177).



P.Wash.Univ. inv. 353 (*recto*), Department of Classics Papyri Collection, Washington University Libraries, Julian Edison Department of Special Collections

5 There is a space-gap of 3 mm before εἰς. The sequence -θραι is unattested in the *DDBDP* and the *TLG* (both accessed February 2019 here and following). Although the fragment contains no certain orthographic variants, one solution is to assume the confusion $\theta > \tau$, which allows ποτίτραι (“watering-places”; cf. *P.Select* 11) and ξύτραι (“scrapers”; cf. *P.Oxy.* 24.2424), both of which fit the fragment’s agrarian context. On $\theta > \tau$, see F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, vol. 1 (Milan 1976) 87.

8]άσθην ὅα: The sequence before the numeral (71) appears to be the end of a first-person singular aorist middle/passive indicative. A search on the *DDBDP* overwhelming favors ἤναγκάσθην, perhaps read here with the numeral as “I was in need of 71 <noun>” or “I was forced <inf.> 71 <noun>.”

9]βικῆς μη: In view of ἐ]κ λιβός in l. 25 below, λιβικῆς (“west”) is feasible, followed by μή.

10] . . ρι: It is impossible to determine whether the ink at the beginning of the line – a short horizontal stroke set above a small, faint circle – is offset or the original text. Similarly, the second vertical of the second letter could be offset (and thus τ) or part of the original letter (and thus π). The ending -τρι is common enough in the papyri, but the *DDBDP* supplies no parallels for -τρι παντί. The ending -πρι is rare throughout antiquity: the only contextually appropriate reading listed in the *DDBDP* is κόπρι (“dung”).

12] . cacθαι: The first letter best resembles υ. A search on the *DDBDP* indicates that -υcacθαι is rare in our period, but the sequence must be the end of an aorist middle infinitive. Perhaps read παύcacθαι (“desist”?) or ῥύcacθαι (“deliver”?).

14–15 ἐν τοιού-: Read ἐν τοιούτῳ or ἐν τοιούτοις, with a preference for the latter given the dative plurals below in ll. 18–19.

15 ἐπιικειμένης: Contemporary evidence attests the word’s use with agricultural terms such as σπορά (cf. l. 27 n. below) to indicate arable crops (cf. *BGU* 2.603; *P.Grenf.* 2.57), but the word can also reference the presence, installment, or repair of irrigation equipment (cf. *P.Oxy.* 51.3638; *P.Ross.Georg.* 2.19).

16 ἐπέδησα: The sense of the verb is difficult to determine not only because we lack context, but because there is to my knowledge no other



P.Wash.Univ. inv. 353 (*verso*), Department of Classics Papyri Collection,
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occurrence of the verb in a documentary text. Perhaps read “I lacked/was in need of” (cf. l. 22 n. below) and paired with some product relevant to agriculture.

17 ἄξονα ϰφιν-: We expect ἄξων (“axle”) to conform to at least one of the following types (see Preisigke, *Wörterbuch*, s.v.): for (1) wagons, (2) horses, (3) drawing water, and/or (4) oil production. There is no indication of (1), (2), and (4), but (3) may be inferred from ἐπιικειμένης above (l. 15) and the possible mention of seed below (l. 27). A search on the *DDBDP* gives only a few hits for ϰφιν-, which provide some support for reading an orthographic variant of ϰφίγγω or ϰφίγκτήρ, both dealing with “binding” (cf. *O.Did.* 393; *P.Heid.* 7.406). I have been unsuccessful in locating any instance of these terms with ἄξων in the documentary record, but there is one such case in a later, poetic fragment (*P.Strasb. inv. G.* 480+481 = *MP*³ 1848+1849: ἄξονα δὲ ϰφίγγουσι δύω πόλοι [ἀμφοτέρωθεν]).

18 ϰεβε]γίνουις, “of palm fibers”: The term is common in contemporary receipts of agricultural products, which attest the use of palm fibers in the production of e.g. κάκκος (“cloth”; cf. *P.Aberd.* 41f) and especially ϰχοινίον (“rope”; cf. *O.Claud.* 1.133; *P.Lond.* 3.929; *P.Lond.* 3.1164h).

20] πάλιν ου: One is tempted to read πάλιν οὐ, but the second word may have continued onto the next line.

21]μεύειν: Clearly the ending of an infinitive, perhaps χρησιμεύειν (“useful/serviceable”; cf. l. 4 n. above) or ϰηαμεύειν (“sow sesame”).

22 π]αρέλαβον: The lack of context precludes any certainty on what we should like to read as first-person (“I received”; cf. l. 8 n., l. 16 above).

24 φυτὸν, “plant/tree” (cf. *P.Fay.* 111; *P.Fay.* 113; *P.Fay.* 114) ἄξο-: Perhaps ἄξοινα (cf. l. 17 above).

27] . . ων vac. σπορα: The second letter must be either γ or more likely τ (ἀντῶν?). What follows is almost certainly ϰπορά or ϰπορᾶ (“crop/seed/sowing”).

29 ενια: Possible readings include ἐν ια-, ἔν ια- (or ἐνί α-), and ἔνια (“some”). What resembles ι could be read as the abbreviation for drachmas (cf. l. 30 below), but in this case we would expect a supralinear stroke above the following α (cf. *recto* ll. 8, 30, 32).

30]φηται *vac.* (δρ.) ια: The number of drachmas (11) is preceded by either the ending of a third-person verb or a plural noun. The *DDBDP* gives only a few hits for -φηται in our period. Perhaps read *καφηται* (“diggers”), since, beyond its suitability for the fragment’s agrarian context, the term is well-attested in contemporary accounts and receipts (cf. *P.Bingen* 111; *P.Lond.* 3.851; *P.Strasb.* 9.854).

32] *vac.* στ̣α̣ι ±4 : The first five or six letters are ligatured and separated by 2 mm from the final two or so letters, which are also ligatured. The rapid and crabbed appearance of the letters could indicate a hand shift, but in general the *ductus* conforms to the above script (cf. -ται with l. 30 above) and, like above, the writer increasingly tracks downwards as they progress. If I have read the first four letters correctly and if the 2 mm space-gap indicates a sense break, we are left with a very limited number of possible readings: perhaps *στα̣ις* (“flour/dough”) or an abbreviation of *στα̣ιτουργός* (“dough maker”; cf. *O.Petr.Mus.* 350; *P.Teht.* 2.540). After the space-gap, there are faint traces of a horizontal stroke above the final one or two letters, which could indicate a numeral. The first letter resembles a cursive β (i.e. β̄ [2]) and the small blobs of ink after may be part of the same letter (or even offset); less likely, the letters could be read *κα̣* (21). The final bit of ink is followed by a space-gap of 9 mm.

Verso 4 At the beginning of the line, there are light traces of a horizontal stroke level with the horizontal forming the following (ἀρτάβ.), suggesting a numeral + (ἀρτάβ.).

5] . . ρου̣ς χ̣ο̣(ίνικε̣ς) [±3]: At the front, perhaps read *μέρου̣ς* (“part”; cf. α in ll. 2–3 above). After the lacuna and following *χο̣(ίνικε̣ς)* there is a long horizontal stroke, suggesting *χο̣(ίνικε̣ς)* + a numeral.

AN ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF A LOAN OF WHEAT AND BARLEY FROM OXYRHYNCHUS

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Abstract. — Edition of a fourth-century Greek documentary papyrus from Oxyrhynchus recording a loan of wheat and barley.

Keywords: loan, wheat, barley

The light brown papyrus published here contains fifteen lines of Greek text written in black ink and running along the fibers.¹ The back of the papyrus is blank. The hand is cursive and has variable spaces between the letters and words. The writer makes a regular use of the final superscript υ and tends to extend the final letter of the lines into the right margin. The hand can be compared with other hands from the fourth century (e.g. *PSI* 9.1078; *P.Wisc.* 1.12; *SB* 14.12088), and the consular names (line 1: Flavius Amantius and Flavius Albinus) allow us to date the document to 345.

The papyrus is cut regularly at the right-hand side. The right margin, measuring 1.5 cm, is delimited by a *kollesis*. Part of the upper margin, approximately 1 cm, is also preserved. The papyrus was folded four times vertically from left to right. The first fold was where the papyrus broke off on the left-hand side. There is a space of 2 cm between the first and second folds, 2.5 cm between the second and third, and 3 cm between the third and fourth folds. The second and fourth folds resulted in two vertical lines of small holes in the papyrus. Not much is missing on the left of the first nine lines, and almost all that is missing there can be restored. The papyrus is more damaged from l. 10 onward, with almost half of the papyrus missing to the left and even more as we progress down to l. 15. The papyrus is broken off at this point, so that a few more lines are missing at the bottom. There is also a small detached fragment

¹ I wish to thank Roger Bagnall and Todd Hickey for their help and guidance throughout the editing process. Special thanks to Jitse Dijkstra, Nikolaos Gonis, and Jim Keenan for their valuable comments and input on this text. I am also grateful to Catherine Keane, Chair of the Department of Classics, Washington University, as well as to Joel Minor and his colleagues in the Department of Special Collections, Washington University, for their support.

of 0.5×1 cm (situated to the left of l. 11 on the image), with traces of perhaps one or two letters, but it cannot be placed and might be unrelated to the larger piece.

This document is a loan of grain. The debtor, whose complete name is lost, acknowledges that he has received a certain amount of wheat and barley from Aurelius Pasion (?), βουλευτής of Oxyrhynchus, which he will repay at some point in the same year. The document is characteristic of the period in both structure and content (the closest parallel being *P.Col.* 10.287 = *SB* 20.14301, dated to 326 CE). It follows the normal pattern for loans and includes most of the typical formulas. Thus, we can expect that the missing lines at the bottom expressed the penalties for a delayed repayment and featured the signature of the debtor and the date.

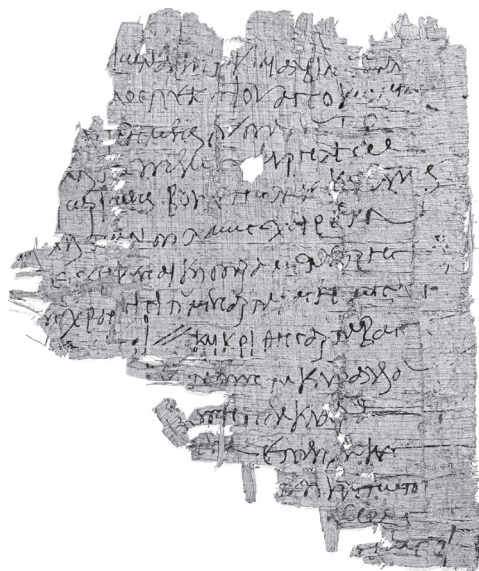
P.Wash.Univ. inv. 143 H × W = 14.1 × 11.8 cm Oxyrhynchus, 345 CE

- [ύπατειας Φλαο]υίων Ἀμαντίου καὶ Ἀλβίνου τῶν λ[αμ(προτάτων)]
 [Αὐρήλιος ± 4]λος Πεκυσίου ἀπὸ κώμης
 [Σαραπίωνος] Χαιρήμονος ε' πάγου τοῦ
 [Ὁξυρυγ]χείτου νομ[ο]ῦ Αὐρηλίου
 5 [Πασίων]ι (?) Ὁρίωνος βουλ(ευτῆ) τῆς λαμ(πρᾶς) καὶ λαμ(προτάτης)
 [Ὁξ]υρ[υγ]χειτῶν πόλεως χαίρειν.
 [ὁμολογῶ] ἐσχηκέναι καὶ παραμεμετρηῆσθαι
 [παρὰ σοῦ] ἐν χρήσι σίτ(ο)υ μὲν ἀρτάβας ἥμισυ
 [τέταρτον] γί(νεται) (ἀρτάβης) 5d// καὶ κριθῆς ἀρτάβας
 10 [± 13] . . . τὰ πάντα κεφαλαίου
 [ἄπερ σῖτον καὶ κριθήν (?)] γένη νέα καθαρά
 [ἄδολα κεκοσκινευ]μένα ἐπάναγκες
 [ἀποδώσω σοι τῷ μηνὶ] τοῦ ἐνεστῶτος
 [ἔτους κβ ιγ ἄνευ πάσης ὑπερθέ]σσεως
 15 [καὶ εὐρησιλογίας, εἰ δὲ μή, ἐκτ]εῖσω σοι

1 αλβινο^ο par. 3 παγο^ο το^ο par. 4 l. Ὁξυρυγχείτου; νομ[ο]ῦ par. 5 βουλ', λαμ', λαμ' par. 6 l. Ὁξυρυγχεῖτων 8 l. χρήσει, ἀρτάβης; σιτ^ο, ημισ^ο par. 9 = par. (?) 10 κεφαλαίο^ο par.

“[During the consulship] of Flavius Amantius and Flavius Albinus, *viri clarissimi*. [Aurelius ...] son of Pekysis, from the village of Sarapionos Chairemonos in the fifth *pagus* of the Oxyrhynchite nome, to Aurelius [Pasion] (?), son of Horion, *bouleutes* of the glorious and most glorious city of the Oxyrhynchites, greetings. [I acknowledge] that I have received

and have had measured out [from you] as a loan three quarters of an *artaba* of wheat, total $\frac{3}{4}$ of an *artaba*, and ... *artabai* of barley ... altogether as a principal, [which wheat and barley (?)], fresh from harvest, new, clean, genuine, and sifted, [I shall repay you] of necessity [in the month of ...] of the present [year 22 and 13, without any] delay [and excuse; and if not], I shall pay you ...”



1 [ὕπατειας Φλαο]ρίων Ἀμαντίου καὶ Ἀλβίνου τῶν λ[αμ(προ-τάτων)]: For the consular date (345), see the parallels cited in *CSBE*² 185. As there is only space for about eight letters in the lacuna before Φλαο], I have restored ὕπατειας rather than μετὰ τὴν ὕπατείαν.

2 [Αὐρήλιος ± 4]λος: It is impossible to reconstruct the complete name of the debtor. There is enough space in the lacuna for two names, the second one ending with -λος. Considering the date, his position as a debtor and his occupation (i.e., farmer), the first name most probably consists of the status designation Αὐρήλιος. Since farmers and craftsmen in Late Antique Egypt generally used the *gentilicium* Aurelius, Aurelii most often (though not always) appear as debtors and lessees in legal contracts, see J.G. Keenan, “The Names Flavius and Aurelius as Status Designations in Later Roman Egypt,” *ZPE* 11 (1973) 33–63, esp. pp. 51–56 on farmers, and 13 (1974) 283–304; “An Afterthought on the Names Flavius and Aurelius,” *ZPE* 53 (1983) 245–250. As for the second name,

since there is still space for more or less four letters in the lacuna after Αὐρήλιος, one might suggest the names Παῦλος or Ζώιλος. It is interesting to note that the borrower, whatever his name, was a villager (from Sarapionos Chairemonos, l. 3), and the lender, Aurelius Pasion (?), a city-dweller (from Oxyrhynchus, ll. 5–6). For this “*polites*-to-villager” pattern, which was common in Egypt both in money loans and loans in kind, see J.G. Keenan, “On Village and Polis in Byzantine Egypt,” in R.S. Bagnall et al. (eds.), *Proceedings of the Sixteenth International Congress of Papyrology* (Chico 1981) 479–485, esp. p. 484.

3 [Σαραπίωνος] Χαιρήμονος: Sarapionos Chairemonos is a small village in the fifth *pagus* of the Oxyrhynchite nome. It was designated as an ἐποίκιον until ca. 312 CE (*PSI* 5.449), but started being referred to as a κώμη in 323/324 (*P.Harr.* 2.213). For further attestations, see A. Benaissa, *Rural Settlements of the Oxyrhynchite Nome: A Papyrological Survey*, 2nd ed. (Cologne-Leuven 2012) 305–307 (available online at <https://www.trismegistos.org/dl.php?id=13>).

4–5 Αὐρηλίῳ [Πασίων]ι (?) Ὁρίωνος: If we look for a person with the status designation Aurelius and the patronymic Horion who was βουλευτής of Oxyrhynchus in the first half of the fourth century, we can find only one. His name, Aurelius Pasion son of Horion, appears in a document from Oxyrhynchus dated to 338 CE (*P.Oxy.* 6.892): Flavius Eusebios, λογιστής of the Oxyrhynchite nome, informs him that he has been appointed to superintend the supply of wood required in the building of a public bath and a gate. As the present loan is dated to 345 CE, this Aurelius [...] son of Horion may well be the same person, who was still βουλευτής of Oxyrhynchus seven years later. Furthermore, since we expect approximately 6 letters in the lacuna, and we can clearly see the final ι, I tentatively suggest restoring [Πασίων]ι.

8 σίτου: In Egypt, σῖτος often included both wheat and barley mixed together, with wheat being the predominant component; see P. Mayerson, “σίτος/πυρός in Egypt as Deliberate Mixtures of Wheat and Barley,” *BASP* 42 (2005) 51–62. However, since the loan mentions barley separately (l. 9), σίτου is translated here as wheat.

8–9 ἀρτάβας ἥμισυ [τέταρτον]: The symbols $\varsigma d//$ in l. 9, which stand for $\frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{4} = \frac{3}{4}$, allow us to restore the amount of wheat borrowed as ἥμισυ τέταρτον. Therefore, it seems that ἀρτάβας was written instead of ἀρτάβης, which is expected for three quarters of an *artaba*. For a similar confusion

between ἀρτάβας and ἀρτάβης, see e.g. *PSI* 1.66 and *SPP* 8.1051. The small amount, less than a full *artaba*, suggests that this loan might have been for seeds to sow rather than for wheat and barley for consumption. For other examples of loans of wheat and barley for seeds, see e.g. *P.Oxy.* 47.3354 and 63.4398.

9 γί(νεται) (ἀρτάβης): Loans often repeat the amount of grain or money borrowed in an abbreviated form, starting with γίνεται (e.g. *P.Princ.* 2.33; *P.Tebt.* 1.111; *P.Wisc.* 1.10; *SB* 22.15268). It is, however, difficult to see here whether the writer used abbreviations or only symbols. The horizontal line before $\varsigma d//$ is most probably \neg , the symbol for *artaba*. Therefore I have restored γί(νεται) (ἀρτάβης), but it could also be (γίνεται) (ἀρτάβης) or γί(νεται)/(γίνεται) σί(του) (ἀρτάβης).

10 In the lacuna, and possibly the three unreadable letters that follow, we would normally find the amount of barley borrowed, written out the first time, and then restated in abbreviated form starting with γίνεται.

– τὰ πάντα: The neuter plural here refers to the total amount of *artabai* of both wheat and barley, which the borrower received “as a principal” (κεφαλαίου).

11 [ἄπερ σῖτον καὶ κριθὴν (?)] γένη: The next clause, expressing that the loan has to be repaid with new and clean grain of wheat and barley, should start with some form of the relative pronoun ὅσπερ. Since the neuter plural (νέα καθαρὰ) is used to refer to both σῖτος and κριθή (as does τὰ πάντα, l. 10), the relative ἄπερ has been restored. This leaves space for more or less thirteen letters in the lacuna. In similar loans, the relative is followed by the type of grain which is borrowed. Therefore, the lacuna has been supplemented with σῖτον καὶ κριθὴν. For *comparanda*, see esp. *P.Col.* 10.287 = *SB* 20.14301.9 (ὅνπερ πυρὸν νέον κα[θ]αρὸν), *BGU* 4.1092.19–21 (ὅνπερ ... πυρὸν καὶ κριθάς νέα καθαρὰ), *P.Wash.Univ.* 1.22.5–7 (κεφαλαίου | [ὅνπερ] πυρὸν <ν>έον καθαρὸν κεκοσκινευμέ[νον]), and also *P.Mert.* 1.36.11 and *P.Oxy.* 1.33.17. After the lacuna, we see one uncertain letter followed by ἐνη, which I understand as γένη. This is another quality for grain, often included to indicate that the loan has to be repaid with fresh grain, immediately after harvest. For this pattern with (τὰ) γένη/(τὸ) γένος, see esp. *P.Oxy.* 47.3354.40 (γένη νέα καθαρὰ ἄδολα), *P.Stras.* 6.588.1–5 (ἄπερ ... γένη νέα καθαρὰ | ἄδολα), and *P.Col.* 7.176.11–12 (τ[ὸ] γένος νέον | καθα[ρὸν] ἄδολον).

12 [ἄδολα κεκοσκινευ]μένα: As in similar loans, other qualities for the grain are likely to have been included in the lacuna, such as ἄδολος “genuine,” ἄβωλος “without dirt,” κεκοσκινευμένος “sifted” and φορός “fruitful.” The four visible letters before ἐπάναγκες make it possible to reconstruct this word as κεκοσκινευ]μένα. This leaves space for 5 or 6 letters. Since ἄδολος is the most common quality for grain after νέος and καθαρός (see e.g. *P.Col.* 7.176, 78; *P.Dion.* 17, 32, 33; *P.Fam.Tebt.* 4; *P.Gen.* 2.1.24; *P.Mert.* 1.36; *P.Mil.Vogl.* 3.130, 133; *P.NYU* 1.22, 24; *P.Oxy.* 47.3354; *P.Tebt.* 2.388; *SB* 20.14301), I have inserted it here.

12–15 The words ἐπάναγκες (l. 12), τῷ ἐνεστῶτος (l. 13) and the letters at the end of ll. 14 (Ισξως) and 15 (Ιεισω σοι) allow us to restore a formula well attested in loans of grain and money to indicate when the loan will be repaid. Cf. esp. *P.Col.* 10.287 = *SB* 20.14301.11–15 (repeated at ll. 29–33): ἐπάναγκ[ε]ς ἀποδ[ώ]σω σοι | [τῷ Ἐπειφ μηνὶ τοῦ ἐν]εστῶτος ἔτους κα (ἔτους) [ια (ἔτους) γ (ἔτους)] ἄνευ | [πάσης ὑπερθέσεως ἢ εὐ]ρησιλογείας (read εὐρησιλογίας), εἰ δὲ μ[ή, ἐκτί]σιν (read ἐκτείσειν) | [σοι τοῦ ὑπερπεσόντος χρό]γου ἐκάστης ἀρτ[άβης διά]φορον | [ἔξ ἡμιολίας “... , I shall repay you of necessity in the month of Epeiph of the present year 21 and 11 and 3, without any delay or excuse, and if not, I shall pay you an interest of fifty percent on each *artaba* for the excess time.”

13 [ἀποδώσω σοι τῷ μηνί]: After ἀποδώσω σοι, the formula usually includes the month by which the loan should be repaid. This can be expressed in different ways, the shortest being ἐν μηνὶ [month] and τῷ [month] μηνὶ. Once again following the formula in the closest parallel, *P.Col.* 10.287 = *SB* 20.14301.12 and 20, I have restored τῷ μηνί]. Ordinarily, these loans must be repaid at some point in the post-harvest season, which runs from Pachon to Mesore (see R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* [Princeton 1993] 22). Since there is not much space left here, one would expect a short month name such as Παχών (e.g. *P.Amh.* 2.46–47; *P.Dryton* 16, 25), Παῦνι (e.g. *P.Col.* 7.176–178; *P.NYU* 1.22, 24; *P.Oxy.* 63.4398; *P.Stras.* 5.465; *P.Tebt.* 2.388) or Ἐπειφ (e.g. *SB* 20.14301; *P.Mert.* 1.36; *P.Wash.Univ.* 1.22).

14 κβ ιγ: Since we have the consular date, we can determine the regnal years as the 22nd year of Constantius II and the 13th year of Constans (*CSBE*² 135). I have restored ἔτους κβ ιγ, which seems to be the most common pattern for multiple years (e.g. *P. Oxy.* 6.914, 8.1130, 16.1891, 19.2237, 61.4125, 72.4897; *P.Wisc.* 1.10; *SB* 20.14301), but other variants are possible as well, such as κβ (ἔτους) καὶ ιγ (ἔτους) (e.g. *P.Amst.* 144; *P.Select.* 7) or κβ// καὶ ιγ// (ἔτους) (e.g. *P.Oxy.* 79.5211).

TWO ORDERS FOR PAYMENT FROM OXYRHYNCHUS MENTIONING A LEUKADIOS

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Abstract. — The first papyrus records a payment of wine in return for the repair of a boat. It provides evidence of a woman running the affairs of an estate. The second papyrus is an order for payment of the *chrysargyron* tax by a man named Leukadios. I argue that the Leukadios is the grandson of the Leukadios mentioned in the first papyrus.

Keywords: widows, *oinocheiristes*, *chrysargyron* tax, papponymy, orders for payment

The two papyri edited here are related: both are held in St. Louis, Missouri, both are orders for payment, and both mention a Leukadios. Although both papyri are housed in St. Louis, they were not found together. The papyri held at the Saint Louis Art Museum, which include the first papyrus, were excavated by Grenfell and Hunt and sent to the Saint Louis Art Museum in 1922 by the Egyptian Exploration Society in exchange for a subscription.¹ The catalogue of the museum states that the papyri were “originally apportioned to Washington University in Saint Louis along with a larger selection of papyri, but relegated to the City Art Museum.”² The papyri held at Washington University in St. Louis, which include the

¹ See the Saint Louis Art Museum catalogue for this papyrus, which states that it was excavated by Grenfell and Hunt: <http://emuseum.slam.org/objects/30145/papyrus>. See also a letter from Samuel L. Sherer, Esq., Director of the City Art Museum of Saint Louis to Miss Marie N. Buckman, Secretary of the Egyptian Exploration Society, dated June 27, 1922 and Minutes of the Administrative Board of Control of the City Art Museum, June 21, 1922 in the Saint Louis Art Museum document files. Many thanks to Sarah Biggs of the Saint Louis Art Museum and the museum itself for access to these documents.

² My deepest gratitude to Todd Hickey and Roger Bagnall for their continuous help and guidance at every stage of this edition. Special thanks to Jim Keenan, AnneMarie Luijendijk, and Michael Zellmann-Rohrer who provided valuable advice, close reading, and keen insight into these texts. Any errors are, of course, my own. In addition, I am very grateful to Catherine Keane, Chair of the Department of Classics, Washington University, as well as to Joel Minor and his colleagues in the Department of Special Collections at Washington University Library, for their support. My thanks also go to those at the Saint Louis Art Museum, specifically Lisa Çakmak, Associate Curator of Ancient Art, Heather A. Hughes, then Senior Research Assistant and Study Room Manager, Sarah J. Biggs, Research Assistant, and Jessica Rahmer and Jason Gray, Image Rights Managers.

second papyrus, were purchased or excavated by Flinders Petrie in 1922 and were sent to the University by the end of that year in exchange for a subscription to the British School of Archaeology in Egypt. The first papyrus was already described as *P.Oxy.14.1752* in 1920 before the second papyrus was even excavated or acquired by Petrie in 1922.

1. *Order for Payment of Wine*

P.Oxy. 14.1752 descr. H × W = 4.8 × 27.7 cm Oxyrhynchus, April 26, 379
Saint Louis Art Museum 376.1923

This order for payment of wine was described by Grenfell and Hunt. I offer only minor corrections to their transcription. The date was already corrected in *BL*,³ from 378 to 379, following Bagnall and Worp.⁴ This papyrus does not have the Oxyrhynchite double year as the next papyrus does. Instead, as noted in Grenfell and Hunt's description, the three years given correspond to "the regnal years of Valens, Gratian, and Valentinian II."⁵ This in turn corresponds to 378/379. Grenfell and Hunt dated the papyrus to 378, but when we take the day and month dating into consideration, it should be 379. This is the only known papyrus with this exact dating formula for this year.

This papyrus, like the next and many other orders for payment, is written against the fibers. The papyrus is entirely preserved, although it is broken into two pieces. The Saint Louis Art Museum has the papyrus mounted with one large piece above a smaller piece. The smaller piece should be placed directly to the right of the larger piece, since it is the continuation of lines 2–3. The papyrus is countersigned in line 3. This could have been written by the mother herself to record her agreement with the payment.

This papyrus touches on the role of women in fourth-century Egypt. The first line begins: "From the heirs of Leukadios *through their mother*." The mother is acting on behalf of her children and is unfortunately unnamed. This anonymity suggests that she was well known among the recipients – so well known that to mention her name was unnecessary. So it seems that the mother, Gaius Iulius Leukadios' widow, is running the family affairs

³ See *BL* 8.249.

⁴ *CSBE*² 251. Papyri.info and Trismegistos have an incorrect catalog number for this papyrus. There it is listed as "St. Louis Art Museum 375.23 (sic?)." The correct inventory number at the Saint Louis Art Museum is 376.1923.

⁵ *P.Oxy. 14.1752*.

and producing documents (see the Appendix for more information on Gaius Iulius Leukadios). Leukadios has passed away, and his widow is in charge of the family estate. A woman in charge of an estate should not surprise us. It was common practice for a widow to run an estate. An edict of 390 declared as much. This papyrus is evidence that Theodosius I was, as J. Beaucamp suggested, simply codifying existing practice.⁶

P. van Minnen has written a profile of a second-century Egyptian woman named Berenike, whom van Minnen refers to as a business woman. Berenike and her husband Pasion drew up a will stating that if Pasion were to die before Berenike, she would have the choice of dividing the estate among their four sons or maintaining it herself.⁷ Van Minnen concludes: “there is no reason to assume that what Berenice did [running the family estate] was atypical for women of her class.”⁸ In the papyrus edited here we have another example of a woman, Leukadios’ widow, who runs the family affairs, at least until the heirs come of age or the estate is divided. That the order for payment is given by the mother on behalf of the heirs of Leukadios suggests that at the time of writing the estate had not yet been divided.⁹

- 1 π(αρά) κλη(ρονόμων) Λευκαδίου διὰ τῆς μητρὸς *vacat* Νείλω
οἰνοχίρ(ιστῆ) χα(ίρειν).
- 2 παρασχού Πτολεμαίῳ καὶ τῷ κοινῶν πρίσταις εἰς λόγον δαπάνης
ἀνανεώσεως τοῦ πλοίου

⁶ J. Beaucamp, *Le statut de la femme à Byzance*, vol. 2 (Paris 1992) 325–326: “La première constitution connue qui statue sur l’exercice de la tutelle par la mère a été prise par Théodose I en 390. Sa première phrase, dans le texte du Code théodosien, spécifie que ‘les mères, qui ont perdu leurs maris et demandent la tutelle sur leurs enfants pour administrer leurs affaires, avant d’obtenir légalement la confirmation d’une telle fonction, déclarent dans les registres publics qu’elles n’en viendront pas à un autre mariage.’ Les historiens du droit se sont accordés pendant longtemps à considérer que la mère avait obtenu en 390 le droit d’exercer la tutelle, alors qu’en droit classique elle était exclue de cette fonction, comme l’ensemble des femmes. Les quelques passages du Digeste qui font allusion à des mères tutrices et se trouvent en contradiction avec d’autres textes lui interdisant absolument une telle fonction étaient tenus, dans cette optique, pour des interpolations justiniennes destinées à mettre en harmonie le droit classique avec l’innovation de 390. Cette unanimité a été ébranlée en 1964 par G. Crifo qui récuse le caractère interpolé de ces passages et considère que la mère peut, sous certaines conditions, exercer la tutelle dès l’époque classique; la constitution de 390 n’aurait fait qu’édicter de nouvelles modalités de cet exercice.”

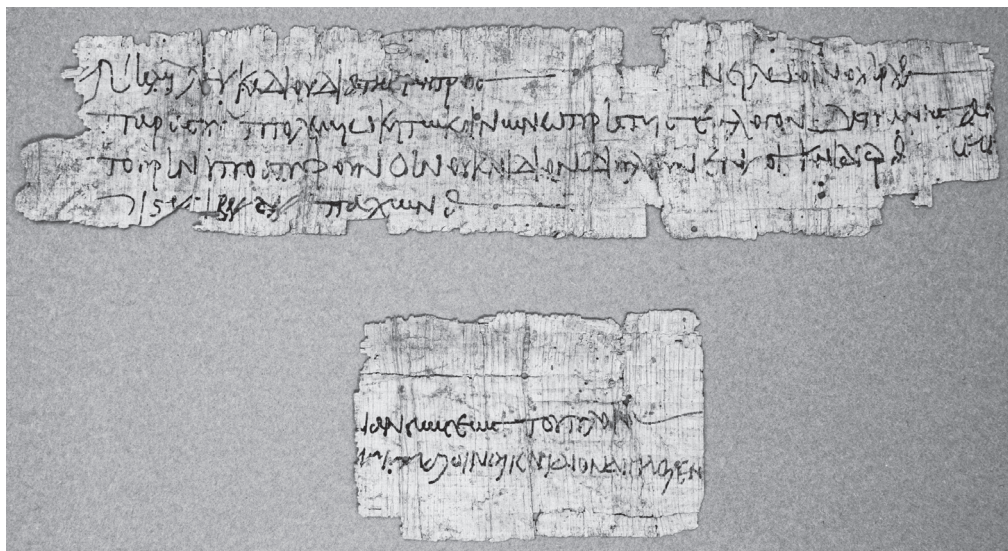
⁷ *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* 30, pp. 60–70.

⁸ *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* 30, pp. 69–70.

⁹ Hickey lists examples of papyri written during the period after a death but before the dead man’s estate had been divided: T.M. Hickey, *Wine, Wealth, and the State in Late Antique Egypt* (Ann Arbor 2012) 16, 96–97.

- 3 τὸ πρὶν ὑπὸ Ἀφροῦν οἴνου κνίδιον διπλοῦν ἔν (γίνεται) οἶ(νου)
κνίδ(ιον) δι(πλοῦν) α. *vacat* (m.2) σεσημῖωμαι οἴνου κνίδιον
διπλοῦ(ν) ἔν.
4 (m.1) (ἔτους) ις ιβ δ Παχῶν α.

1 =π pap., κλη` pap., Κλήμ(εντος) *ed. princ.*, μητρος — pap., l. οἶνοχειρ(ιστῆ), χί —
pap. 2 παρασχο` pap. 3 ὑπο pap., Γ οτ-κνιδ, δι pap., l. σεσημείωμαι, διπλογ pap.
4 L ις ιβ δ ις pap.



Saint Louis Art Museum 376.1923

“From the heirs of Leukadios through their mother, to Neilos the wine steward, greetings. Deliver to Ptolemaios and his partner, sawyers, on account of the expenditure for renovation of the boat previously under the command of Apphous, one double *knidion* of wine, equals 1 double *knidion* of wine. (m.2) I have countersigned one double *knidion* of wine. (m.1) Year 16, year 12, year 4, Pachon 1.”

1 For more information concerning π as an abbreviation for παρά, see Y. Amory, “Considérations autour du π épistolaire: une contamination entre les ordres et la lettre antique tardive?” in *Proceedings of the 28th Congress of Papyrology; 2016 August 1–6; Barcelona*, ed. A. Nodar and S. Torallas Tovar (Barcelona 2019) 417–421.

It is quite common in papyri of this type for the sender’s name to be followed by a large space. See, for example, *P.Oxy.* 6.992, 43.3148, *SB* 28.16882, 16883, 16884, 16885, and 16887.

For more on the *oinocheiristēs* see Hickey (n. 9) 91–98.

3 See *P.Oxy.* 63.4375.2 n. for the double *knidion*.

4 For the dating formula see *CSBE*² 251. For the day date and to what it corresponds in the Julian calendar see *CSBE*² 163.

2. Order for Payment of Taxes

P.Wash.Univ. inv.173

H × W = 6 × 6 cm

Oxyrhynchus, 390/391

This papyrus has an upper margin of 1 cm with a 5 cm writing surface for four lines of text. Much of the text, except for the extant portion of the name Achillion, is written with a narrow nib. The name Achillion is written with a thicker nib. The text is written across the fibers, and there is no text on the back. The writer has a low level of consistency, and the ink flow is inconsistent, especially in line 2, where the writer dipped his *kalamos* halfway through the line. The payer's name, Leukadios, is written much more rapidly than the rest of the text and resembles a signature, which suggests that Leukadios himself wrote at least his own name if not more of the text. The papyrus is probably missing about 14 cm to the right. The extant fragment is likely a quarter to a third of the original size. Line 1 would have accommodated at least the recipient's name and *χαίρειν*, probably abbreviated. Line 2 would have contained the rest of the name Achillion and how much taxes were being paid. Line 3 would have been filled with the rest of the word *χρυσᾶ*[ργύρου and probably a counter-signature. Line 4 would have included the month and day. The papyrus would have originally been about 20 cm wide and 6 cm high.

- 1 Λευκάδιος [
 παρασχοῦ Ἀχιλλ[ίωνι
 εἰς λόγον χρυσᾶ[ργύρου
 4 (ἔτους) ξζ λς [month day

4 ⊥ pap.

“Leukadios to ... greetings. Deliver to Achillion ... on account of the *chrysargyron* tax ...

Year 67 36 (month day).”

1 Λευκάδιος will have been followed by the name of the recipient of the order in the dative and *χαίρειν*, either in full or in abbreviation.

It is quite common for papyri of this type to be followed by a large space after the sender's name. See 1.1 n.

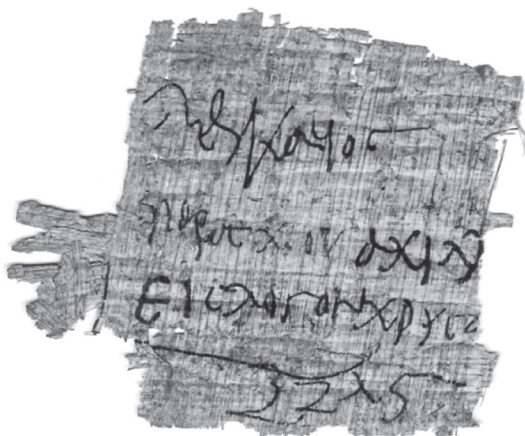
2 The recipient of the *chrysargyron* tax in this case was most likely a κεφαλαιωτής named Aurelius Achillion. We find this person in SB 18.13916 from June 26, 386 who is referred to as a κεφαλαιωτής and a member of the board of the fullers' guild. The editor of the *editio princeps* of SB 18.13916 read the name as Αὐρήλιος Ἀχίλλων but no other papyrus attests the name Ἀχίλλων. After consulting the image, I think Ἀχιλλίων is much more likely. Ἀχιλλίων is attested 34 times in papyri. info. In SB 18.13916, Αὐρήλιος Ἀχιλλίων, along with another κεφαλαιωτής, attests to Aurelius Ammonios that Ammonios' *chrysargyron* tax was paid in full. If the Achillion here is Aurelius Achillion, Leukadios may be paying this *chrysargyron* on behalf of a fuller who works on his estate.

The recipient's name would have been followed by how much was owed for the *chrysargyron*. Most often the *chrysargyron* was paid in *solidi* or νομισμάτια, and this could have been abbreviated to νο(μισμάτι-). This amount would then have been repeated in the same line in abbreviated form.

3 χρυσ[αργύρου]: The *chrysargyron* tax was an urban tax on trades and businesses "supposedly instituted by Constantine, that is, in 324 or later in the case of Egypt. It fell upon craftsmen, traders, merchants, and even moneylenders" (see R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* [Princeton 1993] 153). Although R. Delmaire supposed this tax was charged every four years, Bagnall has argued that the tax was actually paid annually (see R.S. Bagnall, "The Periodicity and Collection of the Chrysargyron," *Tyche* 7 [1992] 15–17). This tax is attested in many papyri including PSI 8.884, which involves this same tax in the same year, uses the same dating formula, and also comes from Oxyrhynchus.

Since α in χρυσ[αργύρου] is only partially preserved, it is possible that the letter is a squashed *omicron* or even an *omega* in which case Leukadios may have been paying in gold for something else instead of the *chrysargyron*.

Given what we think we know about Leukadios, it may seem odd for him to pay the *chrysargyron* tax, since he is not a craftsman, trader, merchant, or moneylender. D. Rathbone informs us, however, that there were "tax collectives run by the estate which had apparently acquired the responsibility for paying the personal taxes of its resident employees and other tenants" (D. Rathbone, *Economic Rationalism and Rural Society in Third-Century A.D. Egypt: The Heroninos Archive and the Appianus*



P.Wash.Univ.inv.173, Washington University Libraries,
Department of Special Collections

Estate [Cambridge 1991] 5, also 106–147). So in this case Leukadios may be paying the *chrysargyron* tax on behalf of *oiketai* or *metrematiai* on his estate. Rathbone writes that “there is reason to believe that the *oiketai* assigned to Euhemeria did not belong to the estate-run tax collective at that village ..., but it is quite possible, granted the general thinness of the evidence for the *phrontis*, that taxes were paid on their behalf in some other manner” (ibid., 110). Rathbone provides a succinct definition of a *metrematiai*, whom we might be able to picture here as well: “a free man without specific skills and of low economic status who entered into a long-term work contract with the estate basically to gain his livelihood” (ibid., 119). Rathbone writes that *metrematiai* “were under the fiscal patronage or protection of the *phrontis* [in our case, Leukadios], which paid all personal tax dues of this collectivity and arranged the discharge of the liturgical functions to which as a group they were subject” (ibid., 121). Because Rathbone informs us that the word *metrematiai* only occurs in the Heroninos archive (ibid., 118), and because our papyrus does not share formulae with *metrematiai* papyri, we should not expect perfect alignment between this *chrysargyron* payment and payment of taxes on behalf of *metrematiai*, but we can accept the basic principle that patrons paid the taxes of their employees as part of a tax collective. Although the majority of Rathbone’s evidence concerns the third century, he shows that such tax collectives likely continued into the fourth century (ibid., 407).

This document would have contained a countersignature recapitulating the amount received. Such countersignatures are seen in most orders for payment such as the first papyrus above and *P.Mert.* 1.41, *P.Oxy.* 6.992, 7.1057, 14.1753, 16.1953, 48.3391, 48.3405, 56.3875, 63.4387, 68.4680, 82.5322, *PSI* 7.784, and 7.813.

4 This papyrus is dated to 390/391 using the Oxyrhynchite double year in the form of ξξ (67) and λς (36). Other papyri with identical dating formulae are *PSI* 8.884 and *P.Oxy.* 7.24897. See *CSBE*² 59.

Appendix concerning Leukadios

According to Trismegistos, the name Leukadios appears 48 times in the papyri from the third to the early seventh century CE but is most popular in the fourth and fifth centuries. The name appears overwhelmingly in Oxyrhynchus but can also be found in the Delta and the Hermopolite nome.

The following is a proposed genealogy of the network of Oxyrhynchite Leukadioi who will be discussed below. I assume that the person listed in each line is the father or single generation ancestor of the person listed below him.

In *P.Oxy.* 14.1752, dated to April 26, 379 (no. 1 above), we not only have a mention of Leukadios but also of the captain of his boat, Apphous. *P.Oxy.* 7.1048, dated to the late fourth or early fifth century, gives a list of boat-owners and captains including Leukadios as a boat-owner and Apphous as a captain. The Leukadios and Apphous in both papyri are surely the same people. Grenfell and Hunt dated *P.Oxy.* 7.1048 to the late fourth or early fifth century based solely upon paleography. Since *P.Oxy.* 14.1752 implies that Leukadios was dead by 379, we can more precisely date *P.Oxy.* 7.1048 to earlier in the fourth century – most likely the middle of the fourth century but no later than April 26, 379 when Leukadios' boat has passed to his heirs. I suggest 360–375 and lean closer to 360 than 375 because the bulk of Leukadios' papyrological attestations fall between 360 and 365, especially the papyri published in *P.Oxy.* 67. Backdating *P.Oxy.* 7.1048 is further supported by J. Sheridan Moss who points out that a Makrobios is mentioned in *P.Wash.Univ.* 1.20, which is dated to 370/371. Because this same Makrobios is also mentioned in *P.Oxy.* 7.1048, Sheridan Moss writes: "The dates of both *P.Wash.Univ.* 2.83 and *P.Oxy.* 7.1048 should be narrowed to the same period as these other texts, ca. 360–380."¹⁰

¹⁰ J. Sheridan Moss, "Two Michigan Papyri," *BASP* 46 (2009) 40.

Although both of the papyri edited here mention a Leukadios, the genealogical connection between the Leukadioi in P.Wash.Univ. inv. 173 (no. 2 above) and *P.Oxy.* 14.1752 is not easily established. *P.Oxy.* 14.1752 is issued by the heirs of Leukadios. Since this papyrus was written about twelve years before P.Wash.Univ. inv. 173, and because it implies that Leukadios is no longer alive, it is impossible for the two Leukadioi to be the same person. Papponymy, or naming children after their grandfathers, was a common practice in Late Antique Egypt. S. Remijsen and W. Clarysse summarize D. Hobson's findings saying: "The custom of naming the eldest son after his paternal grandfather was widespread in antiquity ... In Roman Egypt, about 23 per cent of all men had the same name as their paternal grandfather. Likewise, the second son was sometimes named after his maternal grandfather."¹¹ Because of the fact that both Leukadioi were of high socio-economic standing, that the name Leukadios was somewhat rare in Egypt, and that both are from Oxyrynchus, and given the difference in time between the two papyri, it is possible that the Leukadios in *P.Oxy.* 14.1752 is the grandfather of the Leukadios in P.Wash. Univ. inv. 173.

Name	Papyrus	Date	Type	Description
Heraklianos	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 69.4753	341	Lease of land	Gaius Iulius Leukadios is referred to as the son of Heraklianos.
	<i>P.Mert.</i> 1.36	360	Acknowledgment of indebtedness	Gaius Iulius Leukadios is referred to as the son of Heraklianos.
Gaius Iulius Leukadios, <i>strategos</i> and <i>prytanis</i> , son of Heraklianos	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 69.4753 ¹²	341	Lease of land	A lease agreement addressed to Leukadios through his guardian, Flavius Eusebios, since Leukadios was a minor at this time. ¹³

¹¹ S. Remijsen and W. Clarysse, "Incest or Adoption? Brother-Sister Marriage in Roman Egypt Revisited," *JRS* 98 (2008) 57–58; see also D. Hobson, "Naming Practices in Roman Egypt," *BASP* 26 (1989) 165–168; *P.Count.* 2, p. 329; *Pap.Lugd.Bat.* 30, p. 63.
¹² *P.Oxy.* 69, p. 203 argues that the Leukadios of *P.Mert.* 1.36 is the same one found in *P.Oxy.* 69.4753 and provides a short biography. It also notes that the *editio princeps* of *P.Mert.* 1.36 transcribed the name of Leukadios' father as .] . μαλανο(υ) which was corrected by P.J. Sijpesteijn and K.A. Worp *ZPE* 23 (1976) 185, n. 1 to Ἡρακλᾶτος, but *P.Oxy.* 69.4753 shows that the name is Ἡρακλῑανοῦ. See *BL* 8.208.

¹³ In Roman society a person was considered a minor until the age of 25: "the young Roman was in civil law a *minor* until he had completed his 25th year" and, "In Late Antiquity, the minor could not carry on business without a *curator*" (E. Eyben, "Was the

Name	Papyrus	Date	Type	Description
	<i>P.Mert.</i> 1.36	360	Acknowledgment of indebtedness	Leukadios is referred to as a <i>prytanis</i> to whom people are acknowledging indebtedness.
	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 67.4607	362/63	Receipts of <i>annona</i> commodities	Aurelius Sarapion reports to Leukadios the receipt of goods.
	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 67.4608	362	Undertaking to deliver barley to Alexandria	A group of councilors report to Leukadios the receipt of barley.
	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 67.4609	362	Undertaking to deliver wheat to Alexandria	Aurelius Petros reports to Leukadios the receipt of wheat.
	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 67.4610	363	Undertaking to deliver barley	A report to Leukadios for receipt of wheat.
	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 67.4612	363	Undertaking to deliver wheat to Alexandria	A group of councilors report to Leukadios the receipt of wheat.
	<i>P.Mich.</i> 20.802	363	Undertaking to deliver wheat to Alexandria	A group of councilors report to Leukadios the receipt of wheat.
	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 67.4613	364	Undertaking to deliver barley to Alexandria	A group of councilors report to Leukadios the receipt of barley.
	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 7.1048	360–375	Account of corn freights	Leukadios is listed as boat owner with Apphous as a captain. Leukadios is referred to simply as Leukadios with no titles.
The heirs of Leukadios	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 14.1752 (1)	April 26, 379	Order for payment of wine	Leukadios' widow writes on behalf of Leukadios' heirs to pay wine for the repair of a boat. Mentions that Apphous used to be the captain of the boat.

Roman 'Youth' and 'Adult' Socially?" *L'Antiquité classique* 50 [1981] 329, 330–331, emphasis in original). We should beware, however, of assuming that this Roman practice prevailed in Egypt. If this policy was practiced in Egypt we could use this information to estimate Gaius Iulius Leukadios' birthyear as around 317–325. He presumably lived sometime from 317/325–375/379 or around 50–62 years.

Name	Papyrus	Date	Type	Description
Leukadios	P.Wash.Univ. inv. 173 (2)	390/91	Order for payment of taxes	Leukadios pays the <i>chrysargyron</i> .
Theodoros, son of Leukadios, <i>curialis</i>	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 68.4685	400–450	List of ships and freights	Theodoros, son of Leukadios, who is referred to as a <i>curialis</i> , is mentioned as a boat owner along with a captain named Iulius.
	<i>CPR</i> 5.24	400–499	Money account	Receives 1 <i>solidus</i> .
Leukadios, <i>curialis</i>	<i>P.Oxy.</i> 34.2718	458	Receipt	Ironsmiths acknowledge to Leukadios, a <i>curialis</i> , the receipt of funds.

P.Oxy. 14. 1752 shows that Leukadios' heirs owned a boat. *P.Oxy.* 7.1048, a list of shipowners and their captains, shows that Leukadios himself was a shipowner. R.S. Bagnall has commented that, because of the high cost of boat-owning, "only the wealthiest can be expected to turn up" in lists of boat-owners.¹⁴ He also analyzed the titles associated with boat-owners and found that boat-owners have the titles of *vir clarissimus*, *vir spectabilis*, *speculator*, *comes*, *a commentariis ducis*, *princeps*, former *logistes*, city councilor, bishop, and priest. Boat-owners are therefore the "municipal aristocracy, high-ranking imperials officials, and the upper clergy." The editor of *P.Oxy.* 68.4685, N. Gonis, comments that: "Ship-owners were among the 'major holders of all forms of wealth and power in society.'" He continues: "Oxyrhynchite ship owners were persons of elevated status, and many were of *clarissimus* rank."¹⁵ The Leukadios found in *P.Oxy.* 7.1048 was surely a wealthy individual and may have had a high rank. If this Leukadios is the same as the one in *P.Oxy.* 69.4753 and in the texts in *P.Oxy.* 67, we know that his titles were *strategos* and *prytanis*.

Gonis, in his edition of *P.Oxy.* 68.4685, which mentions Theodoros son of Leukadios, states that the Leukadios in *P.Oxy.* 68.4685 could be the same person as in *P.Oxy.* 7.1048. This is unlikely because *P.Oxy.* 14.1752 shows that by 379 the Leukadios of *P.Oxy.* 7.1048 had died and left his boat to his heirs. Since Leukadios had died before 379, he would be unable to send an order for payment in 391. More likely, the Leukadios

¹⁴ R.S. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton 1993) 36.

¹⁵ N. Gonis, "Studies on the Aristocracy of Late Antique Oxyrhynchus," *Tyche* 17 (2002) 85.

of P.Wash.Univ. inv. 173 and *P.Oxy.* 68.4685 is the grandson of the Leukadios in *P.Oxy.* 7.1048 and 14.1752.

Another Leukadios is found in *P.Oxy.* 34.2718 from 458, which is a receipt in which four ironsmiths receive funds and acknowledge it to a *curialis* named Leukadios. Gonis has commented that this Leukadios “might have belonged to the same family” as the Leukadios in *P.Oxy.* 68.4685.¹⁶

My proposed genealogy of this family is Heraklianos (*P.Oxy.* 69.4753; *P.Mert.* 1.36) > Gaius Iulius Leukadios (*P.Oxy.* 7.1048) > the heirs of Leukadios (*P.Oxy.* 14.1752) > Leukadios (P.Wash.Univ. inv. 173) > Theodoros (*P.Oxy.* 68.4685) > Leukadios (*P.Oxy.* 34.2718).

During this period of Roman Egypt, the families who had been members of the local elite were pushed into public service as *curiales*.¹⁷ If the Leukadios of *P.Oxy.* 34.2718, who is called a *curialis*, is indeed related to the Leukadioi above him, this suggests that the Leukadios of *P.Oxy.* 7.1048 and 14.1752 was a member of the local elite.

How the Leukadioi in the table above relate to yet other Leukadioi is more difficult to determine. If we accept that the Leukadios of *P.Oxy.* 7.1048 and 14.1752 was a member of the local elite, it suggests that this Leukadios is the same as the one called Gaius Iulius Leukadios who is the subject of *P.Oxy.* 67.4607–4613, which date from 362 to 364. This Leukadios is described as “strategus of the Oxyrhynchite, probably Septimius Apollonius’ immediate successor and currently the last strategus of the Oxyrhynchite known by name. ... He had already been prytanis of Oxyrhynchus by 360, see P. Mert. I 36.”¹⁸ This Gaius Iulius Leukadios is notable for having both a *praenomen* and a *nomen* during a period when most went by Flavius or Aurelius. We now know that the Leukadios of *P.Oxy.* 7.1048 was not just a boat-owner but a *strategos*. This further solidifies his link to the following Leukadioi, since a *strategos*’ descendants were likely to be *curiales*.

I have not determined how our Leukadioi may be related to Aurelius Eutrygios, son of Leukadios, who is the subject of *P.Oxy.* 67.4598–4601, which date from 361, but I find a direct relation to this Leukadios to be less likely, because 361 does not seem to fit the generational time frame of the family. Perhaps Eutrygios was an extended family member. His

¹⁶ See *P.Oxy.* 68, p. 138. For more on Leukadios see N. Gonis, “Ship-Owners and Skippers in Fourth-Century Oxyrhynchus,” *ZPE* 143 (2003) 163–165.

¹⁷ See A. Laniado, “From Municipal Councillors to ‘Municipal Landowners’: Some Remarks on the Evolution of the Provincial Elites in Early Byzantium,” in *Chlodwigs Welt*, ed. M. Meier and S. Patzold (Stuttgart 2014) 546–547.

¹⁸ *P.Oxy.* 67, p. 205

timeline matches that of Gaius Iulius Leukadios, but they could not be brothers because one is the son of Leukadios and the other is the son of Heraklianos. It is more likely that Aurelius Eutrygius is contemporary with Gaius Iulius Leukadios but not directly related.

There is another person with the name Leukadios, Flavius Leukadios son of Leukadios, who was a *curator civitatis* and flourished during the first quarter of the fourth century (see, e.g., *P.Oxy.* 54.3758 and 60.4078). It is tempting to identify this Leukadios as the father of Heraklianos and the grandfather of Gaius Iulius Leukadios, but the timelines do not seem to align. R.A. Coles says of this specific possibility that there are no grounds for such an assumption at present.¹⁹

Later a village called Leukadiou Nesou is found in the Oxyrhynchite nome. Twenty-one papyri attest this village from the fifth to the seventh century. *P.Oxy.* 67.4620, from the fifth or sixth century, mentions a monastery at this place.²⁰

¹⁹ *P.Oxy.* 67, p. 190.

²⁰ For this village see also A. Benaissa, *Rural Settlements of the Oxyrhynchite Nome* (2nd ed.; Leuven and Cologne 2012) 163–164; Hickey (n. 9) 174.

AN OFFICIAL LETTER FROM OXYRRHYNCHUS MENTIONING A *COMMONITORIUM*

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Abstract. — Edition of an official letter, probably concerning fiscal matters. The papyrus provides a new attestation for the rare term κομμοιτώριον, “letter of instruction.”

Keywords: *commonitorium*, official letter, letter of instruction, legal procedure, taxes

The papyrus published here¹ preserves the middle third of a letter written against the fibers (*transversa charta*) in horizontal format.² The *verso* is blank. Upper and lower margins are preserved.³ The fragment is damaged in its middle part with a major loss, which obscures the readings of ll. 4, 5 and especially 6. In addition, in ll. 5 and 6 the writing is in some places abraded (see for example the sequence λιπιζεγ δια in l. 5).⁴ Four horizontal folds can be seen at a distance of ca. 2 cm from one another. A vertical fold runs through the middle of the papyrus. No *kollesis* is visible.

¹ My deepest gratitude goes to Todd Hickey and Roger Bagnall for their constant support and for their precious feedback. I would also like to thank Nikolaos Gonis, Michael Zellmann-Rohrer, and the two anonymous readers for their helpful suggestions. In addition, I am grateful to Catherine Keane, Chair of the Department of Classics at Washington University, and Joel Minor from the Department of Special Collections, Washington University Library, for their support. The last stages of research have been conducted as part of the project “Notae: not a written word but graphic symbols,” which has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union’s Horizon 2020 research and innovation program (Grant agreement No. 786572; PI Antonella Ghignoli).

² This is the common letter format from the fifth century onwards, see J.-L. Fournet, “Esquisse d’une anatomie de la lettre antique tardive d’après les papyrus,” in R. Delmaire, J. Desmulliez, and P.L. Gatier (eds.), *Correspondances. Documents pour l’histoire de l’Antiquité tardive* (Lyon 2009) 23–66 (esp. 28–32).

³ It could be questioned if the upper margin is preserved, but I do not see any traces of ink here coming from a possible line above.

⁴ When I started working at the piece, the papyrus surface of ll. 5–6 needed new conservation measures: fibers were not aligned and some small portions of papyrus were misplaced (for example the small scrap of papyrus bearing ελϞ in l. 5). The interventions of Jamye Jamison, to whom I express my gratitude, improved the quality of the surface. Despite this, the decipherment and interpretation of the papyrus text remains here quite challenging, see my commentary to ll. 5 and 6.

The text is written in an upright, irregular hand. The letters are in places small-sized (see e.g. ll. 5–6), in other places broader (see e.g. l. 2, especially the *deltas* of ἐδίδαξεν). The last line is divided from the rest of the text by a larger interlinear gap of ca. 1 cm, and the script of μ<ε>θοδευθῆναι, the last visible word on the line, is looser: this line may belong to a subscription and may have been written by a second hand. The handwriting can be compared with the script of documents dated between the fifth and the beginning of the sixth century CE, such as *P.Rain.Cent.* 99 (451 CE),⁵ *P.Wisc.* 1.10 (468 CE),⁶ and *P.Oxy.* 62.4349 (504 CE).⁷

The papyrus contains an official letter which deals probably with an admonitory or legal procedure concerning fiscal matters.⁸ The rare term κομμονιτώριον in l. 1, a transliteration of the Latin *commonitorium*, denotes a letter of instruction sent by a higher official to a subordinate indicating how he should proceed in a particular legal or fiscal matter. A *commonitorium* can contain for instance an order to bring an offender before court or to exact taxes from a reluctant taxpayer.⁹ The Greek term is attested so far in eight papyri (including the present one):

<i>P.Mert.</i> 1.45 r° (fifth-sixth century CE)	<i>Commonitorium</i> to the official Gerontios with order to exact taxes.	Originals or copies of <i>commonitoria</i>
<i>P.Oxy.</i> 8.1106 (sixth century CE)	<i>Commonitorium</i> to the <i>singularis</i> Paulos with instructions to protect the inhabitants of a village from their neighbors who attacked them.	
<i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> 3.67282 (sixth century CE)	Duplicate (ἴσον) of a <i>commonitorium</i> with order to arrest Hermaous.	
<i>P.Lond.</i> 5.1680 (sixth century CE)	Duplicate (ἴσον) of a <i>commonitorium</i> , fragmentary.	

⁵ The image is available online: <http://data.onb.ac.at/rec/RZ00002374>.
⁶ The image is available online: <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/a/apis/x-5386>.
⁷ The image is available online: <http://www.papyri.info/ddbdp/p.oxy;62;4349>.
⁸ The letter lacks an address at the beginning. On the disappearance of the prescript from letters from the fifth century CE onwards see Fournet (n. 2) 37–46. No trace of an address is visible on the *verso*.
⁹ See H.I. Bell, *P.Lond.* 5.1679 (p. 74–75); H.I. Bell and C.H. Roberts, *P.Mert.* 1.45 r° (p. 146); J. Gascoü and K.A. Worp, “CPR VII 26: reedition,” *Tyche* 3 (1988) 108; D. Feissel and I. Kaygusuz, “Un mandement imperial du VI^e siècle dans une inscription d’Hadrianoupolis d’Honoriate,” *TMByz* 9 (1985) 407–410; P. Cugusi, *C.Ep.Lat.* 2 (p. 373, note to l. 40). Another late antique term related to κομμονιτώριον is ὑπομνηστικόν, see F. Mitthof and A. Papathomas, “Zwei *officiales* in Nöten,” *BASP* 45 (2008) 131.

SB 20.14674 (fifth-sixth century CE)	Short summaries of administrative documents, the second one concerns a <i>commonitorium</i> .	Mentions
P.Wash.Univ. inv. 146 (fifth-sixth century CE)	Official letter mentioning a <i>commonitorium</i> .	
<i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> 3.67330 (545–546 CE) ¹⁰	Two accounts relating to the expenses of Aphrodito with mentions probably of two payments made as a consequence of <i>commonitoria</i> .	
<i>P.Cair.Masp.</i> 1.67058 (549–550 CE) ¹¹		

The Latin term is attested in a papyrus from Ravenna (*P.Ital.* 1.1 = *C.Ep.Lat.* 1.240, 445–446 CE) containing four documents: the first one is a *commonitorium* itself.

The Greek originals or copies of *commonitoria* are introduced by κομμονιτώριον or ἴσον κομμονιτωρίου, followed by a brief description of the circumstances and the instructions to proceed. Although P.Wash. Univ. inv. 146 shares with the *commonitoria* *P.Cair.Masp.* 3.67282 and *P.Oxy.* 8.1106 the use of διδάσκω “to inform” and with *P.Mert.* 1.45 r° the use of μεθοδεύω, the fragmentary status of the text and the lack of further evidence prevent us from labeling it as a *commonitorium*. The letter could be part of an official correspondence concerning a particular case. The mention of χρυσικά τελέσματα in l. 4 and of χρυσίον in l. 6 and the use of the verb μεθοδεύω in l. 7, which recurs often in the meaning of “collecting taxes,”¹² may point to a fiscal matter as subject of the letter.

P.Wash.Univ. inv. 146 H × W = 12 × 12,8 cm Oxyrhynchus, V-early VI CE

- 1] . ους κομμονιτωρίου καὶ ταῦτα ἐνπεφάνιστε . [
- 2] . ενος ἐδίδαξεν καὶ διὰ ψῆφον τῆς ὑμετέρας [
- 3] ατων ἐνταῦθα ἐπίστατε καὶ τὰ πρόσωπ[.]α τὰ εἰ[
- 4] . κα[ι] τὰ χρυσικά τελέσματα . [±4] . δὲ τῇ δι[
- 5] ιτον λιπιζεν δια . . [±2] ἐλο[±2] . γ ὑπὸ τὴν [
- 6] χρυσίον τηδ . β . . . δ . κη . . . μεγαλ[
- 7 (2nd hand?)] . λος περιέχειν μ<ε>θοδευθῆναι . [

1 l. κομμονιτωρίου, ἐμπεφάνισται 3 l. ἐπίσταται

¹⁰ For the date cf. *BL* 13.57.

¹¹ For the date cf. *BL* 13.53.

¹² See the commentary to l. 7.

“... a *commonitorium* and these were exhibited ... (N.N.) notified and through a decision of your ... here knows and the persons, who ... and the taxes in money ... money ... to include (?) to be forced (or to be collected?) ...”

1] . ους κομονιτορίου (*l. κομμονιτωρίου*): the first letter could be *tau*, *gamma* or *chi*. The sequence could belong to an accusative plural or, alternatively, to an adjective depending on the following κομονιτορίου and with genitive ending in -ους.

In the originals and duplicates of *commonitoria* (cf. the table above) the term κομμονιτώριον stands at the beginning of the text indicating what kind of document it is. However, in the case of P.Wash.Univ. inv. 146 the term κομονιτορίου seems rather to be mentioned in the middle of a discourse, suggesting that the papyrus bears just a new mention of the term rather than being a *commonitorium* itself.

– ἐνπεφάνιστε]: at the end of the line is a faded trace of an *epsilon* or a *kappa*.

2] . ενος: possibly]μενος, a participle.

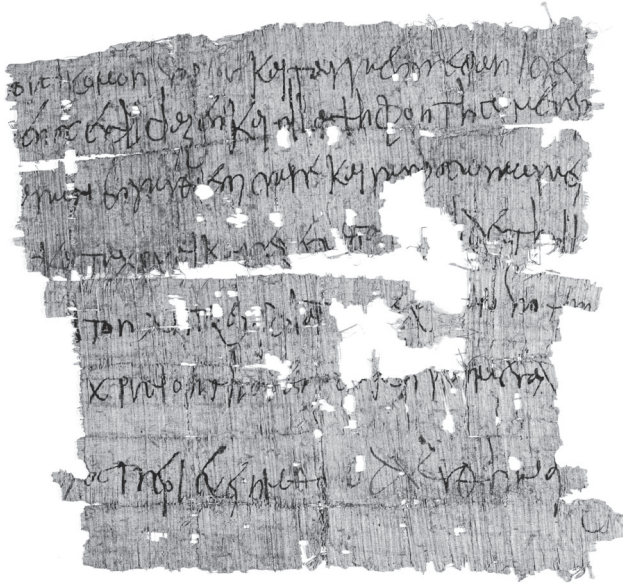
– διὰ ψῆφον: the term ψῆφος occurs in the papyrological sources in various contexts and with different meanings, such as “pebble” (cf. *P.Cair. Zen.* 4.59761.4, third century BCE), “number” (cf. *P.Bodl.* 1.7.10, fifth-seventh century CE), and “reckoning, account” (cf. *P.Lips.* 1.64 col. 1.7, ca. 368 CE). A further connotation, more fitting for the context of the Washington Papyrus, is “vote,” “decision,” or “decree,”¹³ cf. *P.Oxy.* 24.2407.8 (third century CE) καὶ ἀνη[νέχθ]η τῷ κυρίῳ μου διασημοτάτῳ ἡγ[ε]μόνι, ἐφ’ ὅσον ψῆφος ἐγένετο τῆς νομῆς “and the matter was referred to my lord the most eminent Prefect, while the voting on their apportionment was going on.”¹⁴ Cf. also Just., *Nov.* 123.21 εἰ εὔροι τὴν κρίσιν ὀρθῶς γενομένην, καὶ διὰ ψήφου ἰδίας ταύτην βεβαιούτω “If he finds the judgement to be correct, he shall confirm it by his own decision.”

– τῆς ὑμετέρας: the adjective was followed probably by an honorific abstract such as λαμπρότης or μεγαλοπρεπείας.

3 τὰ πρόσωπ[[]]α: between the *pi* and the *alpha* the scribe seems to correct some traces, maybe by deleting another *alpha* (πρόσωπ[[a]]α)

¹³ Cf. F. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden*, vol. 2 (Berlin 1927), s.v. ψῆφος: “Beschluss durch Abstimmen.”

¹⁴ Translation from the *editio princeps*.



or the first bowl of an *omega* (πρόσωπ[[ω]]α). The term πρόσωπον is used frequently in documents from the Byzantine period in the meaning of “physical person” and often in expressions such as ζητούμενα / ἐπιζητούμενα πρόσωπα “pursued persons.”¹⁵

4 τὰ χρυσικά τελέσματα: the expression is otherwise not attested but can be compared for example with *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67117.15–16 (524 CE) ἐτοίμως ἔχω τελέσαι τὰ ὑπὲρ τα[ύτης] παντοῖα τελέσμα<τα> ἔν τε σίτῳ καὶ χρυσῷ “I am prepared to pay all the taxes in wheat and money on it (= 1 *aroura* of land).” Cf. also the parallel expression ἀργυρικά τελέσματα used in earlier documents, for instance *SB* 22.15821.14 (180–192 CE) ἀπαιτήσιμ(ον) ἀργυρικῶν τελεσμ(άτων) “list of the taxes in money” or *P.Col.* 7.185.11–13 (319 CE) ἐμέτ[ρ]ησας ὑπὲρ ἐμοῦ σίτου τε καὶ κριθῆς καὶ ἀργυρικῶ[ν] τελεσμάτων πλήρης “You have paid in full on my behalf the taxes in wheat, barley and money.”

5 λιπιζεγ: after the uncertain *lambda* a vertical can be seen, followed probably by a *pi*, a faded trace descending from the top of *pi* and a *zeta*. The term could be a verb (λιπίζειν?): its identification, however, remains for me still uncertain. A possible candidate could be the infinitive λοιπάζειν

¹⁵ Cf. A. Papathomas, *CPR* 25.8 (note to 1. 3).

“to leave.” The verb λοιπάζω, however, is used mainly in the passive form in the sense of “to be left over” or “to be owed, to be due.”¹⁶

An alternative reading to -πιζεν could be -ταξεν with a small *alpha* on top of *xi*. This reading is appealing, since it would fit a compound of τάσσω, but it is also problematic. The *alpha* would lack the bottom of its bowl (unless we assume a loss of ink here). The following letter could be a *xi*, but its tail appears too short if compared with the *xi* of ἐδίδαξεν in l. 2. Moreover, the reading -ταξεν would be problematic in respect to what precedes it, a clear *lambda* followed by vertical traces (*eta*?): a sequence such as ληταξεν can be hardly explained.

– δια . . [±2] ελϝ[±2] . γ: the letter after δια could be a *tau* or, alternatively, a *rho* with a narrow loop. In this case, the horizontal line traced above it could belong to a following letter. The sense remains obscure.

6 The letter following χρυσίον τη consists of a small circle and a tall vertical line, of which only the upper extremity is preserved: the traces are compatible with a *delta* (cf. l. 2 διά). After scanty remains of another letter, there is probably a *beta*. The following letter resembles at first glance a small *epsilon*, but its bottom stroke makes a peculiar curve, which is not found in other examples of *epsilon* in this text. The letter is followed probably by a *ny*. Right before the lacuna, another *delta* could be recognized, followed by the lower parts of other letters. Tentative readings for the traces preceding μεγαλ[could be κηρον, κηρου, κητον or κητου (maybe to be divided into -κη τόν and -κη τοῦ respectively).

7 περιέχειν μ<ε>θοδεύθηναι: the verb περιέχειν is used frequently in documents to indicate accordance with the terms of the agreement, cf. e.g. *P.Cair.Masp.* 2.67167.9 (sixth century CE) or *P.Lond.* 5.1714.22 (570 CE). It can also refer to the content of a piece of writing, cf. e.g. *P.Heid.* 7.407.8–9 (fourth-fifth century CE) καθὼς περιέχει (l. περιέχει) ἢ ἐπιστολῇ “as the letter contains.”

The verb μεθοδεύω generally means “to go after (something or someone),” cf. *P.Col.* 8.242.4 and 6 (fifth century CE). It can also indicate the act of collecting taxes or exacting a debt, cf. the *commonitorium* *P.Mert.* 1.45 r° 2 (fifth-sixth century CE). Furthermore, the passive form can convey the meaning of “to be forced,” “to be held liable” (e.g. for the payment of something), cf. *P.Neph.* 20.3–5 (fourth century CE).

¹⁶ Cf. F. Mitthof, *P.Erl.Diosp.* (p. 13, n. 62).

The relationship between the two infinitives remains unclear. One possible interpretation could be that περιέχειν refers to the content of some piece of writing, which states that something (money? taxes?) has been collected or a person has been pressed to pay something (μεθοδευθῆναι). Alternatively, μεθοδευθῆναι could be dependent on a previous verb signifying “to command,” “to order” or it could also be a separate, one-word order “(Let it) be collected/pursued/pressed” (on imperatival infinitive cf. B.G. Mandilaras, *The Verb in the Greek Non-Literary Papyri* [Athens 1973] 316–319). The trace after μεθοδευθῆναι could be the lower swirl from a large chrism.

A SHIPPING DOCUMENT FROM OXYRRHYNCHUS DATED BY THE CONSUL OF 478

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Abstract. — Edition of P.Wash.Univ. inv. 46, the fragmentary end of a shipping document dated by reference to Illus, the consul of 478.

Keywords: Illus, skipper

The interest of this small fragment lies in its first line, which contains the remains of a dating clause employing the consulship of Illus (*PLRE* 2, pp. 586–590), who was granted that dignity in 478. The sole previously known document from this year with a consular date, *P.Rain.Cent.* 123 (15–23 June), makes reference to the postconsulate of Armatus,¹ and *CLRE*, p. 491, had queried whether Illus’s consulate was even disseminated in Egypt. This was before the publication of *P.Oxy.* 63.4392, however, which is dated by his postconsulate. Absent a scribal error, the postconsulate could not have appeared in the present document; see l. 1 n. below.

The original text clearly concerned the water transport of grain, but owing to its scant remains, precision is elusive. The closest parallel seems to be offered by *SB* 14.11548 (Hermopolite nome, 343 or 344), described by its first editors as a “deed of surety for a shipper.” In that text, the consular date appears at the end and is followed, in a second hand, by the signature of the *kybernetes* swearing the oath and offering the guarantee for his colleague. The St. Louis fragment probably also comes from the end of its document; although the blank space above its first line most immediately suggests a top margin, it seems more likely that the consular date was separated from the body of the document. *P.Select.* 13 (Herakleopolis, 26.6.421) offers a good parallel for the layout proposed: Its postconsular date, in a second hand, is separated from the body of the declaration by blank space and then is followed (without separation) by the declaration of the woman giving the oath, written in a third hand (that of her amanuensis). After additional blank space, the notary’s subscription, in

¹ *SB* 3.7167, mentioned in *CSBE*², p. 200, has been redated to 477; see *P.Jena* 2.6, pp. 24–25.

a fourth hand, appears. P.Wash.Univ. inv. 46 duplicates this structure with one exception: There is an additional line of text in a hand suggestive of the first one (i.e., that of the consular date) following the apparent declaration of the *kybernetes*.

The text of the fragment runs with the fibers. Its back is blank.

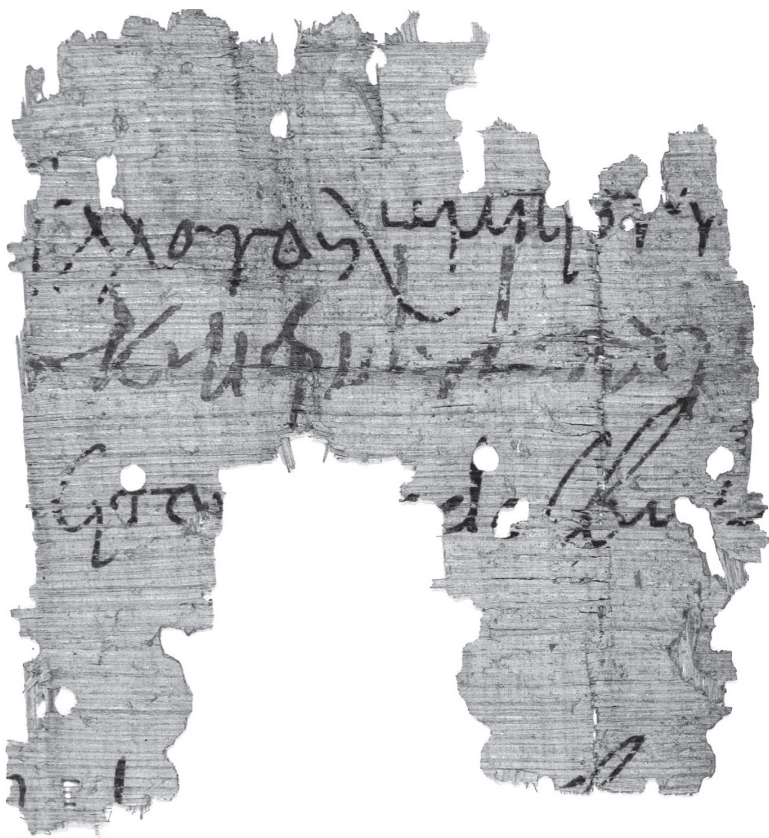
P.Wash.Univ. inv. 46

H × W = 6.8 × 6.3 cm

Oxyrhynchus, 478

- 1 (m2?) ὑπατεία]ς Ἰλλου τοῦ λαμπροτάτ[ου
 (m1?)]ος κυβερνήτης πλοίο[υ
 (m2?)] . σίτου [παρ]αδόσεως [
spatium
 4 (m3?)] . [±1]ι[±7] . ε[

1 Ἰλλοῦ pap.



1 [ύπατεία]ς Ἰλλου: Only the very top of the *sigma* remains, but its form is so distinctive (cf. the other examples in l. 3) that the reading does not merit doubt. In *P.Oxy.* 63.4392.2, Φλαουίου precedes Ἰλλου, but its absence here, admittedly unexpected, should not cause concern; cf. the remarks in *CLRE*, pp. 68 and 677. Incidentally, *CLRE*, pp. 490–491, *CSBE*², p. 145, and *PLRE* all refer to the consul as Illus, not Flavius Illus, broaching the possibility that *P.Oxy.* 63.4392 reflects scribal habit rather than actual formula. The name is Isaurian; see *P.Oxy.* 63.4392.2 n.

2 The ink in this line is fainter, and the *kalamos* that wrote it was duller. Oddly, the line appears to have been written before both the one preceding it and the one following it; note how the descender on the *lambda* of l. 1's λαμπροτάτου and the end of the *epsilon*'s loop in l. 3's παραδόσεως seem to overwrite l. 2. If l. 2 is in fact earlier, this could have contributed to the blank space above l. 1 if the scribe began to write too far down on the papyrus.

–]ος: Perhaps the nominative ending of the skipper's name as in *SB* 14.11548.16, but there are other possibilities (e.g., the genitive of his patronym).

3 Perhaps to be reconstructed τῆς τοῦ σίτου [παρ]αδόσεως, cf. the phrase μετ' ἐγγύου τῆς τοῦ γόμου παραδόσεως κτλ. (*P.Mich.* 20.800.7 et al.), introducing the guarantor for a skipper delivering grain to Alexandria or Pelusium.

4 Presumably remnants of the notary's subscription. The first trace could belong to a *chi-rho* (or similar), with the *iota*, if read correctly, being part of δι'; cf. the beginning of the equivalent line (31) in the roughly contemporary *P.Oxy.* 8.1130 (484). But this is guesswork.

AN ORDER TO SUPPLY A *LORICARIUS* WITH BREAD FROM OXYRHYNCHUS

Alejandro Ruben Quintana *Yale University*

Abstract. — Edition of a late antique order from an unidentified *comes* to supply bread to a metalworker called *loricarius*, previously unattested in Greek. The text suggests that the class of ship called *καρίς* “shrimp” was so named because its armor plating recalled the exoskeleton of the crustacean.

Keywords: *comes*, metalworker, *loricarius*, order

On its front, the papyrus edited here¹ bears an order written against the fibers; the back has only the word “Phaophi” faintly written twice. The fragment is light brown and free from dirt or any other discolorations, but some conservation work is needed to clear the stray fibers obscuring the reading at the beginning of the second line. The clean lines on the top and bottom of the piece indicate that these sides have survived intact, exhibiting a top margin of 0.5 cm and a lower margin of 2 cm. The fragment has been damaged on both the left and the right, leading to some loss of text. In its bottom right corner, some papyrus extends to the right. The end of this extension was likely the original right-hand edge of the document. Based on the length of the reconstructed text, the original papyrus probably measured roughly 15 cm in width, a common size for orders.² The *verso* provides an additional indication of an original width of 15 cm. Its writing is approximately centered, a visual feature which would not make sense in the context of a wider original papyrus. A prominent horizontal fold line extends along the center of the papyrus, just below what appears to be a *kollesis*. The fragment is also riddled with lacunae; the largest one is particularly troublesome, as it obscures the indiction year, which is similarly lost earlier in the text.

¹ I would like to give special thanks to Todd Hickey, Roger Bagnall, and all the guest instructors at the summer institute in St. Louis for their guidance and support. I am also grateful to Catherine Keane, Department of Classics, Washington University, and to Joel Minor, Department of Special Collections, Washington University Library, for permission to publish this papyrus. My thanks to the anonymous reviewers who offered many helpful comments and suggestions.

² Some Oxyrhynchite orders roughly measuring 15 cm in width are *P.Oxy.* 16.1946, *P.Oxy.* 72.4926, *P.Wisc.* 2.64, and *SB* 26.16753.

Two hands can be distinguished in the writing on the *recto*. The first composed the order in a skilled cursive, while the second countersigned in a clumsier and smaller cursive. Presumably, this countersignature was written by the *comes* making the order, while the first hand belongs to the scribe writing the order for him.³ The brief notations on the back are the work of two different individuals, probably the two parties responsible for the front. For dating purposes it is best to consider the fluid first hand, since it constitutes the bulk of the preserved text. The features of this hand point to the late fifth century or early sixth century CE, but a later sixth century date is also plausible.⁴ The scribe writes *eta* and *delta* with Latinate forms, *kappa* elegantly in a single stroke, and *epsilon* in two ways, a standard *epsilon* with an elongated second stroke used with ligatured letters and a bipartite, disconnected *epsilon*, a stylistic variant of the period's non-ligatured *epsilon* (see δῶδεκα, l. 3). Paleography is our best indication of the document's date, since it was only dated by day, month, and indication, the last of which has been lost.⁵

The name of the individual initiating the order is lost, but he almost certainly held the title of *comes*.⁶ Unfortunately, I have not as yet been successful in determining his identity by comparing his hand in the countersignature with the writing of other *comites*. The order is destined for Serenus the baker, an individual not previously attested in the papyri as far as searchable on papyri.info (accessed January 1, 2020). The unknown initiator requests twelve pounds of bread to be supplied to a *loricarius* working on a type of ship called καρίς.

³ The identification of the countersignature with the *comes* initiating the order is similarly proposed for SB 26.16882–16887, see D. Hagedorn and B. Kramer, “Fünf neue Papyri des *comes* Johannes (P.Hamb. Inv. 532, 533, 538, 547 und P.Heid. inv. 1800 + 1843) und Neuabdruck von P.Harris I 91,” *APF* 50 (2004) 160.

⁴ The hand closely resembles that of *PSI Com.* 6.20, a letter sent by Phoibammon and his brother Samuel (c. 488–524) also mentioning the same καρίς ship. It is also very similar to *P.Wisc.* 2.67 (sixth century CE), which is possibly connected with the Apiones. Different aspects of the hand also recall *SB* 18.13928 (about 470 CE; which was thought to refer to the καρίς, but this connection is disfavored below), *P.Oxy.* 16.1876 (about 480 CE), *P.Oxy.* 68.4699 (504 CE), and *P.Wash.Univ.* 1 17 (514 CE). In addition, Soto Marín has published an order of Phoibammon *comes* from the same collection at Washington University that is similar in writing and diplomacy, but, given the damage to both documents, it is hard to push this possible connection further; see I. Soto Marín, “Order from the *Comes* Phoibammon for Payment to a Locksmith,” *BASP* 56 (2019) 137–143.

⁵ The surviving date, Phaophi 30, corresponds to October 27 or 28, see R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (2nd ed.; Leiden 2004) 159.

⁶ The reading of the title is supported by the mention of the ship, whose owners were of high status; see N. Gonis in “Studies on the Aristocracy of Late Antique Oxyrhynchus,” *Tyche* 17 (2002) 85–86.

This is the only secure attestation of the rare Latin word *loricarius*, armorer, lorica-maker, in Greek. The first attestations of the term in Latin date approximately to 150–200 CE, used as an adjective in *CIL* 13.2828 (ca. 150–200 CE) and as a substantive in *CIL* 2.2.3359 (ca. 150–250 CE), where they seem to refer to manufacturers of *loricae*.⁷ The word is attested as an adjective in Vegetius *Mil.* 2.11 (fifth century CE), still strictly referring to *loricae*. In this papyrus, however, the word surfaces in Greek as a noun with an extended meaning of a manufacturer of the armor-plating of a καρίς. This plating is already attested in *P.Oxy.* 27.2480.2, which records payments to a nail-smith working on the hull-plating, λεπιδες, of this type of ship. The *loricarins* was provided with a strikingly large amount of bread. Other papyri from this period suggest that standard daily rations of bread ranged from 3 to 4 pounds per person.⁸ The *loricarius* might have either received a high compensation of 12 pounds of bread for a day's labor or, alternatively, received bread for several days' labor over the month.

This document also sheds light on the enigmatic καρίς. Two etymologies have been proposed for the name of the ship. Originally, it was proposed by L. Eisner in *P.land.* 2.18 to refer to an origin in Caria.⁹ J.M. Fernández Pomar seems to have been the first to speculate that the vessel acquired its name because it physically resembled a shrimp, καρίς. This theory was picked up by L. Casson in his classic work on ships and has become generally accepted.¹⁰ G. Bastianini, M.S. Funghi, and G. Messeri, the editors of *PSI Com.* 6.20, suggest that it was the shape of the hull that evoked the distinctive curved shape of shrimp, which is constantly emphasized in Greek literature.¹¹ The information from this

⁷ Daris plausibly suggests that ρικαρίς beginning *P.Oxy.* 4.812.6 (first century BCE) should be read as λωρικάριος, but autopsy of the papyrus revealed that there is no way to confirm the hypothesis; see S. Daris, "Varia Selecta," *Aegyptus* 42 (1962) 136–137. In any case, this would be a significantly early use of the word, which otherwise does not appear until centuries later.

⁸ F. Morelli, *Olivo e retribuzioni nell'Egitto tardo*: V–VIII d.C. (Firenze 1996) 74; see *P.Oxy.* 16.1888 and *P.Oxy.* 16.1920.

⁹ For the early adherents of the Carian etymology, see G. Bastianini, M.S. Funghi, and G. Messeri, *Comunicazioni dell'Istituto Papirologico "G. Vitelli,"* vol. 6 (Florence 2005) 141 (note to l. 4).

¹⁰ For Fernández Pomar's suggestion, see the introduction and the note to line 2 of *P.Oxy.* 27.2480. For Casson's short remark on the καρίς, see L. Casson, *Ships and Seaman-ship in the Ancient World* (Princeton 1971) 343.

¹¹ Bastianini, Funghi, and Messeri (n. 9). Depictions of shrimp from Antiquity vary in focus. The curved shape of shrimp is highlighted in the Coptic tapestry BZ 1937.14 in the collection of Dumbarton Oaks. By contrast, in the mosaic NM inv.no.120177 from Pompeii more emphasis is granted to its skeleton. Lastly, in the stylized depiction in BZ 1953.2.88 from Dumbarton Oaks, both of these features are represented.

order further supports the second etymology but provides a different explanation for its association with shrimp. Rather than originating from a strikingly curved shape, it was the distinctive resemblance of the hull's armor plating to the exoskeleton of the Nile's shrimp which granted the vessel its name.¹²

The *καρίς* has been attested in four other papyri, all of which originate from Oxyrhynchus, although the ship is not restricted to this city.¹³ The earliest mention of this vessel occurs in *PSI Com.* 6.20 (ll. 4 and 6), an undated letter from Oxyrhynchus sent by Flavius Phoibammon and his brother Samuel, whose documentation securely spans 488 to 524. In this fragmentary piece, several *καρῖδες* are mentioned in service to the city of Herakleopolis. The ship is then mentioned in two Apionic accounts of the sixth century, *P.Oxy.* 16.2032 (540–541 CE, ll. 52 and 75) and *P.Oxy.* 27.2480 (580–581 CE, ll. 15, 24, and 26). It is last attested in *P.Iand.* 2.18.7, which is assigned to the seventh century based on paleography.¹⁴ When considering the identity of the *comes* addressing the present order in light of these attestations of the ship, identification with Phoibammon *comes* or his brother Samuel becomes particularly attractive. The paleography fits very well with their chronology. In fact, the writing of *PSI Com.* 6.20 is extremely similar to that of this papyrus, as mentioned above. Furthermore, in the order *P.Oxy.* 16.1888, Phoibammon also measures bread in pounds and that document shares a similar “military” context. Nevertheless, there is no conclusive evidence for this identification; the hand of the countersignature, for instance, does not clearly match any hand associated with the brothers. Similarly, the format of the order differs from theirs, although this might reflect the preferences of a particular scribe.

The papyri are particularly informative on the construction of the ship. Construction was overseen by shipbuilders, *ναυπηγῆται*. The distinction between these shipbuilders and the boatmen, *ναῦται*, of these ships

¹² This does not of course dismiss the possibility that the hull was also curved like a shrimp. It is also interesting to compare the semantics at the heart of the use of the terms *loricarius* and *καρίς* with those behind the modern naming by taxonomists of a family of catfish as *Loricariidae* because of the plates covering the bodies of these fish.

¹³ The editors of *PSI Com.* 6.20 (n. 9) list two other papyri in this group, *SB* 18.13928 and *PSI* 10.1176. The reading of the former, however, was significantly amended by Gonis, such that reading of *καρίς* was dismissed; see Gonis (n. 6), 86–88. Their inclusion of *PSI* 10.1176 is a tenuous suggestion, based on the appearance of the word *καρῖζα* in line 5 of the *recto*. However, the first century CE date of the papyrus makes this connection suspect, and I dismiss it altogether given the uncertainty of the reading, which is followed by a question mark in *PSI* 10.

¹⁴ On the date, see *BL* 10.88.

is not entirely clear; the term ναυπηγήτης, marked as new in the index of *P.Oxy.* 27, is used interchangeably with ναύτης to refer to Menas from Thalmaon (ναυπηγήτης: *P.Oxy.* 27.2480, ll. 15 and 26; ναύτης: l. 1). It is used in the plural referring to the ship in the same text at l. 33, where there seems to be a distinction with the boatman Ioustos. In the other Apionic document mentioning the καρίς, only boatmen were specified (*P.Oxy.* 16.2032, ll. 53 and 75). If these two terms refer to different professions, either Menas was doubly employed, or the initial description of him as a boatman was a scribal slip. The remuneration in wine recorded in the document, however, seems to be connected only to the construction of the ship, as no payments concerning the boat are made after Hathyr in *P.Oxy.* 27.2480, roughly a month after the launching of the ship. Nail-smiths (ήλοκόποι, l. 2) were also employed in its construction, producing the nails required in the installation of the plating created by the *loricarius*. Also involved in the construction were caulkers (καλαφάται, l. 33) and carpenters (τέκτονες, l. 33). Smiths (χαλκεῖς, l. 24) are also mentioned in the account; perhaps included in this designation are both the nail-smiths and the *loricarius*.

At some point, καρῖδες of the Apionic estate acquired identifying epithets. In *P.Oxy.* 27.2480, for which T.M. Hickey argues a date of 580–581 CE, two καρῖδες are described belonging to the estate, the μεγάλη καρίς which was launched into the river in Phaophi of 580, and the νέα καρίς.¹⁵ By contrast, in the earlier account *P.Oxy.* 16.2032 (540–541 CE), the ship did not receive any epithet, which may suggest that it was the sole ship of its kind in the estate at that time. As a result, if the context of this order is Apionic, it predates 580 CE and the order may refer to the construction of the ship mentioned in *P.Oxy.* 16.2032.

The καρίς seems to have been a “police” or “river guard” boat. This “military” nature is implied by the characterization of the ship’s armor as a *lorica*, given the word’s primary meaning.¹⁶ This may be the function that lies behind its mention with *riparii* of Herakleopolis in *PSI Com.* 6.20, but the text is too incomplete for any certain conclusions. It is also implicated in the transport of goods in *P.Iand.* 2.18, where the ship is used to transport honey. Perhaps, these ships were used by great

¹⁵ On the date of this document, see T.M. Hickey, *Wine, Wealth, and the State in Late Antique Egypt: The House of Apion at Oxyrhynchus* (Ann Arbor 2012) 95–97.

¹⁶ Plating is also attested on a vessel with no apparent martial use, the κατώτιον, in *P.Oxy.* 55.3804. There, the word for plating is in the diminutive (λεπίδια), which may transmit a functional distinction between the defensive armor of the καρίς and the structural plating of this non-military vessel.

landowners for local security and safe transportation, hence the term γεουχική in *P.Oxy.* 27.2480.2, but were also employed for military or policing purposes as needed. This pattern of use makes sense in the context of Gascou's thesis, which emphasizes the overlap between public and private spheres in Late Antique Egypt.¹⁷

The temporal coincidence between the launch of the Apiones' great καρίς in Phaophi and the date of this papyrus may be telling. The month of the launch makes sense given the raised water levels associated with the yearly flood. Following this thinking, the construction of these ships would be concentrated in the months preceding and coinciding with the flood, with the launching of ships occurring around Phaophi. Such a schedule would explain the date of this order, especially the month, which appears four times on the small text. I have not, moreover, found parallel texts with the month alone on the *verso* – let alone written in two different hands, but this is a feature that could be easily missed in editions of orders. This emphasis on the month might also reflect an accounting or filing purpose. Since the document does not seem to have had an absolute date, it can be envisioned that the minor documents of the current year were grouped by month and then disposed of the following year when they were no longer needed. It is also possible that if the *loricarius* was only needed for the construction of a ship and not for continued maintenance, it would have been self-evident that the order must date to the year of construction of the ship.

P.Wash.Univ. inv. 255

W × H = 13.5 × 6 cm

Oxyrhynchus
fifth or sixth century CE

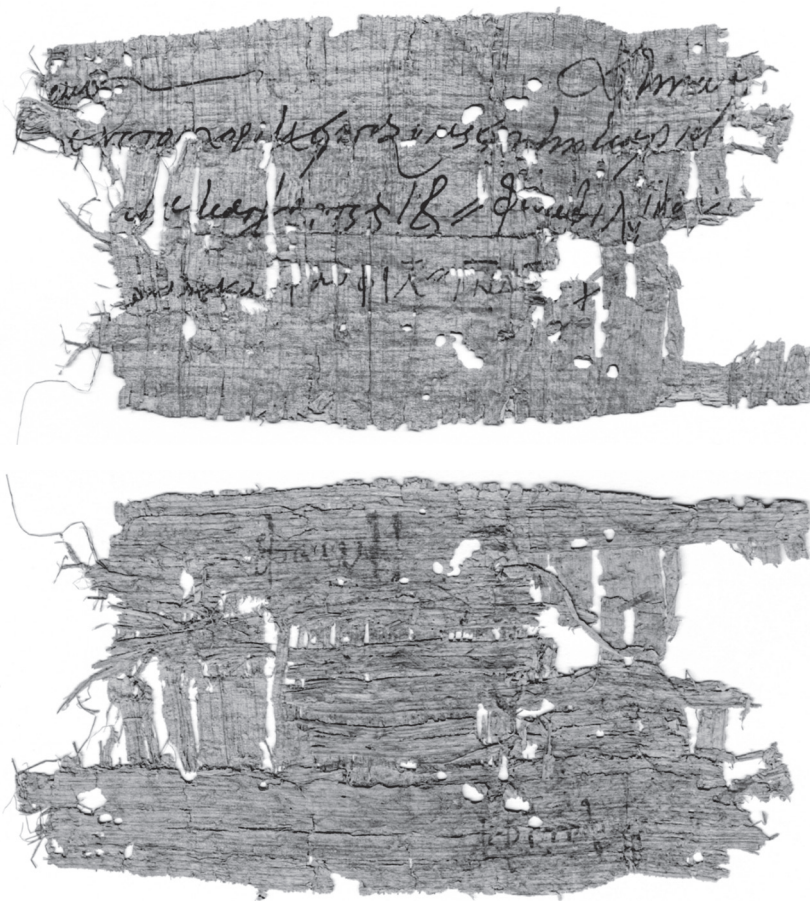
- 1 [(m. 1) ca. 7 κ]όμεξ Σερήνω ἀρ[τοκ(όπω)]
[παράσχου ca. 2]ε . . . τῷ λορικ(αρίῳ) ἐργαζομ(ένῳ) εἰς τὴν καρῖδα
[ἄρτων λίτρας δ]ώδεκα, γί(νονται) ἄρτ(ων) λί(τραι) ιβ̄ Φαῶφι λ̄
ἰνδ(ικτίονος) .
4 [(m. 2) ca. 5 ἄρτ(ων)] λί(τραι) δώδεκα Φαῶφι λ̄ ἰνδ(ικτίονος) . †

2 λορικ(αρίῳ) ἐργαζομ(ένῳ) pap.; 1. λορικ(αρίῳ) 3 γ(αρ)τ(ων) λ̄, ἰνδ(ικτίονος) pap. 4 λ̄, ἰνδ(ικτίονος) pap.

Verso

- 1 (m. 1, written left of center) Φαῶφι
2 (m. 2, written upside down, right of center) Φαῶφι

¹⁷ For Gascou's model, see J. Gascou, "Les grands domaines, la cité et l'état en Égypte byzantine (Recherches d'histoire agraire, fiscale et administrative)," *T&MB* 9 (1985) 1–90.



“(m. 1) Count NN to Serenus the baker. Supply NN the *loricarius* working on the *καρίς* with twelve pounds of bread, total 12 lbs. of bread. Phaophi 30 of the *x* indiction.”

(m. 2) I have countersigned (*vel sim.*) twelve lbs. of bread. Phaophi 30, of the *x* indiction.

Verso (m. 1) Phaophi.

(m. 2) Phaophi.”

1 κ[ό]μες: These letters must correspond to the end of a name or a title; κόμες seems the most suitable restoration considering the writing and the elite context associated with the *καρίς*. The form of *epsilon* seems questionable, but there is a small lacuna on the papyrus where we would expect the upper part of the letter.

– Σερήνω ἀρ[τοκ(όπω)]: There is no baker of this name previously attested, but the subject of the order and the traces strongly suggest the restoration of this profession. The stroke of ink that seems to belong to the following line is possibly an abbreviation stroke for this word. This portion of the papyrus has suffered from considerable angular misalignment, as is clear from the change in direction of the fibers. Originally, the stroke would have appeared higher up in the line. Based on its approximate location and the character of the hand, it might have been appended to *kappa*, as in λορικ(αρίω).

2]ε . . . τω: The reading of these damaged letters has proved challenging and is rendered more difficult by obstructive stray fibers. The formulaic structure of orders provides the best point of approach, since it narrows down the possibilities. Orders from this period begin with παράσχου, which certainly cannot be attributed to the surviving letters and has thus been lost to the left. The number of these letters is also too great to correspond to the article alone, implying that the recipient (or recipients) has been named. This need for a personal name further restricts the possibilities. There are no orders with several recipients of the same profession in which the individual recipients are named. As a result, it is reasonably safe to conclude that there is only one *loricarius*. There could still be several recipients if they held different professions, as seen in *SB* 28.16882, yet this option seems unlikely given the spacing it would require. Moreover, in orders with a single named recipient whose profession is also given, an article never intervenes between the name and the profession. As a result, it seems reasonably likely that this order began simply παράσχου ΝΝ λορικ(αρίω).

As for the letters themselves, some can be identified to a relative degree of certainty. *Tau* is followed by a clear *omicron* and another stroke that is partially obscured by a hole in the papyrus. This second stroke is a correction of *omicron* to *omega*, which suits the expected dative. What precedes has proved harder to read. The first two visible strokes might correspond to the form of *epsilon* seen in δ]ώδεκα in the following line. The stroke immediately preceding *tau* recalls the shape of an abbreviation stroke but might be better read as *iota*. In the end, I have been unsuccessful in identifying the name.

– λορικ: Despite the presence of a small lacuna at the beginning of the abbreviated word, the reading of the individual letters is quite certain. Yet there is no way to expand this abbreviation without positing a spelling error; the sequence -λορικ- is never attested in Greek. Positing the common substitution of *o* for *ω* yields four known words, all derived

from Latin *lorica* “breastplate”: λωρίκα, *lorica*, attested on papyri.info; λωρίκιον, *lorica*, in TLG; λωρικατίων, paraging, roughcast, in Trapp’s *Lexikon*; λωρικᾶτος, as a noun designating a type of *procurator* under the Principate, in H. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions* (Toronto 1974) 4 and 67 or as an adjective meaning “armored”, in Trapp’s *Lexikon* (where it is accented λωρικᾶτος).

None of these options, however, suit the following phrase ἐργαζομ(ένω) εἰς τὴν καρῖδα. The only obvious solution would be a new Greek term for a profession based on the word *lorica*. Latin offers one possibility: *loricarius*, armorer, which would yield λωρικάριος in Greek. Its use as a substantive in Latin is attested in the pseudo-Philoxenus glossary, where it is glossed as θωρακοποιός, and in *CIL* 2.2.3359. Such a definition suits the context of a καρῖς ship. If λωρικάριος refers to an armorer in a broad sense, the mention of this professional working on the καρῖς can be understood to refer to a craftsman who produces and/or repairs armor plating for the ship, its metaphorical *lorica*.

– καρῖδα: A lacuna obscures part of the final *alpha* of καρῖδα. There is also a stroke visible to the right. As mentioned above, the best solution explains it as part of an abbreviation stroke for the *kappa* of the previous line.

3 ἄρτ(ων) λί(τραι): Only one other example searchable on papyri.info, *P.Oxy.* 16.1888, a text concerning distributions to soldiers from the archive of Phoibammon *comes*, attests to the measurement of bread (ἄρτοι) in pounds (λίτραι) in orders. It was, however, also the standard measure for bread in Apionic accounts, see A. Benaissa in *P.Oxy.* 72.4926 (note to line 4) and the accounts *P.Oxy.* 16.1920, *P.Oxy.* 16.2046, and *P.Oxy.* 18.2196. *P.Oxy.* 16.1920 and *P.Oxy.* 16.2046, moreover, share a similar “military” context with Phoibammon’s order, possibly indicating a similar context for this papyrus.

– Φαῶφι λ` ἰνδ(ικτίονος) . : This papyrus seems to have only been dated by day, month, and indiction, a feature paralleled in other Oxyrhynchite orders such as *P.Oxy.* 16.1952, *P.Oxy.* 72.4926, and *P.Oxy.* 72.4928. The use of the Oxyrhynchite era in orders seems to have fallen out in the first half of the sixth century – the latest example of the era in an order searchable on papyrus.info (accessed January 1, 2020) is *P.Oxy.* 16.1946 (524 CE). Its absence, however, is not indicative of a later date *per se*, as many orders of the fifth century also lack it, e.g. *P.Oxy.* 79.5212 and *P.Oxy.* 82.5322. In any case, it weakens identification of the initiator with Phoibammon *comes*, as all his surviving orders are dated by the era.

Perhaps the number read for the indiction year should be *epsilon*. This number fits the visible traces, and most other possibilities are excluded by the absence of more ink.

4 ca. 5 ἄρτων] λί(τρας) δώδεκα: This line, written in a different hand and reiterating the transaction of the order, must be a countersignature. A trace of a descender shortly before δώδεκα leaves two likely possibilities. The verb of countersignature could have been omitted, and the content of the order was retold as γί(νονται) ἄρτων λίτραι δώδεκα, with the descender corresponding to the final *iota* of λίτραι (compare *P.Oxy.* 16.1949, *P.Oxy.* 63.4391). Alternatively, a countersigning verb appeared, likely abbreviated and probably σεσημείωμαι, in which case the descender would correspond to the abbreviation of λί(τρας).

– ἰνδ(ικτίονος) ¯ : The indiction year is lost here to another lacuna, as above. This scribe indicated the numeral with a crossbar, which survives. There also seems to be traces of ink on the bottom-right fringe of the lacuna.

– †: The top of the symbol is lost to a lacuna. However, the position and considerable angle of the left-to-right stroke favors a staurogram over a simple cross. On the staurogram, see L. Hurtado, *The Earliest Christian Artifacts* (Grand Rapids 2006) 135–154.

Verso 1–2 Φαῶφι: On the *verso*, the month Phaophi appears twice, written symmetrically from the fragment's center-point. The writing on the upper edge of the papyrus is a less affected version of the first hand of the *recto*. The diagnostic letter is *phi*. The first *phi* is more elaborate than the second in both instances and is written in one stroke. In contrast, both have a simpler second *phi*, in which the descender is written separately from the circular body of the letter. The writing of the other letters also seems identical, but those of the *recto* are marred by a lacuna. The second Phaophi, upside down on the bottom edge of the papyrus, was likely written by the scribe of the *recto*'s second hand. As in the case above, each *phi* is consistent with its equivalent on the *recto*. In addition, the writing of *iota* looks identical. The other letters, however, seem somewhat different than their counterparts; the possibility of a third hand cannot be excluded.

AN ORDER TO PAY FROM OXYRHYNCHUS

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Abstract. — Edition of P.Wash.Univ. inv. 310, dating to the fifth or sixth century AD and containing an order to pay three hundred myriads.

Keywords: order to pay, *pittakion*, myriads

The papyrus published here¹ contains three complete lines on the *recto* written *transversa charta* and one line on the *verso*.² All margins on the *recto* survive: 1.2 cm above, 3.7 cm below, 5 cm rightward, and 0.8 cm leftward. Letter height averages 3.5 mm. The lines vary in length: the first is 12 cm (32 letters), the second 13.7 cm (46 letters), and the third 9.9 cm (26 letters). The leading and interlinear space also vary, ranging from 10–12.2 mm and 6.2–8.3 mm, respectively. The presence of evenly spaced breaks in the papyrus indicate that it was rolled with the *recto* facing up and beginning from the left margin.

The hand is a confident, rapid semi-cursive with analogues from the fifth and sixth century AD (cf. *P.Oxy.* 55.3804 [566 AD]; *P.Oxy.* 72.4907 [422 AD]). The script, which is roughly bilinear, shifts between capitals and cursives with a few letters appearing in several allophorms (e.g. δ, ε, ν). Ligatures and decorative obliques (esp. κ) are frequent though somewhat inconsistent. The only certain orthographical variant is ε for αι.³ The external address on the *verso*, which sits between two folds, is written in a slightly more decorative style. It appears to be written by the same hand

¹ My thanks to T.M. Hickey and R.S. Bagnall for their unflinching support and many helpful suggestions. In addition, I am grateful to Catherine Keane, Chair, Department of Classics, Washington University in St. Louis, as well as to Joel Minor and his colleagues in the Department of Special Collections, for their support.

² On this format, see J.-L. Fournet, “Esquisse d’une anatomie de la lettre antique tardive d’après les papyrus,” in R. Delmaire, J. Desmulliez, and P.-L. Gatier (eds.), *Correspondances. Documents pour l’histoire de l’Antiquité tardive. Actes du colloque international, Université Charles-de-Gaulle-Lille 3, 20–22 novembre 2003* (Lyon 2009) 26–32.

³ F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, vol. 1 (Milan 1976) 192–193.

as the *recto*, but the ink is so badly faded that only under infrared light can the line be read with any confidence. To improve legibility, I provide my own infrared images of both sides.⁴

The papyrus contains instructions for an order of payment from a certain Nestorius to A()iade, addressed on the *verso* by the stock phrase κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ. The carrier of the order is an unnamed κωμήτης and the object of request is only referenced by the number of myriads (of denarii).⁵

P.Wash.Univ. inv. 310 H × W = 8.2 × 20 cm Oxyrhynchus, V or VI AD

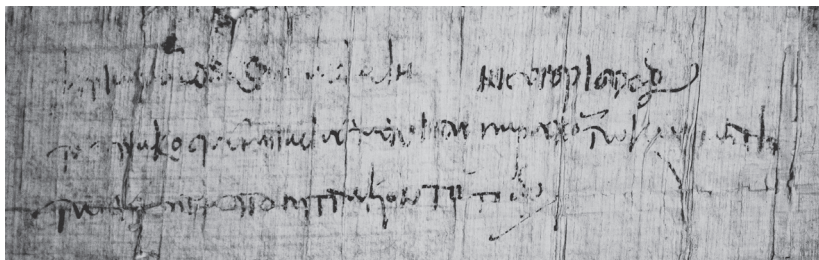
Recto

- ↓ κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ Ἀ . ιαδη *vac.* Νεστόριος χέρ(ειν).
 2 τὰς τριακοσίας μυριάδας τὰς λοιπὰς παράσχου τῷ κωμήτῃ
 τῷ διδόντι σοι τὸ πιττάκιον τοῦτο. ἔρρ(ωco).

1 *l.* χαί(ρειν)

Verso

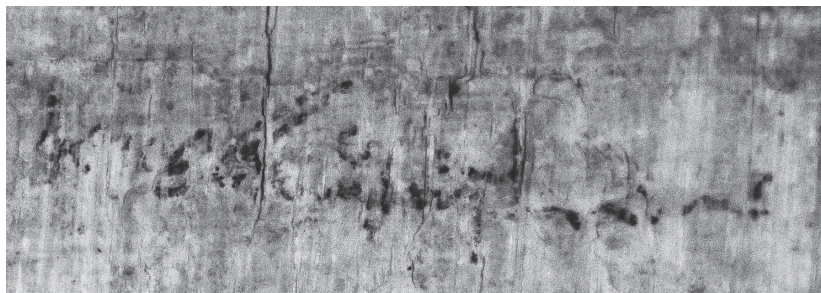
→ κυρ(ίω) μου ἀδελ(φῷ) Ἀ



P.Wash.Univ. inv. 310 (*recto*, IR), Department of Classics Papyri Collection, Washington University Libraries, Julian Edison Department of Special Collections

⁴ The photos are taken with a Fuji X-E1 (converted to capture IR by Life Pixel Infra-red Camera Conversions) using a Leica Elmarit-R 35 mm with 830 nm filter. The images' processing follows the method outlined in A. Bülow-Jacobsen, "Infra-Red Photography of Ostraca and Papyri," *ZPE* 165 (2008) 175–185. My thanks to Bülow-Jacobsen for his helpful suggestions on IR photography of papyri.

⁵ Cf. Table V in K. Maresch, *Nomisma und Nomismatia. Beiträge zur Geldgeschichte Ägyptens im 6. Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (Opladen 1994) 173–175.



P.Wash.Univ. inv. 310 (*verso*, IR), Department of Classics Papyri Collection, Washington University Libraries, Julian Edison Department of Special Collections

“To my lord brother A()iades, Nestorios, greetings.

Pay the remaining three hundred myriads to the villager bringing you this order.

Farewell.

(*Address*) To my lord brother A-”

Recto 1 The placement of the sender following the addressee is common in orders after the fourth century (cf. *SB* 24.16336; *P.Kell.* 1.72; *P.Wisc.* 2.63; *P.Oxy.* 6.995 [*BL* 12.137]). The reference to the addressee with *κυρίῳ μου ἀδελφῷ* implies no blood relationship with Nestorios.⁶

– Ἀ . ιαδη: The ink of the second letter is nearly wiped clean. The name resembles only two names in Trismegistos People (accessed here and following February 2019), both very rare: Ἀπιάδη (only in *O.Petr.Mus.* 442) and Ἀσιάδη (once in *P.Tebt.* 3.867; once in *PSI* 8.913). The inscriptional evidence is equally scarce (Ἀγιάδης once in *SB* 5.8066). Of these, Ἀσιάδη seems most likely, but this reading is anything but certain.

– Νεστόριος: The name is relatively well-attested after the third century (thirteen instances in Trismegistos People, one of which is the Coptic **ΝΕΣΤΟΡΙΣ**). The closest in time we come to our fragment is a Nestorios son of Nestorios, allegedly an Alexandrian, in an Oxyrhynchite settlement of legal dispute (*P.Oxy.* 16.1880), though there is no evidence to link the figure with our Nestorios.

⁶ See E. Dickey, “Literal and Extended Use of Kinship Terms in Documentary Papyri,” *Mnemosyne* 57 (2004) 131–176, esp. 154–161; C. Rapp, *Brother-Making in Late Antiquity and Byzantium: Monks, Laymen, and Christian Ritual* (Oxford 2016) 14.

2 κωμήτης is uncommon in the documentary record and rare in the singular without additional identifying information (cf. *P.Oxy.* 31.2563; *P.Ryl.* 2.228; *P.Kell.* 1.21). Presumably Nestorios expected the object in the line below (τὸ πιττάκιον τοῦτο) sufficient for the addressee to identify the villager.

3 τῷ διδόντι σοι τὸ πιττάκιον τοῦτο: As the phrase makes clear, πιττάκιον here must refer to the papyrus itself (cf. *P.Cair.Masp.* 1.67116; *P.Mich.* 13.668; *SB* 22.15712; *Stud.Pal.* 3.339).⁷ Similar phraseology appears in reference to γράμμα (cf. *SB* 10.10279), ἐπιτολή (cf. *P.Oxy.* 42.3085), and ὄσπρακον (cf. *O.Bodl.* 2.1992).

– ἔρρ(ωο): The descenders of the second and third ρ are visible just above the abbreviating oblique below (cf. *P.Iand.* 2.23).

Verso 1 Ἀ: The external address must have closed with the same addressee as l. 1 on the *recto* (see l. 1 n.).

⁷ See A. d'Ors, "Pittakion-pittaciarium," *Aegyptus* 31 (1951) 339–343.

A RECEIPT FOR DELIVERY OF WINE FROM THE APION ESTATE TO THE *PROCURATOR* OF KYNOPOLIS

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Abstract. — Receipt of delivery of wine from Victor, a well-attested wine steward of the Apiones. Among the recipients is Theodoros the *procurator* of Kynopolis, a figure previously unknown from the papyrological record.

Keywords: wine, Apiones, Victor, Theodoros, Kynopolis, Herakleopolis

The papyrus edited here¹ is a receipt for delivery of wine from Victor the wine steward (*oinocheiristes*), issued to the recipients from Herakleopolis (most likely *buccellarii* as I explain in the commentary) and Theodoros, the *procurator* of Kynopolis.

The text is preserved in two fragments and written *transversa charta*. On the first fragment there is evidence of a horizontal *kollesis* of 2.7 cm located 1.5 centimeters from the top of the fragment. There is also a long vertical tear in the first third of the fragment, presumably caused by folding the papyrus. The third line contains damage to the text, measuring 3 centimeters horizontally. This area of the papyrus also contains an apparent patch. Both backs are blank. The end of the first line in fragment 2 continues into the second line of fragment 1, but it is uncertain how much text we are actually missing between the two fragments.

There is another piece that serves as a close *comparandum*, SB 16.12608, also a receipt for delivery of wine written by the same wine steward.² This text suffers the same uncertainty of missing text, but, based on the editor's reconstruction, it averages about 65 characters per line, measuring a minimum of 30 cm in length, but not much more since that is the average

¹ Many thanks to Todd Hickey and Roger Bagnall for their continuous help and guidance at every stage of this edition. Any errors are of course my own. In addition, I am very grateful to Catherine Keane, Chair of the Department of Classics, Washington University, as well as to Joel Minor and his colleagues in the Department of Special Collections, Washington University Library, for their support.

² This wine steward was already noted as the author of both texts by Hickey in T.M. Hickey, *Wine, Wealth, and the State in Late Antique Egypt: The House of Apion at Oxyrhynchus* (Ann Arbor 2012) 128. It should be noted that he states there is no clear link to the Apiones in SB 16.12608.

height of a papyrus roll.³ If our papyrus is of a similar size, it would mean there are approximately 20 letters missing in the break between the two fragments. The piece was most likely folded in thirds, meaning we are missing the middle fragment between these two. The text is written in a clear and competent hand; each letter and symbol are well articulated and given its own space within the word. The cross at the beginning of the first line and the $\xi\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ sign at the beginning of the last line are written more towards the left of the fragment than the rest of the text.

This *procurator* of Kynopolis, Theodoros, is otherwise unknown in the papyri,⁴ but the wine steward of the Apiones, Victor, is known from other papyri in this period, namely the aforementioned SB 16.12608, dated to July 11, 511 and *P.Oxy.* 67.4622.⁵ SB 16.12608, also a receipt for delivery of wine to a group of around eight men from Kynopolis,⁶ whose *procurator* appears in our papyrus. The men had come to help with the collection of a large sum of money that was owed to a wine merchant. *P.Oxy.* 67.4622 is an order to supply one double jar of wine to the widows of St. John.⁷ There are also unpublished pieces at Oxford.⁸

³ SB 16.12608, originally edited in S. Daris, “Ricevuta per la consegna di vino,” *ZPE* 36 (1979) 84–86.

⁴ A general bibliography and list of known *procuratores* was compiled in G. Azzarello, “Einbruchsanzeige an einen procurator,” *Tyche* 13 (1998) 19–28.

⁵ Hickey (n. 2) 93, Table 4.1.

⁶ Although the text was initially edited to read τοῖς [. . . βουκκελλα]ρ(ίοις) as the recipients only later to be amended to τοῖς π[ρ](εσβυτέροις) in *BL* 9.287, Hickey (n. 2) 128 proposed the reading to actually be τοῖς π[αιδα]ρίοις. *Paidarion* can imply policing and paramilitary duties. We do have attestations of more official military stationed in Kynopolis during the 550s. For example, the *buccellarii* of Kynopolis are mentioned in *P.Oxy.* 72.4924 (and many other texts). See Benaissa’s note to lines 1 and 2: they were “irregular state soldiers in the service of a military officer or public official.” He also notes that *buccellarii* serving under the ἐνδοξος οἶκος of the Apiones were garrisoned in Kynopolis, Herakleopolis, and Koma. For more on the role of *buccellarii* in Late Antiquity see J. Gascou, “L’institution des bucellaires,” *BIFAO* 76 (1976) 143–156 (= J. Gascou, *Fiscalité et société en Égypte byzantine* [Paris 2008] 73–83); O. Schmitt, “Die Buccellarii. Eine Studie zum militärischen Gefolgschaftswesen in der Spätantike,” *Tyche* 9 (2001) 147–74; J. Maspero, *L’Organisation militaire de l’Égypte byzantine* (Paris 1912) 66–68. See also Hickey (n. 2) 110–130; R. Alston, “Managing the Frontiers: Supplying the Frontier Troops in the Sixth and Seventh centuries,” in P. Erdkamp (ed.), *The Roman Army and the Economy* (Amsterdam 2002) 398–419.

⁷ According to Hickey (n. 2) 102–104, these types of gifts, known as *prophorai*, are occasionally “pious gifts” to widows, orphans, and the disabled. In this case the recipients are the widows of the congregation of St. John. While Hickey states that there is no certain connection to the Apiones, it is generally believed that the order was issued by the same wine steward. For the meaning of the word *prosphora* see the edition of *P.Oxy.* 67.4620, particularly notes 2 and 3.

⁸ Hickey (n. 2) 93, Table 4.1.

The *oinocheiristai* were wine stewards in charge of the accounting of large estates, overseeing the production and distribution of wine. For the Oxyrhynchite nome, we possess substantial evidence for the administration of wine in the form of the accounts of the *oinocheiristai*: *P.Oxy.* 27.2480 (580/581), *P.Oxy.* 68.3960 (621), and *PSI* 8.953 (567/568), which have been extensively discussed by Hickey.⁹ Hickey has also argued for the existence of only one wine steward in the Apion estate at a time, but the evidence we have at the present is too uneven to be able to draw a semi-complete chronology of the *oinocheiristai*. The use of this particular term seems to have been restricted to the Oxyrhynchite and Arsinoite nomes, and in over two-fifths of the instances it appears in texts with strong links with the Apiones.¹⁰

My reconstruction of the reading of the years in line 5 dates this papyrus to 507 CE, which would fit well with the date of the other texts where Victor appears. First, we have the certain date of 511 for *SB* 16.12608. Then, Hickey cites Gonis for the dating of the unedited pieces in Oxford to the period between 504 and 511.¹¹ Presumably, the end date of this given range derives from *SB* 16.12608. The basis for giving the earlier date, namely 504, is not clear. *P.Oxy.* 67.4622 only records the 25th of Hathyr, and thus we are uncertain about the year, but it has been associated by its editor also to *SB* 16.12608. In *P.Oxy.* 19.2243 (a) we have mention of “the heirs of Victor former *oinocheiristes*,” (π(α)ρὰ κληρ(ονόμων) Βίκτορος ἀπὸ οἰνοχειριστῶν ...) which Mazza considers to be the same Victor as in our papyrus, as she also references *SB* 16.12608.¹² The text in *P.Oxy.* 2243 is dated 80 years later to 590/591, but it is not certain that we are actually dealing with the same Victor. Hickey, in fact, does not think this is the same Victor, and associates him with one mentioned in *P.Amh.* 2.183, presumably active at a later date (the 540s are suggested).¹³ Given the date of our own text, I believe the individual in this text is not the latter Victor since a date in the 540s would require an Oxyrhynchite era beginning in 200s, which is not what appears in our papyrus.

The role of *procuratores* in Late Antique Egypt is also of worthy of a brief note. The transliteration of the Latin title *procurator* into Greek is

⁹ Hickey (n. 2) 92–93, Table 4.1. Other sixth-century mentions of the *oinocheiristes* are, in addition to *PSI* 3.191–193, *Stud.Pal.* 3.276–290 and *P. Oxy.* 16.2010–2015.

¹⁰ Hickey (n. 2) 92–93.

¹¹ Hickey (n. 2) 93. See table 4.1, note b.

¹² R. Mazza, *L'Archivio degli Apioni: terra, lavoro e proprietà senatoria nell'Egitto tardoantico* (Bari 2001) 46, note 285.

¹³ Hickey (n. 2) 93. See table 4.1, see Biktov (II) and note d. The text is forthcoming from Hickey.

well attested in the papyri from the late fourth century, but the term is also often translated to ἐπίτροπος, φροντιστής, προνοητής, and διοικητής.¹⁴ Προκουράτωρ is the most common Greek spelling of the Latin word, with 25 attestations in the papyrological record. The majority (23 texts) are dated to the fifth and sixth century, but there are two cases dated to the second and third centuries.

There are two distinct types of *procuratores*: the *procuratores Augusti*, who were the main financial provincial officers during the Principate, and the private *procuratores*, who were estate managers. Azzarello has noted that while sometimes they act as representatives of public officials, most of the evidence for *procuratores* comes from the management of private domains.¹⁵ More relevantly, she pointed out that it is remarkable there is no reliable proof of a *procurator* for the administration of the possessions of the Apion estate in Oxyrhynchus, while they do show up in estates in other nomes.¹⁶ The mention of the *procurator* of Kynopolis alongside men from Herakleopolis,¹⁷ perhaps implies their association with policing duties of an estate managed, at least partially, by Theodoros, although Azzarello points out that it remains unknown whether the *procuratores* are part of the administration of this domain.¹⁸ The role of the *procurator* here is unclear, given that Theodoros is not an active agent of the text, just a recipient of wine. If we assume the first recipients of wine are the *buccellarii* of Herakleopolis then perhaps we can associate their role of policing to Theodoros' role as a private estate manager.

There is also another possibility, albeit less probable. One could read the first part of Oxyrhynchite era as 186 or 187 (ρος or ροζ), which would mean a date closer to the 510s. The second number of dating would need to be 155/156, however, and paleographically this seems unlikely for reasons I explain in the commentary below. During the 510s, we have evidence that Apion's estate was confiscated while he was campaigning in

¹⁴ Azzarello (n. 4) 20.

¹⁵ Ibid., 25.

¹⁶ Azzarello (n. 4) 20: "In diesem Zusammenhang ist bemerkenswert, daß für die Verwaltung der Besitzungen der Apionen bislang kein sicherer Beleg für einen procurator vorliegt."

¹⁷ The involvement of the Apion estate in supplying the military and paramilitary policing agents, particularly the *buccellarii* with wine, is well attested, but not only to them. See more specifically Hickey (n. 2) 113–117, Table 4.6 for the multiple attestations of provisions to units, and p. 110 for more discussion in general about the *buccellarii* and their role in the accounts of the Apiones. Alston (n. 6) 143 also discusses the "popularity" of these troops in Late Antiquity.

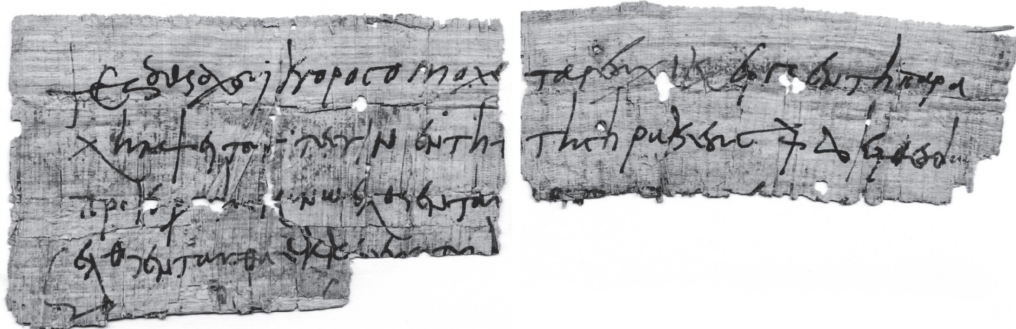
¹⁸ Azzarello (n. 4) 20.

Persia and thus this would explain the presence of a *procurator* in the management of the estate. A *procurator* is the first Egyptian evidence which would suggest confiscation since it would seem to imply that the land was being administered as *res privata*.¹⁹

P.Wash.Univ. inv. 251 Fragment 1: H × W = 9.4 × 5.8 cm Oxyrhynchus
Fragment 2: 9 × 3.5 cm 25 February-26 March 507 CE

- 1 † ἐδόθ(η) δι(ιὰ) Οὐίκτορος οἰνοχε[ιριστοῦ ± ?] τὰ γεουχι(κ)ᾶ
ἐργ(α) ἐν τῇ παρα-
- 2 λήμψει τουτέστιν ἐν τῇ τ[± ?] τῆς Ἡρακλέους δι(πλᾶ) δ καὶ
Θεοδώρῳ
- 3 προκουρ(άτορι) τῆς Κυνῶ(ν) ἐλθ(όντι) ἐνταῦ[θα ± ?] *traces*
- 4 ἐλθ(ούσι) ἐνταῦθα ἐκ κελεύσ(εως) τοῦ δ[εσπότης ἡμῶν τοῦ
κυροῦ ± ?]
- 5 (ἔτους) ρπγ [ρν]β Φ[αμ]ε[νὼθ ± ?]

1 ἐδοθ/ δι οὔκτορος pap., γεουχι/ εργ/ pap. 2 7 pap. 3 προκουρ/ pap., κυνω ἐλθ/
pap. 4 ἐλθ/ pap., κελεύσ/ pap. 5 L pap.



¹⁹ The management of the *res privata* in Late Antiquity still deserves much treatment, particularly to understand its relationship to confiscated property, if it is indeed the case in our papyrus. The phrase “by order of our master” most likely asserts a non-imperial owner at the time. The two books I found the most useful on the subject were A. Masi, *Ricerche sulla “Res Privata” del “Princeps”* (Milano 1971) and R. Delmaire, *Largeesse sacrées et res privata. L’aerarium impérial et son administration du IV^e au VI^e siècle*, (Paris 1989). The various roles of *procuratores* in the management of imperial *res privata* are initially laid out in Masi, p. 14-16.

“Given through Victor the wine steward ... the works of the landlord in the receiving, namely in the vintage ... of Herakleopolis 4 double jars and to Theodoros, *procurator* of Kynopolis coming here ... coming here by order of our master ...

Year 183/152, Phamenoth ...”

1 ἡ ἐδόθη(η) δ(ιὰ) Οὐίκτηρος οἰνοχε[ιριστοῦ: A formula well known for receipts of delivery, as noted in the commentary to *PSI* 3.191–193. οἰνοχε[ιριστοῦ is probably abbreviated, if we compare it to *SB* 16.12608. The first recipient is probably in the lacuna followed by a participle, but this is not necessarily the case.

– τὰ γεουχικ(ὰ) ἔργ(α): A parallel to this phrase is in *P.Heid.* 4.306 (413), a contract also from Oxyrhynchus.

1–2 ἐν τῇ παραλήμψει: A strong parallel can be found in *P.Mich.* 13.663. 49–50, where Menas, son of Enoch, is bearing witness to the receipt of two gold *nomismatia*. Other texts where the term *παράλημψις* appears are *P.Fam.Tebt.* 15, *P.Flor.* 1.31, and *SB* 4.7404 (reprinted as *P.Fam.Tebt.* 24). It is a rare term, and the meaning is not entirely clear since it is not an actual document but rather the act of the receiving.

– ἐν τῇ τ[: Possibly ἐν τῇ τ[ρύγῃ, although it is hard to supply without a parallel.

– τῆς Ἡρακλέους δι(πλᾶ) δ: Thanks to the information provided by the account *P.Oxy.* 27.2480, we can speculate about the possible recipient of this wine. It lists 18 soldiers (τοῖς 18 βουκκελλαρίοις τῆς Ἡρακλέους) in line 64 as receiving four *diplo* of wine for the spectacle of the harvest festival (see note to line 64). The same number of *buccellarii* is listed again in line 74 for the same festival. We also find 18 recruits (τοῖς νεωτέροις) from Herakleopolis listed in line 70 (and in 114), given wine on the next day for, presumably, the same spectacle of the harvest festival. In lines 110–110, 16 soldiers from Herakleopolis are listed receiving wine as well. Four *diplo* of wine is a standard quantity for the provisioning of these particular soldiers in Herakleopolis. There are a number of other officials who could have been based there as well.

The *diplo*un or double-jar is equated with the *knidion*: see N. Kruit and K.A. Worp, “Metrological Notes on Measures and Containers of Liquids in Graeco-Roman and Byzantine Egypt,” *APF* 45 (1999) 96–127, and more recently, R.S. Bagnall, “Practical Help: Chronology, Geography, Measures, Currency, Names, Prosopography, and Technical Vocabulary,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Papyrology* (New York 2009) 179–196.

2–3 Θεοδώ(ρω) προκουρ(άτωρι) τῆς Κυνῶ(ν): This *procurator* does not appear in Azzarello’s (n. 4) treatment of Late Antique *procuratores* in Egypt, nor does he seem to appear in any other papyrological texts, to my knowledge.

3 προκου(ράτωρι): See the introduction for discussion.

– ἐλθ(όντι): Resolved in the singular since it refers to Theodoros; δι(πλῶ) δ indeed seems to end a unit before καί. Parallels for the singular may be found in *PSI* 8.953.27 and 50.

3 τῆς Κυνῶ(ν): The name of the town of Kynopolis can appear without the final ν but also abbreviated. Examples for both types of spelling appear in *P.Oxy.* 1.127, 14.1749, 43.3147, 48.3398, 3410, 3423, 56.3874, 72.4924, *PSI* 7.809, 8.953, and *P.Wash.Univ.* 1.8. I have opted for the final ν given the *comparanda* for this period.

4 ἐλθ(ούσι) ἐνταῦ[θα: This phrase also appears in *SB* 16.12608, which featured in the discussion above. Syrkou also makes note of this phrase in her commentary to *P.Oxy.* 72.4925, dated to 552. This phrase seems to appear commonly in documents such as “accounts, receipts, and orders for payment, especially in connection to military personnel.” Some other texts referenced by the editor are *P.Oxy.* 16.1888 (488), 1920 col. 1 (after 563), 2046 col. 1 (564), 27.2480 (565/566?), 1.150 col. 1 (590).

4 ἐκ κελεύσ(εως) τοῦ δι[εσπότης ἡμῶν: There are very strong parallels for this reading from sixth-century Oxyrhynchus, namely *PSI* 3.191 and 193, two receipts dating to 565 for delivery by the wine steward Serenos, and *PSI* 8.953, also by Serenos, an account of expenses from the Apion estate dating to 567/568. For the latter see also T.M Hickey “Notes on Some Cairo Papyri from Byzantine Oxyrhynchus (Part I),” *ZPE* 123 (1998) 161–164. Another option is that the tall vertical we see belongs to a *kappa* and not a *delta*, for κυρίου, for example.

– κελεύσ(εως): For this type of abbreviation see *P.Oxy.* 16.1913.1, 19.2243a.84, and *PSI* 8.953.20, 25, and 70.

5 ρπγ: The reconstruction of the date follows this logic: after the year sign and the ρ there seems to be two flat numbers which I believe are π and γ. While the π is likely, the γ is only certain because of the following β: The second year has the numerals in the hundreds and the tens missing but the faded top of the β is faintly visible. This provides us with the Oxyrhynchite year, 183. This fits perfectly with the equivalent 183/152, or

506/507. Phamenoth of that year would correspond to the period between the 25th of February and the 26th of March of 507. See R.S. Bagnall and K.A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt*² (Leiden 2004) 147, for conversion table.

TWO DOCUMENTS FROM OXYRHYNCHUS RELATING TO WINE PRODUCTION¹

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Abstract. — Editions of two fragmentary Oxyrhynchite papyri in the collection of Washington University in St. Louis, a wine account (6th century CE) and a sale on credit (6th century CE).

Keywords: wine, sale in advance, *logistes*

1. *Wine Account*

P.Wash.Univ. inv. 305

H × W = 14 × 8.3 cm

Oxyrhynchus
sixth century CE

This fragment of a wine account offers us a glimpse of late antique Oxyrhynchite viticulture. The beneficiaries include two named individuals as well as a secretary, a farmstead, a bride, an assistant, and a hapax that occurs three times and potentially refers to irrigators. The text is written in semi-cursive script along the fibers, and that it is an account is clear from the clear separation between entries. Each entry concerns a certain number of double wine jars, or *dipla*, here abbreviated as $\delta\iota$ written as one character in which the iota extends downwards from the second stroke of the delta ($\delta\iota$).² The *verso* is blank. An unknown number

¹ I thank Todd Hickey and Roger Bagnall for their guidance and assistance throughout the development of these editions. I am also grateful to the various guest instructors at the summer institute at Washington University in St. Louis and to my fellow participants. Additional thanks are due to the anonymous *BASP* readers for their keen observations and recommendations. All errors that remain are my own. For their hospitality and assistance, I thank Catherine Keane, Chair of the Department of Classics, and Joel Minor and his colleagues in the Department of Special Collections at Washington University Libraries. Finally, the New York University Department of Classics provided support in various ways during my summer in St. Louis, and the Antonina S. Rainieri International Scholars Fund of NYU's Center for Ancient Studies enabled my attendance at the 29th International Congress of Papyrology in Lecce, where I presented inv. 305 – I am much obliged to both.

² Although not specified as such here, wine or must is certainly the commodity being distributed in these jars. For this common measure, see K.A. Worp, “A Survey of $\acute{\alpha}\pi\lambda\tilde{\alpha}$, $\delta\iota(\delta\iota)\pi\lambda\tilde{\alpha}$ and $\tau\rho\iota\pi\lambda\tilde{\alpha}$ Measures in the Papyri,” *ZPE* 131 (2000) 146–148, and T.M. Hickey, *Wine, Wealth, and the State in Late Antique Egypt: The House of Apion at Oxyrhynchus* (Ann Arbor 2012) 186–187 and 190–191.

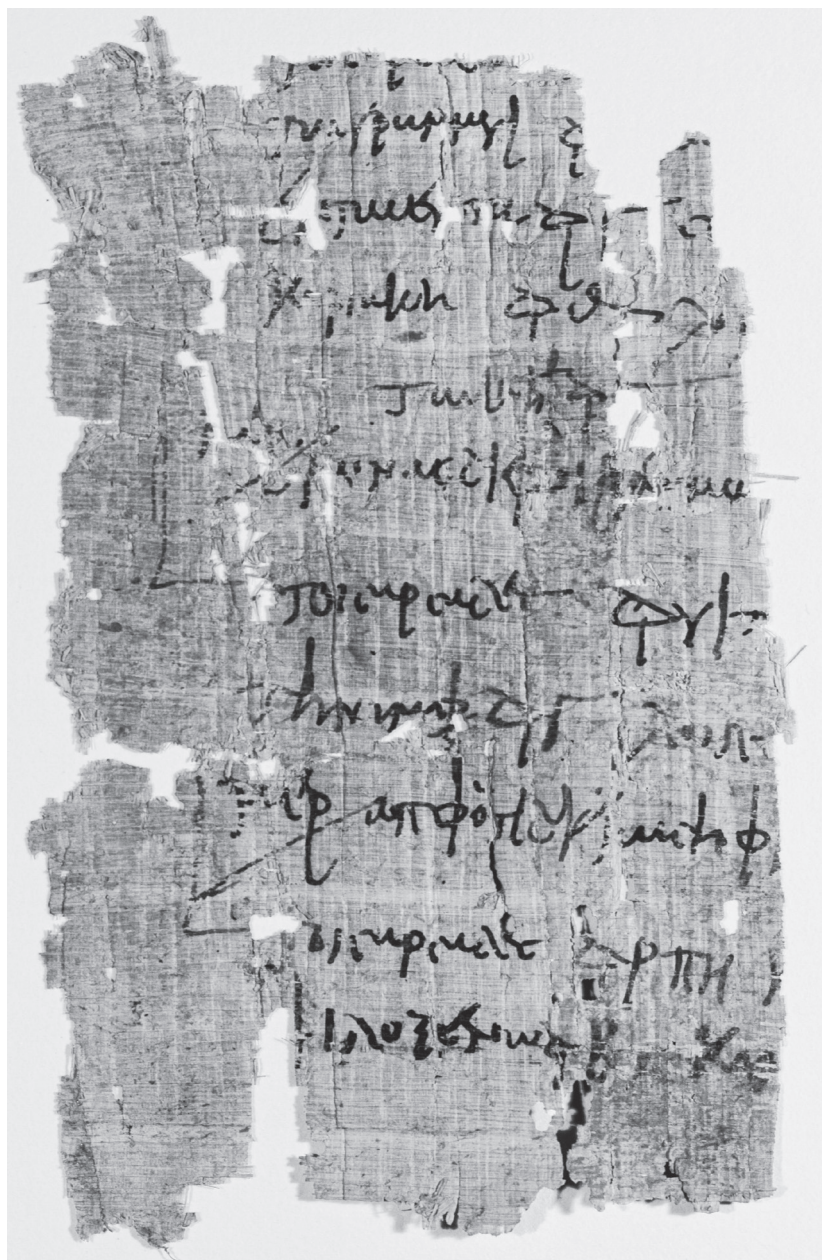
of lines is missing from the top, depriving us of the information contained in the header, typically the total expenditure, the specific indiction, and the identity of the author and the owner of the vineyard, as we see in better preserved accounts such as *P.Oxy.* 27.2480 (565–566). The lower margin suggests that we have the end of the text. Paleography – including the presence of open *alphas*, clearly hooked *rhos*, and spindly *betas* – suggests a date in the sixth century, based on comparison with *P.Oxy.* 51.3640 (533), *P.Oxy.* 16.1887 (538), *P.Oxy.* 16.1970 (554), and the sixth-century wine account in the similarly fragmentary *P.Oxy.* 16.2049. A fifth-century date, however, is not excluded.

 1 [(ῶν) τ]οῖς ἄρσαδε[ς] δι(πλᾱ) [
 2 τῶ γραμματῖ δι(πλᾱ) [. .] . [
 3 ἐν τῶ ἐποικ(ίῳ) δι(πλᾱ) γ σ[
 4 Κυριακῇ δι(πλᾱ) θ λοιπ(ᾱ)
 5 *vacat* τῶ βοηθ(ῶ) δι(πλᾱ) γ [
 6 μερ(ίδος) Ἰωνᾶς δι(ᾱ) Φοιβάμμω[νος
 7 (ῶν) τοῖς ἄρσαδες δι(πλᾱ) νιζ [
 8 τῇ νύμφ(ῃ) δι(πλᾱ) γ λοιπ(ᾱ) [
 9 μερ(ίδος) Ἀπφοῦτι διᾱ Ἰωσήφι[ος
 10 (ῶν) τοῖς ἄρσαδες δι(πλᾱ) ρπη . [
 11 Φιλοξένῳ δι(πλᾱ) β τακαθ[

1 *l.* τοῖς ἄρσασιν? (so throughout) 2 *l.* γραμματεῖ; δι(πλᾱ): 4 pap. 3 ἐποικ/ 6 μερ/ (also *l.* 9); ἰωνας pap. 8 νυμφ/ pap.; λοιπ- pap. 9 *l.* Ἀπφοῦτος; ἀπφοῖτι pap.

“... of these (were distributed), to the irrigators(?), ... double jars; to the secretary, ... double jars; in the farmstead, 3 double jars ...; to Kyriake, 9 double jars, balance ...; to the assistant, 3 double jars; for the *meris* of Ionas, through Phoibammon, ...; of these (were distributed), to the irrigators, 417 double jars; to the bride, 3 double jars, remainder ...; for the *meris* of Apphous, through Iosephis, ...; of these (were distributed), to the irrigators, 188 double jars ...; to Philoxenos, 2 double jars, ...”

1 τοῖς ἄρσαδες, appearing in traces here and clearly in ll. 7 and 10, is otherwise unattested. The closest parallel is in *P.Oxy.* 63.4391, a fifth-century order to supply wine, in which τοῖς ἄρσασιν appears. Rea rejected taking ἄρσασιν there as an aorist participle of ἀραρίσκω or ἄρδω



and instead took it as a misspelled participle of ἀείρω.³ Perhaps that is also what is happening here. But a case could be made for taking ἄρσαδες as an aorist participle of ἄρδω, “to irrigate,” here on grounds both grammatical and viticultural. There are two grammatical obstacles to accepting ἄρσαδες as a form of ἄρδω. First ἄρσαδες would imply a substantivization of the aorist participle, ἄρσας, gen. ἄρσαδος rather than ἄρσαντος: Palmer, *Gram.* 46 describes cases of this kind of transformation of verbs into -αδ- nouns as “perhaps the weak grade of the participial ending seen in the Latin -endus and from nouns” such as λογάς. In the third through eighth centuries, Palmer notes an uptick in instances of -αδ- nouns in papyri that describe financial and agricultural matters, such as λοιπάς and κυκλάς. Second, there is the issue of the lack of agreement between the article and the participle, the dative τοῖς and the nominative ἄρσαδες, which Mandilaras chalks up elsewhere to various “confusions” in *Verb* §878.4 and 879.3. Specifically, the instability of the participle renders it liable to misuse – the most frequent occurrence of which is the nominative in place of the expected oblique case, here the dative. In both cases the grammatical obstacles to accepting ἄρσαδες as a form of ἄρδω are not insurmountable. The context of the wine account speaks in favor of “irrigators.” The fact that large numbers of units of wine are given to the ἄρσαδες suggests that these represent a substantial percentage of the yield, and this occurs in share-cropping arrangements associated with wine production: there we see that the work of irrigators in share-cropping entitled them to 25 percent of the yield.⁴

2 It is impossible to know the reason why the people listed, such as the γραμματεὺς here, were beneficiaries of the wine, but these amounts could have been paid as salaries or rations or reflect estate-specific costs and concerns. The layout is the same as in other wine accounts, such as *P.Eirene* 3.21, *P.Wash.Univ.* 2.105, and *P.Laur.* 4.185, and these tend to include relatively small allotments of διπλᾶ (except to the ἄρσαδες here) and a diverse cast of characters.⁵ The total yield of each *meris* appeared

³ The amount of wine meant to be supplied to the ἄρσασιν of *P.Oxy.* 63.4391 is also sizable, 429 *dipla*, seemingly purchased in advance for 11 *solidi*. It is harder to imagine why irrigators would be part of such an arrangement (pay equaling 11 *solidi*? rations?).

⁴ E.g., as in Hickey (n. 2) 76, who points to the percentage yields from vineyard leases such as *BGU* 17.2682 (481, Hermopolis) and *SB* 20.14416 (sixth century, Antinoopolis). For irrigation terminology in general see D. Bonneau, *Le régime administratif de l'eau du Nil* (Leiden 1993).

⁵ The potential reasons for wine distribution in these accounts are illustrated by the three documents discussed by F. Morelli, “Il vino del padrone: *P.Eirene* III 21, *P.Wash.Univ.* II 105 e *P.Laur.* IV 185,” *Tyche* 29 (2014) 89–94. In the case of *P.Eirene* 3.21, for

in a subheading (e.g., in line 6) followed by the deductions indicated by $\tilde{\delta}\nu$ (e.g., in line 7). What is missing, however, is the γεουχική ῥύσις, the yield in διπλᾶ after allotments have been subtracted, but perhaps a closer reading of the discolored end of l. 11 would shed more light on that final amount.

The abbreviation of διπλᾶ has parallels in, among others, *P.Oxy.* 6.993.5 (late fifth century) and *P.Oxy.* 16.2044 (*passim*, late sixth century).

4 The largely private nature of the beneficiaries further aligns this document with the private sections of household accounts such as *P.Oxy.* 27.2480.126–309 (565–566), *PSI* 8.957 (29 January 504), *P.Wash. Univ.* 2.105 (sixth-seventh centuries), and *P.Oxy.* 58.3960 (621). With the exception of our ἀρσαδες, none of the entries in this account raise any eyebrows.

Rarely is Kyriake found in Oxyrhynchite papyri as a proper name (2 instances out of the fewer than 20 documents with κυριακή in the dative), and we cannot reject the possibility that κυριακῇ here refers to the Lord's day or to the church. In the absence of contextual clues such as an article (as in the household account of 567–568, *PSI* 8.953.37, ἐν τῇ κυριακῇ) or modifying adjective that would support the latter possibility, I have opted for the feminine name here (as in an order to supply oil from 419, *P.Oxy.* 68.4680.2, παράσχου Κυριακῇ).

5 The presence of λοιπά in l. 4 indicates the end of the first preserved section of the account, but then we have here an indented reference to wine given to a βοηθός. Perhaps the indentation and the placement between lines point to a later addition to the account?

6 Here and in l. 9 μερ(ίδος) is abbreviated with a diagonal slash and should be expanded into a form of μερίς rather than μέρος. It is followed by a proper name, δία, and a second proper name (the *ampelourgos*), as in *P.Oxy.* 14.1735.6 and *P.Mich.* 15.744 *passim*. This *ampelourgos* was either an estate employee or a tenant of the property – in the former case, the owner of the estate would have received the balance of the wine, and in the latter case the *ampelourgos* would have paid rent with the balance or with the proceeds after the wine was sold.⁶ There is inconsistency in the case usage, as we see the nominative Ἰωνᾶς next to the dative Ἀποροῦτι,

instance, Morelli notes (p. 90) the difficulties inherent in comparing the amounts being given to different entities, especially when lacking the period of time that the amount covers.

⁶ For a discussion of the varying terminology for vineyard labor, see Hickey (n. 2) 79–89.

which recalls the case confusion in ἀρσαδες. The personal names attached to individual *merides* need not refer to specific individuals, but names of previous owners which became attached to specific plots over time, for fiscal continuity, and thus the individually named *meris* only refers to the physical origins of the wine, that is, the section of the vineyard in which Phoibammon and Iosephis were working. Alternatively, the first name could in both cases refer to an overseer.⁷

7 In the left margin there is an L-shaped mark extending from ll. 6 to 7. The same mark appears between ll. 9 and 10 and probably also at line 1. These marks should be expanded into ὥν to indicate deductions. Examples of this mark can be found in a swath of sixth- and seventh-century documents connected with the expenditures and receipts of the Apiones.⁸ Among the contemporaneous wine accounts mentioned in the commentary on l. 2, above, ὥν appears in *P.Wash.Univ.* 2.105.2, 3, and in *P.Oxy.* 58.3960.19. ὥν with this L-shape, albeit more rounded, occurs in the fourth-century *P.Ryl.* 4.640.4 from Hermopolis, but it is largely absent from Oxyrhynchite accounts dealing only with wine.

8 τῇ νόμφῃ is rare in accounts – the only other attestation is, unsurprisingly, an ostrakon identified as the label for a wedding present, *O.Ashm. Shelton* 196 (although it is possible that the name of the bride, or of her spouse, was given in the lost upper part of the document and that this second mention is then abbreviated).⁹

2. Sale on Credit

P.Wash.Univ. inv. 341

H × W = 8.1 × 7.9 cm

Oxyrhynchus
sixth century CE

The second fragment is an example of a sale on credit, or *Kaufpreis-stundung*, and as such it joins a small corpus of fifteen items.¹⁰ An unnamed

⁷ For the preference for μερίς over μέρος in wine accounts, see the wine account *P. Oxy.* 16.2043 (fifth-century), where μεριδ() occurs alongside a series of proper names. For the association of *merides* with sections of a vineyard and the practice of “onomastic fossilization,” see discussion with additional examples in Hickey (n. 2) 44–48 and 59–60. The fiscal backdrop to that practice is traced in R. Mazza, “*P.Oxy. XVI 1911 e i conti annuali dei pronotai*,” *ZPE* 122 (1998) 161–172.

⁸ *P.Oxy.* 16.1908.26, 1910.2, 1911.212, 1914.8, 1915.10, and 1916.16.

⁹ I thank AnneMarie Luijendijk for suggesting this possibility.

¹⁰ For parallels, see A. Jördens, “Kaufpreisstundungen (Sales on Credit),” *ZPE* 98 (1993) 263–282. The documents collected there are dated between 416 and 545, and there is perhaps one that dates to the seventh century. *P.Heid.* inv. G 1669 is now *SB* 20.15137,

landowner, perhaps related to the *comes* Eudaimon and his sons, whose activities are recorded in a dossier of at least five papyri of the fifth- through sixth-centuries, is owed an unknown quantity of money in exchange for a commodity that has already been delivered to the debtor-purchaser, Aurelius Ioannes.¹¹ The fragment consists of eight lines of text, with traces of a ninth, written along the fibers, with an unknown number of lines lost at the bottom of the papyrus, which would have included the amount owed, the debtor's and witnesses' subscriptions, and a notarial signature. There is a *kollesis* visible on the right edge. The left edge is missing, although reconstruction of the formulaic beginning of the third line suggests that there are around 16–19 characters missing in most of the eight lines. There is a lacuna in the middle section of the fragment, measuring about 1 cm at its maximum, and the papyrus is abraded and occasionally shorn of the top layer of fibers, most notable in the fifth line. The *verso* is blank.

-
- 1 [ca. 14] τῷ λαμπροτ[άτω υἱῷ τοῦ]
 2 [τῆς ἐνδόξου μνήμης] Εὐδαίμονος γεου[χοῦν]τι ἐν τῇ
 3 [λαμπρᾷ καὶ λαμπροτάτῃ Ὁ]ξ[υ]ρυγχιτῶν πόλ[ει δι'] Εὐλογίου
 4 [ca. 15–18 Αὐρ]ήλιος Ἰωάνν[η]ς Ἑρμείωνος
 5 [ca. 18] τῆς λογιστικῆς τάξ[ε]ως τῆς αὐτῆς
 6 [Ὁξυρυγχιτῶν πόλεως χαίρε]ιν. Ὁμολογῶ ὀφίλειν σοι καὶ
 7 [χρεωστεῖν ὑπὲρ τιμῆς] οἴνου ῥύσεως τῆς τρισκαι-
 8 [δεκάτης ἰνδικτίονος] οὗ ἐώνημαι π[αρά σο]ῦ κ[α]ὶ ἐβάστ[αξα]
 9 [κατὰ τὰ μεταξύ σύμφωνα ca. 3]β[]
-

3 εὐλογιῶ pap. 6 *l.* ὀφείλειν 7 οἶνῳ pap. 8 σὸ pap.

“To the most illustrious ... son of ... Eudaimon of glorious memory, landowner in the illustrious and most illustrious city of the Oxyrhynchites, through Eulogios ... Aurelius Ioannes, son of Hermeion ... of the *logistes*'s office of the same city of the Oxyrhynchites, greetings. I acknowledge that

and P. Louvre E 7053 bis is now SB 22.15703. Omitted from Jördens' collection is BGU 13.2334, a sale of barley on credit that dates to 304. To Jördens' list can now be added P.Oxy. 77.5119 (autumn of 403 CE). Of these documents, a majority (eight) come from the Oxyrhynchite, three are from the Hermopolite, two are from the Antaiopolite, and one each is from the Arsinoite and Herakleopolite nomes.

¹¹ For the papyri that discuss Eudaimon (fl. late fifth to early sixth century) and his supposed sons, Menas and Iustus (fl. mid to late sixth century), see N. Gonis, “Studies on the Aristocracy of Late Antique Oxyrhynchus,” *Tyche* 17 (2002) 93–97.

I owe and am indebted to you for the price of wine of the vintage of the thirteenth indiction which I bought from you and removed [in accordance to what was agreed between ...”

2 This restoration of τῆς μνήμης modified by ἐνδόξου is speculative, but the spacing fits and has formulaic parallels (e.g., *P.Oxy.* 44.3204.4 [588], *BASP* 48.103.11 [587–588], and *BASP* 48.106.6 [590]).

It is tempting to connect this Eudaimon with the *comes* attested in at least five published papyri and contextualized by Gonis (n. 11). This Eudaimon is a *vir illustris* and is titled ἐνδοξότατος in *P. Oxy.* 62.4349.6 (504). His possible sons Iustus and Menas are both individually referred to as ἐνδοξότατος. Neither one is attested as λαμπρότατος, as the son of Eudaimon here is, but this could be a son who started out at a lower rank.¹² Moreover, Eudaimon appears alongside λαμπρότατοι brothers in *SB* 18.13921.1 (507). At any rate, our anonymous elite landowning seller/creditor fits in socially with the other examples seller/creditors offered by Jördens (n. 10).

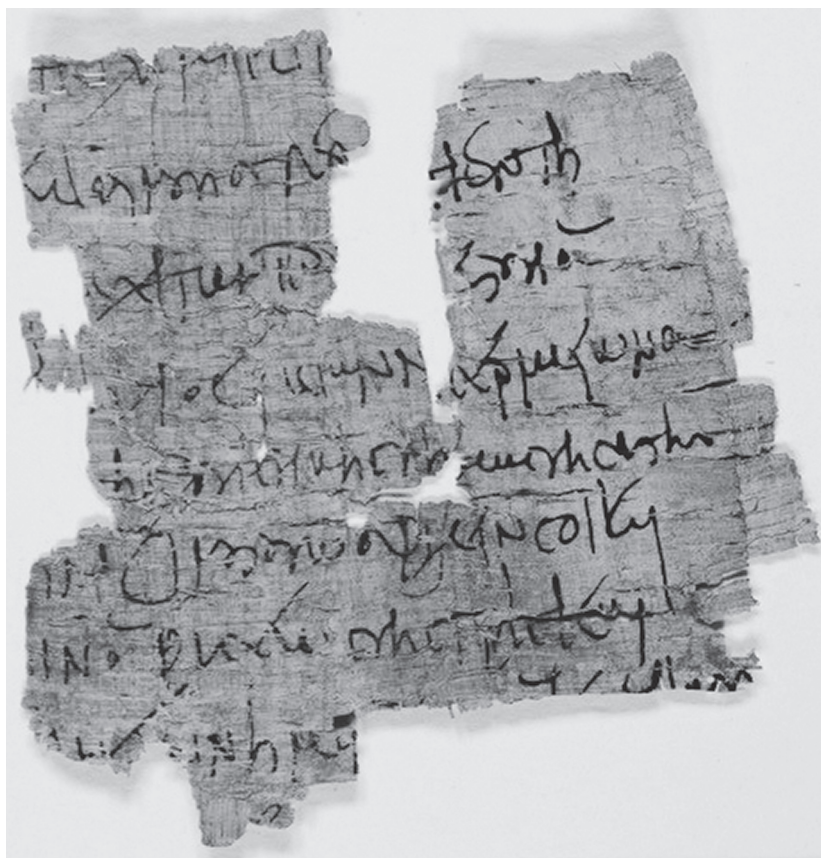
3–4 We can envision Eulogius as an employee of Eudaimon’s son, representing him in the contract, and as such we would expect a modifier describing his specific administrative position, as in *P.Oxy.* 16.1973.6 (οἰνοπράτης), *P.Lond.* 5.1773.6 (οἰνοπαραλημπτοῦ), and *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.37.5–6 (εὐδοκιμ(ωτάτου) ... διοικητοῦ).

4 Aurelius Ioannes is a common name in published Oxyrhynchite materials, with 15 attestations in Trismegistos, but an Aurelius Ioannes with a father named Hermeion is not yet attested.

5 The challenge here lies in reconciling the amount of space with the parameters of a formulaic contractual greeting. The abraded surface, moreover, makes it difficult to read the traces of at least 14 characters. A potential sequel here might include the name of Aurelius Ioannes’ mother and his occupation – but since these are otherwise unknown individuals, we can only speculate about these.

-ιστικής gives us something to work with, but λογιστικῆς is not otherwise attested outside of literary texts. The long descender in the next

¹² Such promotions are described by A.H.M. Jones, *The Later Roman Empire*, 284–602 (Oxford 1964) 1:529–530. For Oxyrhynchus specifically, and the rising status of sons among the progeny of Eulogius (not the Eulogius in l. 3), see T.M. Hickey and J.G. Keenan, “More from the Archive of the Descendants of Eulogius,” *Analecta Papyrologica* 8–9 (1996–1997) 209–218.



word most likely belongs to a ξ, and there is sufficient room to suggest the presence of a small ε in a lacuna (there remains some crumpling on both the right and left sides of the papyrus at this point). Despite the lack of attestation for a λογιστική τάξις, a possible reference to the λογιστεία or a *logistes* is not *prima facie* problematic in a late antique context – sixth-century examples include *SB* 20.14964.5 (517) and *P.Oxy.* 36.2780.7 (553).¹³

The reading of τῆς αὐτῆς at the end of l. 5 seems to fit the context, although the following reading of Oxyrhynchus is speculative, and the

¹³ For the λογιστεία, see B.R. Rees, “The *curator civitatis* in Egypt,” *JJP* 7–8 (1953–1954) 83–105.

amount of space suggests that if Oxyrhynchus was mentioned in l. 6, it was written both faster and smaller than the surrounding text or somehow abbreviated.

6–7 The presence of this formulaic acknowledgement of debt thematically aligns this fragment with examples of sales of wine on delivery.¹⁴ Yet my proposed reconstruction positions this text more specifically within the corpus of *comparanda* offered by Jördens (n. 10). Jördens has argued for reading these acknowledgements of debt as independent types of contracts, distinct both from abstract acknowledgements of indebtedness and from earlier fictitious loans. Sales on credit need not have the usurious elements suspected in sales in advance, although there is a slippery distinction to be made between loans and sales.¹⁵ The small number of these agreements supports the idea that they were rarely relied upon except in moments of unexpected need.¹⁶

7 Over half of the documents recognized as *Kaufpreisstundungen* include ὑπὲρ τιμῆς, but one can also restore ἀπὸ τιμῆς here.¹⁷ None of the existing sales on credit describe the amount owed as being related to a ρύσις, although the object bestowed on credit in the Oxyrhynchite examples is most often wine (with one example of dyes, in *P.Oxy.* 6.914).

8–9 Here and in the following lines we expect the amount of money owed by Aurelius Ioannes and some variant of κατὰ τὰ μεταξὺ σύμφωνα χρυσοῦ νομισμάτια δύο, as in *P. Oxy.* 6.914.8–9 and all other fifth century Oxyrhynchite sales on credit that include the formula οὗ ἐώνημαι παρὰ σοῦ καὶ ἐβάσταξα. In l. 9, there seem to be traces of the upper loop of a β, but the abbreviated numeral β does not seem to appear elsewhere except if preceded by the spelled-out numeral, as in *P.Oxy.* 8.1131.7–9 (χρ[υ]σοῦ νομισμάτια | δύο παρὰ κεράτια | ὁκτώ, γί(νεται) χρ(υσοῦ) νο(μισμάτια) β παρὰ κερά(τια) η) and *P.Oxy.* 6.914. If the traces of the

¹⁴ Extensive discussions of the structure and usages of these can be found in A. Jördens, *P.Heid.* V (1990) 296–341, supplemented by N. Kruit, “Local Customs in the Formulas of Sales of Wine for Future Delivery,” *ZPE* 94 (1992) 167–184.

¹⁵ Cf. R. Bagnall, “Price in ‘Sales on Delivery,’” *GRBS* 18 (1977) 85–96 and Jördens (n. 10) 333–335.

¹⁶ This is the scheme envisioned by Jördens (n. 10) 280, as opposed to the idea that such arrangements offered workarounds to the 12% interest cap.

¹⁷ ὑπὲρ τιμῆς: (1) *P.Oxy.* 16.1973.8, (2) *P.Lond.* 5.1773.8, (3) *P.Oxy.* 8.1131.5, (4) *P.Cair. Masp.* 2.67127.11, (5) *P.Ross.Georg.* 3.37.10, (6) *VBP* 6.168.12, (7) *SB* 22.15703, (8) *SB* 20.15137, as opposed to two occurrences of ἀπὸ τιμῆς, in *P.Oxy.* 6.914.7 and *P.Oxy.* 10.1320.3.

β in this line repeat the amount here, the formulaic initial statement of the amount would have to be abbreviated. At any rate, we can restore κατὰ τὰ μετὰξύ, and assume σύμφωνα follows before the owed amount of money, but we also have at least one example of σύμφωνα being preceded by γενόμενα (*P.Oxy.* 10.1320.4). In Oxyrhynchus, the amount owed is never more than two *solidi*.¹⁸

¹⁸ See Jördens (n. 10) 268 for a summary of the contents of other *Kaufpreisstundungen* by date, origin, type of good, value of good, and length of repayment time.

NOTES ON PAPYRI

P.Runnels

In col. 2, lines 10-11 of this palmomantic text, published by me in *APF* 62 (2016) 57–66, βραχ[ίων ἐὰν ἄλλη]τε (*l. ἄλληται*) βουλευ[σαι] | δῆλοῖ should be translated as “The upper arm, if it twitches, indicates that one will become councilor,” and not as “The upper arm, if it twitches, indicates that one should take counsel” (*APF* 62, p. 61). This fits the third-century date of the papyrus, established on the basis of the palaeography. Councils were introduced in Egyptian *metropoleis* in 201.

I take this opportunity to point out that the papyrus is now housed at the University of Cincinnati thanks to a gift from Professor Runnels, who also donated three smaller papyri to the Department of Classics, one Ptolemaic and one later Roman Greek document and one late Greek document reused for a Coptic document.

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P.Oxy. 8.1114, P.NYU 2.2

P.Oxy. 8.1114 and *P.NYU* 2.2 are part of a small dossier, to which *P.Oxy.* 38.2849 also belongs. In *P.Oxy.* 8.1114 from 237, a father, Marcus Aurelius Saras, claims the inheritance of his recently deceased wife for his two daughters, Aurelia Stratonice alias Sosipatra and Aurelia Apollonia alias Dieus. Part of the text is in Latin. In line 10 the alias of one of the daughters is supplied as a genitive, *Dieutis*, in the *editio princeps* and elsewhere,¹ but, as *Sel.Pap.* 2.326 and *FIRA* 3.63 have it, it should be in the dative, *Dieuti*, as the other names are.

In *P.NYU* 2.2 from 254, the two daughters notify the public banker of the Oxyrhynchite nome of tax payments they have made. Their father's "signature" appears in col. 2, ll. 24–26. On the plate (also in *ZPE* 133 [2000] Taf. 1), I see a trace at the beginning of l. 24, so that we can read Μ(ἄρκος) Αὐρήλ(ιος) Σαρᾶς rather than just Αὐρήλ(ιος) Σαρᾶς there. In l. 25 the editors read χρη(ματίζει), but the first-person "signature" requires χρη(ματίζω). To avoid confusion, the following δι' ἐμοῦ Θέω-voς could be set off from the rest of the "signature" with dashes.

P.Oxy. 38.2849 from 296 includes a petition by one of the daughters, Aurelia Apollonia alias Dieus, in ll. 8–27. She signs the petition in her own hand in l. 27, almost 60 years after her first appearance in history.

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¹ In addition to *ChLA* 3.216 also L. Schiaparelli, *Raccolta di documenti latini* (Como 1923) no. 41, P.F. Girard and F. Senn, *Textes de droit romain* (7th ed.; Paris 1937) 811–812, A. Calderini, *Papiri latini* (Milano 1945) no. 36, *CPL* 217, and *papyri.info*.

P.Petra 1.6.10–15

Since so many of the Petra papyri are lengthy rolls written *transversa charta*, P.Petra 1.6 is a peculiar exception, consisting as it does of twenty short lines written with the fibers on a narrow piece of papyrus in the awkward hand of a person who was orthographically challenged.¹ Billing itself as a list (*gnosis*), it was accordingly published as a “List of Stolen Items”; but the list, strictly speaking, only occupies lines 5–9. It is immediately preceded by the complainant’s naming a suspect, lines 3–5, and is followed by a narrative, beginning at line 10, ending at line 15. The complainant then, lines 16–20, affirms he has received the suspect’s oath, probably denying knowledge and even awareness of the alleged thefts.² It is instantly curious that the complainant, though he surely believed that his “items” had been “stolen,” instead writes of them as having been “lost” (ἀπόλεισα [sic], lines 1–2), perhaps maintaining a certain delicacy of expression, he being a priest (line 17) and the suspect a fellow cleric (τὸν εὐλλαβ(έστατον), lines 3–4, cf. lines 19–20).

In any case, the six-line narrative of lines 10–15 remains puzzling despite efforts of Jean-Luc Fournet³ and Rodney Ast⁴ to repair the text. The *editio princeps* of the passage is as follows:

ὅτε ἐκένωσεν τὸν οἶκον⁵
 αὐτοῦ ἔδοκα αὐτῷ
 12 δύο δομάτια ἵνα ξισ-
 ηλάσε εἰς αὐτὰ καὶ οὐ-
 κ ἀνέδοκέν μοι αὐ-
 τά. †

11 ἔδοκα αὐτῷ 12 δομάτια, ἵνα pap. 12–13 εἰσηλάση 14 ἀνέδωκεν

In the editor’s translation: “When he emptied his apartment, I gave him two rooms to move into, and he did not give me those back.”

¹ Plate XXI. The image is also available online through www.papyri.info. I thank the editor and an anonymous reader for extending the lexical reach of this note, especially for drawing particular attention to the citation from Hesychius of Miletus (see below with n. 15).

² Thus now in P.Petra 4.39.475–485.

³ J.-L. Fournet, review of P.Petra 1, *AntTard* 11 (2003) 398–404 at 403. Recorded in *BL* 12.157; cf. P.Petra 3, p. xx.

⁴ R. Ast, “The First Two Volumes of Petra Papyri,” *JRA* 23 (2010) 788–792 at 791–792. Cf. P.Petra 4, p. xix.

⁵ οἶκον is compressed at the end of the line, with *nu* written above the second *omicron*.

The commentary contains suggestive remarks on two of the passage's words: (1) that in ἐκένωσεν, line 10, the *omega*, which is dotted in the lemma but not in the text, "in fact, looks more like an *alpha*" and (2) regarding δομάτια, line 12, that "the *tau* looks very much like a *rho*" – with good reason: they are *alpha* and *rho*, as Fournet quickly recognized. In his own discussion, Ast in turn identifies two words in lines 12–13 as "particularly problematic," δομάτια (δωμάτια) and εἰσηλάσε (εἰσηλάση), but proceeds to devote equal attention to a third word, this one in line 10, the already mentioned ἐκένασεν < ἐκένωσεν, questioning it both for its supposed sense, "to empty," so out of tune with the context, and for its spelling, in the unlikely substitution from a phonological standpoint of *alpha* for *omega*.⁶ He then develops a suggestion by Dieter Hagedorn that the writer perhaps intended but bungled a form of κρεμάννυμι ("to hang"), having written ἐκέμασεν for ἐκρέμασεν – following which the drift of the ensuing discussion leads him to ponder whether the writer had intended (but apparently failed?) to describe "the act of building a house from the ground up or perhaps just adding a floor."

From this inkling a less complicated solution emerges: the writer wrote ἐκένασεν for ἐκαίνασεν.⁷ On phonological grounds this is unlikely to be a misspelling for ἐκαίνωσεν.⁸ On the contrary, if in this instance the writer's spelling is correct – a big if, since in his 53-word text, at least fifteen are, by our standards, misspelled – the implied dictionary form would be καινάζω.⁹ This does not exist in the lexica, but compare καινίζω,¹⁰ ἀνακαινίζω,¹¹ καινώω,¹² ἀνακαινώω,¹³ and assorted καινός-compounds

⁶ There are no examples of $\omega > \alpha$ in the Petra papyri (*P.Petra* 5, tables on pp. 27–31), and the rare $\omicron > \alpha$ shifts (Table 7 on p. 30) include three that are more likely morphological than phonological (replacement of second with first aorist forms).

⁷ ϵ/α exchanges are second only to ι/ϵ interchanges in Egypt's documentary papyri (Gignac, *Grammar* 1, pp. 192–193). They are not, in terms of proportion, as abundantly evidenced in the Petra papyri (*P.Petra* 5, p. 11 and Table 6 on pp. 29–30), but the instances are here sufficient for supportive purposes. Of course, their relevance for an unaccomplished writer such as that of *P.Petra* 6, unique to the archive, may be doubted.

⁸ See above, with n. 6, cf. *P.Petra* 4.39.327, correctly: καινώσειν.

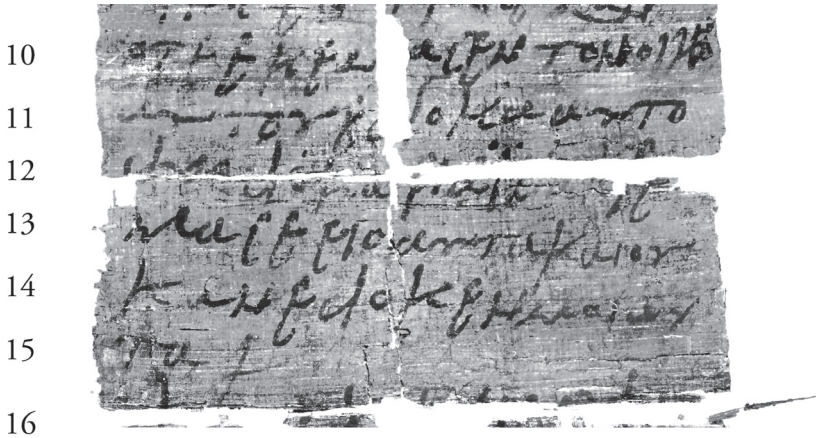
⁹ If uniqueness is an objection to this, cf. the rare verb ὁμοιάζω (LSJ 1224, Arndt and Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*² 566 s.v.).

¹⁰ LSJ 858, Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* 692, WB 1.719 s.v. Given the absence of $\iota > \alpha$ substitution in the Petra papyri (see *P.Petra* 5, pp. 9–12, tables on pp. 27–31), it is unlikely that the writer of *P.Petra* 6 wrote ἐκένασεν (= ἐκαίνασεν) for ἐκένισεν (= ἐκαίνισεν), but see above, n. 7, for the possible irrelevance of this argument.

¹¹ LSJ 107, Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* 104 s.v., SB 28.17239.9.

¹² LSJ 859, Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* 693, WB 1.719 s.v.

¹³ LSJ 107, Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* 105 s.v.



for the root's productivity in verbs.¹⁴ Senses related to theological change and spiritual renewal seem to dominate the biblical, patristic, and generally late uses of *καίνος*-verbs. A telling exception is the sixth-century historian Hesychius of Miletus's description of the commander Timesios's urban renewal projects in pre-Roman Byzantium, among which: τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ Φρίξου λεγομένῳ λιμένι τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος οἶκον ἀνεκαίνισεν.¹⁵ Consider, finally, that if *ἐτοιμάζω* can mean "to make ready,"¹⁶ there is little reason why *καινάζω* cannot mean "to make new, to renovate," or in familiar American idiom, "to remodel, to rehab."

This comes close to supplying the sense Rodney Ast was seeking. Along the way, in combination with Ast's reading of *δοκάρια* ("little beams") in line 12, it creates a scenario different from that presented in the *editio princeps*: the alleged thefts occurred, now more plausibly, while the suspect was renovating, not emptying, his *oikos*.¹⁷ The plaintiff had given

¹⁴ Especially ἀνακαινοποιέω (Lampe, *Patristic Greek Lexicon* 105 s.v.) and καινοποιέω (LSJ 858 and WB 1.719 s.v.). The main nominal cognates are (ἀνα)καίνισις and (ἀνα)καινισμός.

¹⁵ Citation in LSJ 107 of Hesychius Milesius 4.33. The full extract can be found in C. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum* 4, at p. 152; F. Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* IIIb, text volume, at p. 272; and T. Preger, *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum* (Leipzig 1901), at p. 14. The hyperbaton is noteworthy. For the author and his works: A. Kaldellis, "The Works and Days of Hesychios the Illoustrius of Miletos," *GRBS* 45 (2005) 381–405.

¹⁶ WB 1.605–606 s.v., especially the definition as "machen fertig"; cf. LSJ 703 s.v.

¹⁷ The *kappa* in *δοκάρια* is certain; it is an almost exact redrawing of the *kappa* in *ἔδοκα*, line 11. That being said, the *epsilon* in *ἔδοκα* is unlike any other *epsilon* in the papyrus; it looks strangely like *beta*. *Oikos*: "The word is an elastic term that denotes, among others,

him, not temporary housing, δομάτια,¹⁸ but “two little beams,” δύο δοκάρια, to advance the reconstruction project.¹⁹

The mystery of how the beams were to be used remains embedded in the phrase ἵνα ἐισηλάσε εἰς αὐτά. This would seem to suggest, in accordance with the *editio princeps*, that the beams were not so much “beams” as “planks,” laid down in such a way as to facilitate access to the construction site. But Ast is surely right in judging the reading ἐισηλάσε to be incorrect: the last letter in line 12 is *epsilon*, not *sigma*; the next line begins with μασε, not ηλασε. From these adjustments (*epsilon* for *sigma*, *mu* for *eta-lambda*), following Ast, the only possible reading becomes κρελμάσε (for κρελμάση).²⁰ This in turn suggests that the *dokaria* were “bars” or “tie beams” for hanging or affixing things and that αὐτά refers back to them.²¹

Revised text:

ὅτε ἐκένασεν τὸν οἶκον
αὐτοῦ ἔδοκα αὐτῷ
12 δύο δοκάρια ἵνα κρε-
μάσε εἰς αὐτά καὶ οὐ-
κ ἀνέδοκέν μοι αὐ-
τά. †

10 ἐκαίνασεν 11 ἔδοκα αὐτῷ 12 ἵνα pap. 12–13 κρεμάση 14 ἀνέδωκεν

a single room, a unit of rooms within a structure, and an independent structure with its room(s).” – *P.Petra* 2, p. 16, cf. pp. 16–17 (“first floor unit”; “house, structure”; “room”); “apartment” in the editor’s translation quoted above. See further *P.Petra* 4, pp. 10–12.

¹⁸ Reading δομάτια with the *editio princeps*, δομάτιον presumably being the diminutive of δῶμα, for which see *P.Petra* 2, p. 6 s.v. (with reference to *P.Petra* 2.17): “a flat roof that can be used as a terrace.” For the editor’s understanding of the word in *P.Petra* 1.6, however, see the note to line 12: “rooms” of a house.

¹⁹ Cf. LSJ 443 (“bearing-beam, main beam, esp. in the floor or roof of a house”; “any balk or beam”) and WB 1.395–396 (“Balken,” etc.) s.v. δοκός. Note in further support of this that the verbs of giving (δίδωμι) and giving back (ἀναδίδωμι) in lines 11 and 14 are unquestionably suitable when applied to physical, portable things, less so perhaps for abstract rights or even physical places of habitation. Similar reservation, based on what can or cannot, strictly speaking, be stolen, was expressed by Fournet: “Mais j’avoue être étonné par le sens de l. 10–15 qu’impose la lecture δομάτια: il me paraît difficile qu’au milieu d’objets volés, Epiphanius [the complainant] recense deux pièces de maison!”

²⁰ κρε are split horizontally between two fragments, perhaps ever so slightly misaligned, with space in between. Although the bottom of *kappa* is faint (or lost), and the middle of *rho* and top of *epsilon* are missing, all three letters have enough remains to make dotting unnecessary.

²¹ “Bars”: cf. F. Montanari, *The Brill Dictionary of Ancient Greek* (Leiden and Boston 2015) 546 s.v. δοκός, citing Aristophanes, *Wasps* 201 (“beams,” however, in B.B. Rogers’s famous Loeb translation).

Revised translation: “When he renovated his *oikos*, I gave him two little bars so that he could hang [sc. some unspecified things] onto them and he did not give them back to me.”

The complainant, it seems, had intended the bars as a friendly and temporary loan of use, not as outright gifts. He expected their return when the renovation was complete.²² Thus, they figure in this list of stolen items, whether they were identical with or in addition to the “two cypresses” of line 7. The same combination, alleged theft of building materials during a house reconstruction project, occurs in *P.Petra* 4.39.475–485.²³

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²² Moreover, if the suspect had incorporated them into his *oikos*, in a purely Roman scenario (which this presumably is not), the mode of acquisition known as *accessio* would have come into play and given rise, among other actions (*furtum*, *dolus*), to the *actio de tigno iuncto*: Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* 737 s.v. *Tignum iunctum*, cf. *Just. Inst.* 2.1.29.

²³ Already cited above, n. 2, for its attendant oath.

P.Masada 724 Revised¹

Jerusalem, Israel Museum, Shrine of the Book [inv. 1039-161]

Provenance: Masada (excavated by Y. Yadin in 1963-1965; found in Locus 1039)

Origin: unknown

W × H = 14.5 × 8 cm

Spring 73 or 74

The papyrus² is written on the *recto* along the fibres and preserves the upper (2.5 cm) and left (3 cm) margins, whereas it is damaged on the other sides; three lines can be seen. On the *verso*, the papyrus being rotated 90°, the left portions of three lines survive.

The *recto* is written in an elegant old Roman cursive featuring various serifs and characterized by some *litterae notabiliores* (initial *l*, *s*, and *t*), as well as some strokes (in *a*, *i*, and *n*) exceeding the notional baseline. The closest paleographical parallel is P.Med. inv. 195 (second half of the first-beginning of the second century). The address on the *verso* (at least l. 1) recalls the *litterae elongatae*, which find parallels in P.Berol. inv. 8906 *verso* (127/128-171), *P.Hib.* 2.276 *verso* (ca. 157), *P.Oxy.* 1.32 *verso* l. 1 (second century), and in *T.Vindol.* 2.218 *verso* (ca. 97-103). The *mise en page* is relevant: in l. 1 on the *recto*, blank spaces separate words; *salutem* is not at the very end of the line; and l. 3 is indented in comparison with l. 1. The scribe wrote accents above long *o* and *u*, and a medial dot in l. 1 on the *recto*. The Greek script shares similarities of ink and tracing with the Latin one.

This poorly preserved recommendation letter is addressed by *Titulenius Vindex* to *Iulius Lupus*: the two names can be read on the *recto* (l. 1), whereas on the *verso* (l. 1) only the second one is visible; the addressee was identified with the prefect of Egypt *Tiberius Iulius Lupus*, who was in office in 73.³ This identification was questioned by

¹ The research leading to these results has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (Grant agreement n° 636983); ERC-PLATINUM project 'Papyri and Latin Texts: Insights and Updated Methodologies. Towards a philological, literary, and historical approach to Latin papyri,' University of Naples 'Federico II' – PI Maria Chiara Scapatriccio. A preliminary version of this reedition was presented during the 29th International Congress of Papyrology, Università del Salento 28.7-3.8.2019 (Lecce); it is based on the images sent to me by Yael Barschak, whom I thank. I also thank the anonymous reviewers for their comments and for improving my English (for which I am grateful also to the BASP assistant). All the dates given are AD.

² It was first edited by H.M. Cotton and J. Geiger as *P.Masada* 724, then reedited by T. Dorandi as *ChLA* 46.1367 and by P. Cugusi as *CEL* 3.80bis.

³ On the identification, see *P.Masada*, pp. 62-64; on the date of *Iulius Lupus*' office, see G. Bastianini, "Lista dei prefetti d'Egitto dal 30^a al 299^o," *ZPE* 17 (1975) 263-328 at 275, and G. Bastianini, "Lista dei prefetti d'Egitto dal 30^a al 299^o. Aggiunte e correzioni," *ZPE* 38 (1980) 75-89 at 78.

Roxan,⁴ who proposed to identify him with *Publius Iulius Lupus*, *consul suffectus* in 98, who could have been *tribunus laticlavus* in the *legio X Fretensis* during the siege of Masada.⁵ This suggestion might be supported by the fact that none of the other Latin letters of recommendation dated to the High Empire is addressed to a person with a very high status, but to a *pater* (P.Berol. inv. 11649; second half of the first century), to a *tribunus militum* (P.Oxy. 1.32), and in P.Med. inv. 195, P.Hib. 2.276 and P.Ryl. 4.608 (second half of the first century?) the addressee is simply referred to as *suus*, as in the present text, which implies an equal relationship between sender and addressee.⁶

A couple of points are of ecdotic interest. In *recto* l. 3, the name of the recommended person – previously transcribed as *Veñ[. . .] . atum [. . .]* – can be restored in full as *Vet[ti]um Şatur[ninum]*: in fact, the letter read as *ñ* does not feature an oblique stroke like that of l. 1 on the *recto* but rather a slightly waved one like that of *t* in the following *do]mesticum*;⁷ as for the high trace interpreted as *ñ* in the *editio princeps*, it corresponds to a curl of an *r* rather than to a serif of *m*, as can be seen in *salutem* in l. 2 on the *recto*. The restoration is compatible with the lacuna, for on the *recto* the scribe tends to write letters very closely together. Parallel texts are P.Ryl. 4.608 *recto* ll. 4-7: . . .]*onem domini nostri imper[a]ltores serum* (l. *imperatoris servum*) *hominem mih[i] | domesticum et carum rogo, | domine, commendatum hab[feas.]* and P.Med. inv. 195 ll. 3-5: [. . .]*m Prim[i]genium domestil[cum] meum rogo commenda[tum ha]b[e]q[s.]*⁸ In l. 2 on the *verso*, the traces do not necessarily point to *a*: the *a*'s on the *recto* (ll. 2-3) are different, for the first stroke consistently exceeds the notional baseline and the second one is oblique, whereas here the first one is far shorter and the second one is nearly vertical; either *m* or *μ* may be possible. In any case, the name of the sender was presumably written after that of the addressee and can thus be restored in l. 1 after *Lupó* or in l. 2 (the latter would imply an *a* at the beginning of l. 2).

⁴ M.M. Roxan, "Review of Hannah M. Cotton, Joseph Geiger, with a contribution by J. David Thomas: Masada II: the Yigael Yadin Excavations, 1963-1965. Final Reports; the Latin and Greek Documents," *CR* 41 (1991) 458-459 at 458.

⁵ For *Publius Iulius Lupus* see *PIR*² I 389 and also *CEL* vol. 3, p. 177.

⁶ As noticed in *CEL* vol. 3, p. 177. The social statuses of sender and addressee in the fragmentary *O.Berenike* 2.123 (50-70) cannot be determined.

⁷ I.e., one of the *domestici*, the "members of one's entourage," see *OLD*² 626 s.v. *b. T* was also another of the possible interpretation of the *editores principes* (P.Masada, p. 66), who discarded it because it does not feature the inclination of the upper stroke; however, such inclination is not that evident in the other *t*'s.

⁸ Rather than *ha]b[feas* (see S. Daris, "Lettera di raccomandazione Latina," *CE* 45 [1970] 353-355; *ChLA* 28.841; *CEL* 1.84), as the top of *a* is still visible.

The presence on the *verso* (l. 3) of a sequence different from the names of the sender and the addressee – that is, the Greek *παλατειν[* for *παλατιν[* – is unclear: the expected formula consists of the name of addressee, usually that of the sender and possibly related epithets.⁹ The previous editors rightly discarded the possibility that it was an official title and were skeptical about interpreting it as the place from which the letter was written.¹⁰ The presence of both Greek and Latin on the *verso* recalls *CEL* 1.222 (317-324), where the addressee on the back of the papyrus is referred to as both *dominus suus* and ἡγεμὼν Φοινείκης, and *P.Mich.* 8.469 (ca. 114), on whose *verso* the Greek address – for the person carrying the letter – was written. Here *παλατειν[* might identify another addressee (thus, *Παλατεί[ω]*) who did not need to be indicated in the prescript on the *recto*; the personal name *Παλατῖνος* finds parallels in *O.Did.* 397.10 (c. 110-115), *SB* 6.9017 n° 15.14 (first-second century) and *P.Oxy.* 1.43 *recto* col. 6.8 (295).

recto

Titulenus V[i]ndex · Lupó συ[o]
salútem.

3 Vet[tium] Šatur[ninum do]mesticum m[eum]

— — — — —

verso

Ιύλιό Lupó [

. . [

3 παλατειν[

recto 3 Ven[. .] . atum[. . . . do]mesticum *Cotton-Geiger*

verso 1 a Tituleno Vindice *vel post* Lupó *vel in inferiore linea supplendum* || 2 *vel a vel m vel μ, a [Cotton-Geiger* || 3 *m?* ? | *vel Παλατεί[ου (l. Παλατί[ου) Cotton-Geiger vel Παλατεί[ω (l. Παλατίνω) Bowersock*¹¹ | *infra hanc lineam fortasse [rogo commendatum habes supplendum*

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⁹ See e.g. *P.Oxy.* 1.32 *verso*, *P.Mich.* 8.469 *verso* and 471 *verso* (c. 114), *P.Hib.* 2.276 *verso*. Also the place in which the letter was produced can be mentioned, as in *P.Ryl.* 4.608 *verso* l. 2.

¹⁰ *P.Masada*, p. 67; they tentatively also suggested it to be referred to a person involved in carrying the letter.

¹¹ G.W. Bowersock, "Review of: N. Lewis (ed.), *Judean Desert Studies: the Documents from the Bar Kokhba Period in the Cave of Letters*, Greek papyri, Jerusalem 1989; Hannah M. Cotton and Joseph Geiger (edd.), *Masada II, the Yigael Yadin Excavations 1963-1965. Final Reports: the Latin and Greek Documents*," *JRA* 4 (1991) 336-344 at 344, n. 10.

CHRISTIAN INSCRIPTIONS FROM EGYPT AND NUBIA 7 (2019)

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Abstract. — Seventh installment of an annual overview of published inscriptions in Greek and Coptic from Christian Egypt and Nubia.

The seventh issue of our epigraphical bulletin covers the inscriptions published in 2019, together with various left-over items from previous years, which we either missed or which came too late to our attention for inclusion in earlier bulletins: one from 2013 (1), two from 2014 (27, 30), two from 2015 (6–7, 35), one from 2016 (4–5), six from 2017 (3, 11, 12–23, 25, 36, 45), and nine from 2018 (8–10, 26, 29, 33, 42–43, 44, 46, 47, 48).

1. Alexandria. Greek graffiti. A. Łukaszewicz, “Lecture Halls at Kom el-Dikka in Alexandria,” in M. Dzielska and K. Twardowska (eds.), *Divine Men and Women in the History and Society of Late Hellenism* (Cracow 2013) 101–112 discusses some of the discoveries of the Polish mission at Kom el-Dikka since 1960, in particular the series of rooms from the late fifth or early sixth century that have been interpreted as classrooms of an educational institution. Graffiti are also mentioned: at pp. 102–103, *SEG* 40.1557 (A. Łukaszewicz, “Fragmenta Alexandrina I: Some Inscriptions from the Roman Baths at Kom el Dikka,” *ZPE* 82 [1990] 136, no. 5); at pp. 103–104, *I.Syringes* 1851 (mentioning a member of the Alexandrian Blue faction); and at p. 107, n. 23, *SEG* 31.1492 (Z. Borkowski, *Inscriptions des factions à Alexandrie* [Warsaw 1981] 81–82, no. 39), in which the author suggests reading ll. 14–15 as καὶ Βῆχης ἰ μετὰ τῶν.

2. Saqqara and Bawit. Coptic inscriptions with extracts from Psalms. A. Delattre, “Des citations des Psaumes dans les inscriptions des monastères de Saqqarah et Baouît,” *Cd’É* 94 (2019) 181–187 interprets six Coptic inscriptions from Saqqara and Bawit as extracts of Psalms and

re-edits them. The first two, found in room 1802 of the monastery of Apa Jeremiah, were taken by H. Thompson in J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara (1908–9, 1909–10): The Monastery of Apa Jeremias* (Cairo 1912) 111–112 (nos. 351–352), followed by C. Wietheger, *Das Jeremias-Kloster zu Saqqara unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Inschriften* (Altenberge 1992) 447–448 (nos. 406–407), as a fragment from a work by Shenoute and a hymn to the Abbot Jeremiah himself, respectively. However, the author shows that, in fact, it concerns Ps. 1:3–4 (with the previous, illegible lines presumably containing the beginning of the Psalm) and 44:1. The other four, from Chapel 7 at the Apa Apollo monastery, were edited in a rather rudimentary fashion by J. Clédat, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouît*, vol. 1 (Cairo 1904) 47 (nos. 35–38). Partly aided by Clédat's original transcriptions now kept in the Louvre, the author is able to identify the first as the title of Ps. 17, the second, found beneath the previous one and no doubt a renewed attempt by the same scribe to write the beginning of the Psalm, as Ps. 17:1–2, the third as Ps. 1:1, and the fourth as Ps. 8:3. Without photos and a detailed study of their context the exact purpose of these inscriptions is difficult to grasp, though they have no doubt some basis in devotional practice (note that all are *incipits* except for the last one which may be missing text before it).

3. el-Bahnasa (Oxyrhynchus). Greek inscriptions. C. Piedrafita, “Revisió de l’epigrafia grega d’Oxirrinc a l’any 2017. Una recopilació dels textos més importants publicats,” *Nilus* 26 (2017) 21–25. General overview of the Greek epigraphical texts found in Oxyrhynchus by the Spanish-Egyptian archaeological mission (since 1992). A list of all epigraphical texts from Oxyrhynchus is provided and contains 33 items; most of them are from the Christian period (for no. 19, see *CIEN* 5.8; nos. 20 and 22 are partly in Coptic). A photo of the epitaph of Menas (Fig. 2, see 6 below) is reproduced.

4–5. el-Bahnasa (Oxyrhynchus). Greek inscriptions, 6th–7th cent. C. Piedrafita Carpena, “La epigrafía griega de Oxirrinc hoy (2015),” *Nilus* 25 (2016) 17–21. Preliminary presentation of some Greek inscriptions from Oxyrhynchus now mostly in foreign museums, of which an unpublished funerary stela found on the site by the Spanish-Egyptian mission (no. 1 = 4) and a lamp dedicated to Amma Chrustina (no. 4 = 5; cf. no. 5) are relevant.

4. Ed. princ. Piedrafita Carpena, pp. 17–18, no. 1, Fig. 1 (no. 31 in the list of 3). Fragmentary funerary stela (20 × 18 cm; photographs were

already published) discovered in 2008 in sector 24, containing Christian tombs. The right side of the stone is broken off. A provisional reading of the text is offered, with almost no comment. From the photograph and the edition, one can understand the text as follows:

✠ Κ(ύριο)ς ὁ θ(εὸ)ς [εὔσ- ?]
 πλαγχν[ος καὶ ?]
 ἐλεήμον ὁ [ἐν ?]
 παραδίσω [τῆς ?]
 5 τρυφῇ[ς
 σιω[

“✠ Lord God, compassionate and merciful, who in the garden of delight ...” In l. 3 read ἐλεήμων, in l. 4 παραδείσω. The closest parallel appears to be the heavily liturgical epitaph of the high official Mariankouda, *I.Khartoum.Gr.* 18 (5 June 887) from Hambukol (Nubia). It opens with the triple invocation of God as μακρόθυμε, εὖσπλαγχνε, πολυέλεε (l. 2) and refers to the “garden of delight” in l. 4. The expression ἐν παραδείσῳ τῆς τρυφῆς is ubiquitous in the prayer for the rest of the soul in Nubian epitaphs (e.g. A. Łajtar and J. van der Vliet, *Qasr Ibrim: The Greek and Coptic Inscriptions* [Warsaw 2010] 70, no. 20.17–18, with commentary at pp. 76–77; as such it also appears on Egyptian stelae, e.g. Lefebvre, *Recueil* 541.12–13 [Esna, 30 April 890]) and comes from the Liturgy of St. Basil (A. Budde, *Die ägyptische Basilios-Anaphora* [Münster 2004] 190). Here, however, at the beginning of the epitaph, it cannot be part of the prayer for the rest of the soul in an eschatological paradise, but must refer to primordial paradise, as indeed in *I.Khartoum.Gr.* 18 and the closely related *Totenklage* stela *SB Kopt.* 1.783.5 (Qaw el-Kebir, 799 or 805; see J. van der Vliet, “‘What Is Man?’ The Nubian Tradition of Coptic Funerary Inscriptions,” in A. Łajtar and J. van der Vliet [eds.], *Nubian Voices: Studies in Christian Nubian Culture* [Warsaw 2011] 207–208 [repr. in idem, *The Christian Epigraphy of Egypt and Nubia* (London 2018) 407–408; cf. *CIEN* 6.2]).

5. Discussion of Lefebvre, *Recueil* 750 (= *SB* 5.8714; no. 17 in the list of 3), an oil lamp dedicated to ἡ ἁγία ἄμμα Χρυστῖνα “Saint Amma Chrustina,” kept in the National Museum of Antiquities at Leiden. The author argues that the lamp probably comes from Oxyrhynchus since a similar lamp with the same inscription was found at the site (Lefebvre, *Recueil* 751, now in the Royal Ontario Museum at Toronto; no. 18 in the list of 3). One should note that there is a third lamp mentioning St. Christina

(written Χρηστίνα) in the Benaki Museum, Athens, see K. Loverdou-Tsigarida, “Ἐνεπίγραφοι κοπτικοὶ λύχνοι τοῦ Μουσείου Μπενάκι,” *Δελτίον τῆς χριστιανικῆς ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἐταιρείας*, series 4, no. 6 (1970–1972) 130–145, no. 12017, with A. Papaconstantinou, *Le culte des saints en Égypte des Byzantins aux Abbassides* (Paris 2001) 216, who already suggests that the lamp from Leiden (and the one from Athens) may also be from Oxyrhynchus.

6–7. Oxyrhynchus. Greek funerary stelae, 6th–7th cent. *Ed. princ.* C. Piedrafita, “El prior Menas i una inscripció amb l’era de Dioclecia a Oxirrinc,” in N. Castellano et al. (eds.), *Ex Aegypto lux et sapientia. Homenatge al professor Josep Padró Parcerisa* (Barcelona 2015) 455–465. Two funerary stelae found in a basilica-type church (sector 16.6) in a Late Antique “fortress” outside the city (for an archaeological description, see E. Subías Pascual, “A Byzantine Domain in the Suburbs of Oxyrhynchus,” in P. Buzi, A. Camplani, and F. Contardi [eds.], *Coptic Society, Literature and Religion from Late Antiquity to Modern Times: Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies*, vol. 2 [Leuven 2016] 1381–1394). Inhumations were found inside the building, as well as the two following epitaphs.

6. *Ed. princ.* Piedrafita, pp. 455–458, no. 1, Fig. 1 (no. 23 in the list of 3). Funerary stela (ca. 95 × 50 cm) of the Abbot Menas. After a cross, the text begins (ll. 1–4) with the formula Κύ(ριε) ἀνάπαυσον τὴν ψυχὴν τοῦ δούλου σο[υ] “Lord, give rest to the soul of your servant.” The deceased was the abbot of an otherwise unknown monastery of St. Cyriacus (Μηνᾶ προεστῶ(τος) [read προεστῶτος] ἁγίου Κυριακοῦ, ll. 5–7). This monastery is perhaps to be identified with the “fortress” itself. The date, 15 Pachon of the 4th indiction, follows (ll. 7–8). A cross “pattée” on a pedestal is engraved at the bottom of the stone.

7. *Ed. princ.* Piedrafita, pp. 459–461, no. 2, Fig. 2 (no. 24 in the list of 3). Fragmentary funerary stela (47 × 44 × 6 cm). Only the last four lines of the text, containing the date, are preserved: 20 Choiak of the 14th indiction, year 402 of Diocletian, that is, 16 December 685. Again there is a cross on a pedestal below the text, this one “fourchée” and with decorations on both sides.

8–10. Oxyrhynchus. Greek graffiti, 6th–7th cent. *J. Padró, J.J. Martínez, and C. Piedrafita*, “Historia de un edificio religioso en Oxirrinc, desde el siglo IV a.C. hasta el siglo VII d.C.,” in A. Guzmán Almagro, and J. Velaza (eds.), *Miscellanea Philologica et Epigraphica Marco Mayer Oblata*

(Barcelona 2018) 702–718. Archaeological survey of sector 24 in the upper necropolis of Oxyrhynchus. A crypt was excavated, where many graffiti were found, as well as paintings (representing a human figure, two angels and a woman in prayer, Figs. 5, 6a–c). It was originally a Serapeum built in the reign of Philip III Arrhidaeus (323–317 BCE) and was transformed into a church in Late Antiquity. Many graffiti refer to St. Philoxenus, probably the saint of the church, who was a major saint venerated at Oxyrhynchus. The photographs of three graffiti are given, without edition or translation (Figs. 7–9). One can read the following texts.

8. Padró, Martínez, and Piedrafita, p. 710, Fig. 7. The first graffito is an invocation of the God of St. Philoxenus, asking for protection on behalf of three persons.

+ Κ(ύρι)ε ὁ Θ(εὸ)ς
 τοῦ ἁγίου
 Φιλοξένου
 φύλακτον
 5 τὸν κύριον Βίκτωρ
 κὲ κείρα Τωγ-
 σία κὲ Φαυστῖνε
 ΖΑΜΗΝ

2. read ἁγίου || 3. read Φιλοξένου || 4. read φύλακτον || 5. read κύριον || 6. read καὶ | read κύρα || 6–7. read Δοξία || 7. read καὶ | read Φαυστῖνη

“+ Lord, the God of Saint Philoxenus, guard lord Biktōr, lady Doxia, and Phaustine. Amen.” In l. 8, the scribe uses the Coptic ζ in amen. He shows himself to be only moderately familiar with Greek orthography.

9. Padró, Martínez, and Piedrafita, p. 711, Fig. 8. The second graffito is quite short and asks the Lord for remembrance. One can read:

+
 Κύριε μνήσθητεί μου Κύριε
 Μαργαρίτης ωργαν() +

“+ Lord, remember me, Lord. Margarites ... +” In l. 1, read μνήσθητι. The meaning of l. 2 is unclear. One should probably understand Μαργαρίτης here as a personal name (from the word meaning “pearl”). It is also a toponym attested in the Oxyrhynchite nome (A. Benaissa, *Rural Settlements of the Oxyrhynchite Nome: A Papyrological Survey*, 2nd ed. [Cologne-Leuven 2012] 175–176). What follows seems to read ωργαν,

possibly with an abbreviation stroke, which may stand for ὀργανίτης “engineer” or ὀργανιστής “waterworks-engineer” (both words are attested in the papyri).

10. Padró, Martínez, and Piedrafita, p. 711, Fig. 9 (no. 33 in the list of 3). The third graffito contains, just as 8 above, an invocation of the God of St. Philoxenus, asking for protection. The text is interesting: it bears an absolute date and contains unusual formulae. As for the date, at p. 716 the authors mention a year 303 of Diocletian (erroneously referring to the previous inscription, 9 above), but the reading is incorrect. The text can be tentatively read as follows:

[+ Θ(ε)ς (?) τοῦ] ἁγίου Φιλοξέ[νου]
 [φύλαξ]ον τὸν δοῦλόν σου
 Ἰωάννην ἀπὸ παντὸς
 κακοῦ πράγματος καὶ
 5 συνέλθέ μοι πάντα
 καταθυμίως πρᾶτ' ὄντι
 ρθ̄ Φαρμουθι ᾱ ᾿ἰνδ(ικτίωνος) ιγ̄
 ἔτους σλ̄ζ traces. +

“[+ God ?] of Saint Philoxenus, guard your servant Ioannes against every evil thing and help me, who does everything according to your will. Amen. 1 Pharmouthi of the 13th indiction, year 236 ... +” The restorations in ll. 1–2 are given *exempli gratia*. The expression in ll. 3–4 recalls Ps. 120:7 (κύριος φυλάξει σε ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ “the Lord will keep you from all evil”), and the exact phrase ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ πράγματος “from every evil thing” is found in a magical papyrus (*PGM LXXI*). The expression in ll. 5–6 seems unattested. In l. 6, πρᾶτ' ὄντι bears an apostrophe in the middle of the word between two consonants, a phenomenon that is well attested in contemporary documentary papyri under influence of literary practices; see J.-L. Fournet, “L’influence des usages littéraires sur l’écriture des documents: perspectives,” in A. Bülow-Jacobsen (ed.), *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists* (Copenhagen 1994) 418–419 (“l’apostrophe à valeur diastolique”), and is in line with the literary tone of the inscription. For “amen” before the month in l. 7, cf. e.g. *SB* 4.7321. The λ in the year in l. 8 is difficult to read but probable (the σ and ζ are certain). The traces after the number probably contain an abbreviated form of Διοκλητιανοῦ, but the photo does not allow a reading. The date corresponds to 27 March 520 (which is indeed a 13th indiction).

11. Manqabad. Christian inscriptions. R. Pirelli, I. Incordino, P. Buzi, and A. Salsano, “The Italian-Egyptian Mission at the Monastery of Abba Nefer at Manqabad: Results of the First Four Seasons’ Work,” in G. Rosati and M.C. Guidotti (eds.), *Proceedings of the XI International Congress of Egyptologists* (Oxford 2017) 491–498 present the results of the first four campaigns of the Italian-Egyptian excavations at Manqabad (2011–2014); for an earlier report, see *CIEN* 4.13. Epigraphical finds are briefly discussed at pp. 496–497. As in the two examples mentioned in *CIEN* 4.13, the stelae, found reused at the site, are characterized by an invocation of the Trinity, the archangels, Mary, and other saints, especially those of the Saqqara triad (Jeremiah, Enoch, Sibylla). Other inscriptions, often on architectural elements that were also reused, mention the same saints. Moreover, one of them refers to the Abbots Alexandros and Georgios, who are known from inscriptions from Saqqara. The inscriptions thus suggest a strong bond between the monastery and that of Jeremiah at Saqqara.

12–23. Manqabad. Coptic/Greek inscriptions, ca. 6th–8th cent. Y.N. Youssef, “Coptic Inscriptions from Manqabad,” *BSAC* 56 (2017) 163–176. *Ed. princ.* of two funerary stelae from recent excavations at this monastic site (for which see the reports referred to in *CIEN* 4.13 and **11** above) and re-edition of ten published inscriptions from the site (after the *ed. princ.*, A. Kamal, “Rapport sur les fouilles exécutées dans la zone comprise entre Déîrout, au nord et Déîr-el-Ganadlah, au sud,” *ASAE* 15 [1915] 177–187, without photos). Since the re-editions (**12–21**) hardly improve Kamal’s highly inaccurate transcriptions and are not based on a new study of the originals, we here only present a full text for the two new pieces (**22–23**; our tentative readings from the poor photos; for **23** we also used the slightly better image in R. Pirelli and P. Buzi, with contributions by R. Giunta, E. Salib, and V. Mastromanno, “The Coptic Site of Manqabad: An Italian-Egyptian Project,” in P. Buzi, A. Camplani, and F. Contardi [eds.], *Coptic Society, Literature and Religion from Late Antiquity to Modern Times: Proceedings of the Tenth International Congress of Coptic Studies*, vol. 2 [Leuven 2016] 1446, Fig. 9, right, upside down; cf. *CIEN* 4.13).

12. No. 1 (= Kamal, p. 179). *Dipinto* on wall plaster; Coptic epitaph for a group of monks and prayer for the dedicator, a certain ΙΒΩΝΑΖ (l. 10; probably read ΕΒΩΝΑΖ). In l. 2 read: ΤΕΤΡΙΑΣ ΝΖΟΜΟΟΥΣΙΟΝ ΕΤΧΗΚ ΕΒΟΛ *vel sim.*; in l. 9: Ν’Α’Κ<Α>ΠΕ *vel sim.*; in l. 10: ΝΤΕ ΠΝΟΥΤΕ ΕΝΤΑΖΗ ΕΒΟΛ *vel sim.*; ll. 11–12 perhaps: ΝΤΝΖΕ ΕΥΝΑ

ΖΕΜ ΠΗΙ | ΜΠΝΟΥΤΕ *vel sim.*, “and that we find mercy in the house of God,” which would be an unusual prayer.

13. No. 2 (= Kamal, p. 179). Greek deacon’s bidding from the Liturgy of St. Basil (see A. Budde, *Die ägyptische Basilios-Anaphora* [Münster 2004] 164–165, 437–438).

14. No. 3 (= Kamal, pp. 179–180). *Dipinto* on an amphora; Coptic epitaph for a monk.

15. No. 4 (= Kamal, p. 180). *Dipinto* on an ostrakon; Coptic, apparently funerary in character.

16. No. 5 (= Kamal, pp. 180–181 = *SB Kopt.* 1.721). Fragmentary limestone stela with a Coptic epitaph, perhaps for a woman ΝΟΝΝ[Α] (l. 6). In ll. 1–5 read: Ν[ΕΤ]ΟΥΑΒ ΤΗΠΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ | ΝΕΥΡΑΝ | ΧΙ ΟΥΖΜΟΤ | ΕΖΡ[ΑΙ] ΕΧΝ̄ *vel sim.* (the author skips a line), “all saints, by their names, obtain mercy for”; ll. 6–7: ΕΝΤΑΣΜ|ΤΟΝ Μ[Μ]ΟC ΝCΟΥ *vel sim.*; ll. 8–9: ΧΟΥΤΑ[Q]ΤΕ ΝΚΙΑΖΚ̄Χ, that is, twenty-four, not twenty-five Choiak, as the author has it.

17. No. 6 (= Kamal, p. 181 = *SB Kopt.* 1.723). Fragmentary limestone stela with a Coptic epitaph, perhaps for two women, ΜΑΡΙΑ and ΠΑΥΛΑ (l. 7, the author’s reconstruction is impossible)? In l. 6 delete the second ΜΕΝ.

18. No. 7 (= Kamal, p. 181 = *SB Kopt.* 1.724). Fragmentary limestone stela with a Coptic epitaph.

19. No. 8 (= Kamal, pp. 181–182 = *SB Kopt.* 1.482). Fragmentary limestone stela with a Coptic epitaph. In ll. 4–6 read: [ΓΑΒ]ΡΙΗΛ ΑΠ[Α ΙΕΡΗΜΙ]ΑΣ ΑΠΑ [ΕΝ|ΩΧ].

20. No. 9 (= Kamal, p. 182). Fragmentary limestone stela with a Coptic epitaph.

21. no. 10 (= Kamal, p. 182). Fragmentary limestone stela with a Coptic epitaph.

22. Inv. 79. *Ed. princ.* Youssef, pp. 169–170 (photo at p. 176). Limestone stela (no dimensions given) inscribed with a Coptic epitaph for a monk with a name that is difficult to read; at the end three more names have been added. The script is clumsy and irregular. The poor photo does not allow an entirely satisfactory reading.

+ ΜΙΧΑΗΛ ΓΑΒΡΙ-
ΗΛ ΑΠΑ ΙΕΡΗΜΙΑC
ΑΠΑ ΕΝΩΧ ΙC̄
ΧC̄ ΖΡΟΥΟΧ ΠΕΥΩ-
5 ΗΡΕ ΑQΚΑ CΩΜΑ Ε`Ζ’-

ραῖ νσοϣ : α : μ<π>†οϣ ᾠ-
 ροοϣ ᾠ†αζε : ινδικ(τιωνος)
 ἱα : ρν οϣειρηνι ν
 ραμην : πατερν-
 10 η : πετρε : ιερημια

1. *ed. princ.* omits cross || 4. $\overline{\chi\varsigma}$ *ed. princ.* | ρροϣοϣ: uncertain, *ed. princ.* ροις ε-, but a proper name is needed || 7. ᾠ†αζε: read ᾠ†αε | ινδικ: *ed. princ.* ινδια || 8. ἱα: omitted by *ed. princ.* | νοϣειρηνι ν *ed. princ.*, probably read ν<τε πνοϣτε> || 9–10. πατερνιη: with *ed. princ.*, but uncertain || 10. πετρε: τ over ε?

“+ Michael, Gabriel, Apa Jeremiah, Apa Enoch, Jesus Christ. Hrouoj (?), their son, laid down his body on the 1st of the five days of this end of the 11th indiction. In the peace of (God?), amen. Paterne (?), Petre, Ieremia.” After χς in l. 4, we see a ρ, starting within the arch of the ς, that is almost horizontal (as in the ρ of ρν in l. 8), then ρο, followed by a poorly executed γ, another ο and a ϣ at the end; the name ρροϣοϣ is more commonly spelled with an ε after the ρ but is attested as such in *BKU* 3.398, see Trismegistos People (<https://www.trismegistos.org/ref>), Nam_ID 310; *NB Kopt.* s.v.

23. Inv. 78. *Ed. princ.* Youssef, pp. 170–174 (photo at p. 176). Lime-stone stela (no dimensions given) inscribed with a Coptic epitaph of a monk, Apa Klouj. The script is a fairly regular and well-shaped Late Antique uncial. Some surface damage affects the reading of ll. 7–8. The invocations of ll. 10–11 are in Greek.

† πῖωτ πωηρε
 πεπνα ετογαα-
 β απα ἱερημῖας
 απα ενωχ τεν-
 5 μααγ μαρῖα τεν-
 μααγ σῖβηλα α`πα'
 κλοϣ ψαζτην
 αϣμητον ημοϣ να-
 λκε νμεσωρη ρ
 10 ὁ ἅγιος Μῖχαήλ
 ὁ ἅγιος Γαβρίήλ
 ϣθ

1. *ed. princ.* omits cross || 6. σῖβηλλα *ed. princ.* || 7. ψαζτην: uncertain, omitted by *ed. princ.* || 8. α[πα *ed. princ.* || 9. α[πα *ed. princ.* || 11–12. omitted by *ed. princ.*

“✠ The Father, the Son, the Holy Spirit, Apa Jeremiah, Apa Enoch, our mother Mary, our mother Sibylla. Apa Klouj the mat-weaver (?) went to his rest on the last day of Mesore. Saint Michael, Saint Gabriel. Amen.”

24. Karnak. Coptic graffiti. G. Widmer, “Les graffiti démotiques du domaine d’Amon à Karnak: des chiffres et des lettres,” *BSFE* 201 (2019) 104–120 surveys a project, running since 2008, to record the demotic graffiti from the Amun temple area at Karnak. When discussing a demotic graffito in which the name is deliberately effaced, the author mentions one in Coptic which has also undergone partial erasure (pp. 110–112, 114). The graffito is found on the interior of the enclosure wall of Tuthmosis III, south side, and is written in large letters, spanning 120 cm. The text runs, with correct spacing: $\Psi\text{AN } \alpha\text{q}\kappa\omega \text{ } \pi\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha$ “Psan came here.” Interestingly, the part erased is what comes after αq - and so is different from the demotic graffito as the name is not targeted. The author also mentions three other inscriptions of this type on the same wall, containing the names Enoch, Paham, and Petre (no transcriptions are given; the photos at p. 112 [Fig. 9] are of insufficient quality to establish a reading for the first two texts). For the last of these, the one of Petre, see *CIEN* 4.43. As we remark there the correct translation of $\alpha\text{q}\kappa\omega \text{ } \pi\epsilon\iota\mu\alpha$ is “he came here” (not “he left this place”). The inscriptions therefore concern visitors to the temple precinct, not these people’s epitaphs (cf. n. 22, where the author regards the latter hypothesis “moins plausible”).

25. Karnak. Christian figural graffiti. E. Ghaly, “The Coptic Monastery at the First Pylon of Karnak Temple,” *JARCE* 53 (2017) 105–121 describes, as briefly announced in *CIEN* 3.16, the traces of Christian reuse of the First Pylon at Karnak, though it remains unclear why we are dealing here with a monastery. The author also discusses some figural graffiti on columns in the first court, located from the southern tower of the pylon to the temple of Ramesses III (pp. 115–116). He interprets them all as Christian but most are in fact Ancient Egyptian. The first two (Figs. 13–14) are no saints but a bust of a deity with a crown shown in profile and a standing deity with *was*-scepter and *ankh*-sign, respectively. Four of the boats (Figs. 15–17, 19) are of a particular type featuring not a Christian “chapel” but a shrine or cabin, some examples of which are known from the nearby Khonsu temple roof: H. Jacquet-Gordon, *The Temple of Khonsu, Volume 3. The Graffiti on the Khonsu Temple Roof at Karnak* (Chicago 2003) 59 (nos. 157–158), 89 (no. 258), 105–106 (nos. 306–307, 309, 311); see on this type of boat also J.H.F. Dijkstra, *Syene I* (Darmstadt-Mainz

2012) 73. In the only clear instance where a cross has been carved into the shrine or cabin (Fig. 17), the cross seems to have a different *patina* indicating that it was added later. The fifth boat (Fig. 20) is of the common, riverine type with a mast and rudder (cf. again Jacquet-Gordon, *Temple of Khonsu, Volume 3*, 18 [no. 19], 103–105 [nos. 297–300, 304–305], 106 [no. 309], 109 [no. 324], with Dijkstra, *Syene I*, 73–74) and could just as well be pre-Christian (we see no cross). The figures of birds shown on Fig. 21 do look Christian.

26. Western Thebes. Coptic graffiti, 6th–8th cent. A. Delattre, “Grafitti coptes dans la montagne thébaine,” *Égypte. Afrique & Orient*, supplément no. 7 (2018) 31–34. General presentation of the Coptic graffiti project in the Theban necropolis, illustrated with some examples. For more details, see *CIEN* 6.33.

27. Esna? Greek funerary stela, ca. 4th–8th cent. *Ed. princ.* R.S. Bianchi, “An Early Christian (Coptic) Stela,” in J.-P. Montesino (ed.), *Varia Cybeliana*, vol. 1 (Paris 2014) 103–106 = *An.Ép.* 2014.1432 = *SEG* 64.1995. Greek limestone epitaph of the “one God”-type from a private collection (only one measurement is given, 35.56 cm). The stone is rounded at the top and includes the representation of an *aedicula* with a triangular pediment below which an eagle stands with spread wings and a *bullā* around its neck (not the *nefer*-sign, *ed. princ.*). Some of the original color is still visible on the photo at p. 105. The Greek text, in three lines, is found underneath the *aedicula*. The first editor only gives capitals without proper spacing and reads θεός instead of θεός in l. 1. A corrected text is already provided by É. Perrin-Saminadayar in *An.Ép.* 2014.1432 = *SEG* 64.1995, who also proposes to narrow down the date to the third to fifth centuries, though it seems more prudent to adopt a wider range. Many stelae with this formula are known from Esna (S. Sauneron and R.-G. Coquin, “Catalogue provisoire des stèles funéraires coptes d’Esna,” in J. Vercoutter [ed.], *Livre de centenaire, 1880–1980* [Cairo 1980] 239–277 [*passim*]), and since the decoration showing an eagle with *bullā* in an *aedicula* is also quite characteristic of the site (among several examples no. 5 at Pl. 39 comes particularly close), the stela is likely to come from there. For the sake of completeness, we reproduce the text here, with an improved translation compared to the *ed. princ.*:

Εἷς θεός
ὁ βοεθός.
Παῦλος

“One God, the helper. Paulos.” Θεός for θεός in l. 1 occurs quite frequently, e.g. Lefebvre, *Recueil* 492.1–2, 529.1–2, 533, 540.1, 545. For βοεθός instead of βοηθός, see e.g. *SEG* 26.1810.1, in the same formula.

28. Esna. Wooden lintels with Coptic (and Arabic) inscriptions, end of 19th cent. A. Saad, “Coptic Numerical Cryptograms from Esna,” *Göttinger Miszellen* 257 (2019) 165–175. Study of five wooden lintels dating back to the end of the nineteenth century (dates between 1883 and 1890 are preserved on four of them). Four of the lintels are still in their original places; one is kept in a storage depot in Esna. The Coptic texts are edited and consist of a series of about 28 numerical cryptograms (between 27 and 29), beginning with $\alpha\zeta\epsilon\varsigma : \omega\mu\varsigma : \alpha\iota\tau : \nu\gamma : \nu\tau\varsigma$, and so on. The series are similar on each lintel, but many variations occur; the Arabic texts are unpublished. One can identify in these cryptograms the series mentioned in the *Homily of Timothy of Alexandria on Michael the Archangel* (ed. E.A.W. Budge, *Miscellaneous Coptic Texts in the Dialect of Upper Egypt* [London 1915] 519–520); the text states that they have to be written on the gates of one’s house in order to protect it against the Devil or the plots of evil men. This series of cryptograms is also attested in Nubia, for instance on a paper amulet published by J.M. Plumley, “Nubian Christian Numerical Cryptograms. Some Elucidations,” in P. van Moorsel (ed.), *New Discoveries in Nubia* (Leiden 1982) 91–97, and in the crypt of the funerary complex of Archbishop Georgios of Dongola (A. Łajtar and J. van der Vliet, *Empowering the Dead in Christian Nubia. The Texts from a Medieval Funerary Complex in Dongola* [Warsaw 2017] 72–74, with a discussion of these cryptograms; cf. *CIE* 5.73). The cryptograms represent ciphers that are the sum of the numerical value of each letter of the encrypted divine names. Most of the cryptograms are not yet understood but at least the beginning of the series is clear: the first three cryptograms in the crypt of Archbishop Georgios are $\omega\zeta\varsigma$ 866 (= $\alpha\alpha\omega\nu\alpha\iota$: $1 + 4 + 800 + 50 + 1 + 10$), $\omega\mu\epsilon$ 845 (= $\epsilon\lambda\omega\iota$: $5 + 30 + 800 + 10$), and $\alpha\iota\tau$ 1013 (= $\varsigma\alpha\beta\alpha\omega\theta$: $200 + 1 + 2 + 1 + 800 + 9$). The same series with many corruptions was still in use until the modern era, as shown in the Esna lintels (see also a very corrupted version in the amulet of the “blessed names” reproduced by G. Viaud, *Magie et coutumes populaires chez les Coptes d’Égypte* [Sisteron 1978] 130).

29. Aswan (Syene). Epigraphical (and other) evidence for three bishops named Joseph, 5th/6th–8th/9th cent. S. Schmidt, “Drei Bischöfe von Syene namens Joseph. Inschriften, Tonlämpchen und ein Ostrakon,”

JJP 48 (2018) 185–205 goes over the evidence for three bishops of Aswan named Joseph. Joseph I is known from an ostrakon from Elephantine dating to the fifth or sixth century (O.DAIK inv. 3177), which was already mentioned by J.H.F. Dijkstra, *Philae and the End of Ancient Egyptian Religion* (Leuven 2008) 82, but is edited here for the first time (by R. Duttonhöfer in Appendix 2, pp. 202–205). The epitaphs of Joseph II and III (the first from a tomb at Dongola, dated 28 April 668 [or 670], the second found at Qubbet el-Hawa, on the west bank of the Nile at Aswan, dated to the eighth/ninth century) have been recently published, see *CIEN* 3.21. The author also proposes to connect several ceramic lamps made of Aswan clay and mentioning “Bishop Abba Joseph” to either Joseph I or II. For a lamp found at Elephantine in 1908 (unpublished but known from the excavator’s dig diary), dating to the sixth/seventh century, this is indeed likely. For the other specimens, with provenances from Akhmim all the way to Adulis, the identification seems more tenuous. In Appendix 1 (p. 201), the author provides a list of bishops of Aswan up to the ninth century, but for the period after 641/642 she could have done more with the additional attestations in the list of R. Dekker, “The Memorial Stone of Bishop Joseph III of Aswan,” in A. Łajtar, G. Ochala, and J. van der Vliet (eds.), *Nubian Voices II: New Texts and Studies on Christian Nubian Culture* (Warsaw 2015) 22–23, which remains preferable, also because it covers a longer period.

30. Sinai. Greek inscriptions and pilgrimage. S. Destephen, “L’épigraphie et la géographie du pèlerinage chrétien: l’exemple du Sināi aux IV^e–VI^e siècles,” in S. Demougin and M. Navarro Caballero (eds.), *Se déplacer dans l’Empire romain. Approches épigraphiques* (Bordeaux 2014) 135–156 presents the epigraphical material from the Sinai, especially Christian inscriptions. If we exclude the Mediterranean coast and the cities of the Negev, the published Christian epigraphical texts amount to about 200, mainly graffiti left on rocks. They are often short and always written in Greek, showing that Hellenization and Christianization follow the same development in the Sinai peninsula. International pilgrimages to the Sinai’s holy places are well known from the literary sources but according to the author it is difficult to associate the epigraphical material with these pilgrimages since the texts do not mention Moses or the Holy Mountain and the names contained therein are regional. Written at the same places as Nabataean graffiti from pre-Christian times, the Late Antique graffiti were probably left by camel drivers and shepherds wanting, in the same way as their ancestors, to leave a trace of their passage. If some of them are linked to a pilgrimage, it was a local or regional one.

31. Nubia. Monasticism. A. Obłuski, *Monasteries and Monks of Nubia* (Warsaw 2019) provides a synthesis of Nubian monasticism in a similar vein as E. Wipszycka's *Moines et communautés monastiques en Égypte (IV^e–VIII^e siècles)* (Warsaw 2009) does for Egypt. In line with the author's expertise, the main focus is on the archaeological record but textual, and in particular epigraphical, sources are frequently adduced. For example, in the opening chapter the archaeological evidence for all potential monasteries (of whatever type) in Nubia is listed, but when discussing the "Anchorite's Grotto" at Faras (pp. 53–56) mention is made of the Coptic *dipinti* dating to 738 CE inside, with reference to their recent discussion by J. van der Vliet (*CIEN* 5.2). The author adds his own interpretation (p. 54) of the later boat graffiti, that they were left by boat owners to obtain protection of their property, though it is more plausible that – like the textual graffiti found on the same walls – they were left to record a visit to the site (cf. J.H.F. Dijkstra, *Syene I* [Darmstadt-Mainz 2012] 73–74). The chapter ends with a table (pp. 115–116) usefully summarizing the evidence and estimating in each case whether it actually concerns a monastic site (and if so, of what type). Chapter 2 briefly introduces the textual evidence for monasticism, including a very short (p. 127) description of the epigraphical sources, which are divided into epitaphs, wall inscriptions, and inscriptions on pottery. The rest of the book (Chapters 3–6) then works out the evidence in themes such as the spatial division of monasteries (pp. 158–201), monastic dress (pp. 204–206), and monks' economic activities (pp. 213–222). The author puts to good use the Database of Medieval Nubian Texts (DBMNT, <http://www.dbmnt.uw.edu.pl/>), offering several useful tables to support his analysis, such as in the discussion about the names of monasteries (pp. 146–151), which is backed up by the epigraphical *testimonia* listed in Table 2 (pp. 152–157; note, however, that DBMNT 565, the *dipinto* of Petro from the monastery of St. Hatre at Aswan, should have been left out since it does not concern a Nubian monastery, as also appears from the author's own analysis at pp. 199–200, nor was Petro a Nubian monk, as alleged in Table 8, pp. 266–267). The most epigraphical chapter is the last one (6), which discusses the different designations and titles for monks, such as ἀββα/ἀπα, εἰωτ (not εἰωτε, p. 277) and ἀρχιμανδρίτης, supported by inscriptional evidence listed in Tables 7–10. All in all, this is the first systematic synthesis of the topic and as such it will serve as a convenient point of departure and reference work as more evidence becomes available in the coming years.

32. Nubia. Legends of wall paintings. M. Łaptaś, “Attributes, Vestments, Context and Inscription in the Identification of Nubian Paintings: Proposing the ‘Multi-Layer’ Image Recognition Method,” *ÉtTrav* 32 (2019) 161–179. The identification of the subjects of damaged wall paintings often requires a multiple reading, combining iconography, context, and inscriptions. Inscriptions may be damaged too, however, and pose problems of their own. The author illustrates this with the Greek legends of the painting of St. Anna from Faras, which show that Anna actually must have been represented together with the Virgin Mary (pp. 175–177; for the painting and the legends, see now S. Jakobielski et al., *Pachoras – Faras: The Wall Paintings from the Cathedrals of Aetios, Paulos and Petros* [Warsaw 2017] 122–123 [no. 6]; cf. *CIEN* 6.57–68).

33. Nubia. Onomastic notes on Greek/Coptic/Old Nubian inscriptions. G. Ochała, “Nubica Onomastica Miscellanea III. Notes on and Corrections to Personal Names Found in Christian Nubian Written Sources,” *JJP* 48 (2018) 141–184. Third of three articles published in 2019–2020 in three different journals (bearing a date of 2017, 2018, and 2019), in which the author offers corrections and new readings of names concerning 40 texts from Nubia, mainly inscriptions. These are the first products of the author’s research project “‘What’s in a Name?’ A Study on the Onomastics of Christian Nubia.” The first article is dedicated to inscriptions from Faras (37 below), the second one to epitaphs from Sakinya (36 below). In the present contribution, the author has worked on various written texts, including inscriptions from Ginari (nos. 4–9), Amada (no. 10), Arminna (no. 11), Tamit (no. 12), Sahaba (no. 13), Abd el-Qadir (no. 14), Ghazali (nos. 16–18), and Soba (no. 19). Six epitaphs from Ginari are corrected. In DBMNT 408 (no. 4), instead of *ἀναπαύσει θεός της μακαρίας του β[ίου]* he suggests to read *ἀναπαύσειος τῆς μακαρίας Τουβ()*. The name edited as *ιχιλος* in DBMNT 411 (no. 5) should better be understood as *Ἰχιλος*. The sequence *η μακαρ(ι)ος ἱων* in DBMNT 413 (no. 6) is to be interpreted as *ἡ μακαρ(ία) Σῖων*, and *ο μακ[αριος] ενηρος* in DBMNT 442 (no. 7) as *ὁ μακ(άριος) Σενηρος*. In DBMNT 445 (no. 8), *μπρρζοτε* is a ghost name as it in fact concerns a Coptic verb form. The epitaph should probably be understood as *ἡ μακαρία <Μακαρία> μπρρ ζοτε* “the blessed <Makaria>, do not be afraid.” Finally, in DBMNT 450 (no. 9) one should read *αβραζαμ* in l. 3 and *αβραζα<μ>* in ll. 6–7 instead of *αβρααμ* and *αβραα(μ)*. At pp. 156–163 (no. 10), the author gives a complete new edition with commentary, based on a recently published

photograph, of an Old Nubian graffito incised on the roof of the temple of Amada (DBMNT 1537). It appears that this text mentioning the King Kouddapes (l. 2) is a commemorative inscription rather than a visitor's graffito or prayer. More corrections to names are proposed in the following entries: to read **ΜΑΡΙΑΝΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΠΤΟΟΥ** instead of **ΜΑΡΙΑΝΤΑΩΝΠΤΟΟΥ** in DBMNT 523 (no. 11; from Arminna), **ΜΕΡΚΙ** instead of **ΜΕΡΚΕ** in DBMNT 723 (no. 12; from Tamit), **Ζαήλ** instead of "Zaēn" in DBMNT 1444 (no. 13; from Sahaba), **ΜΑΣΗ** instead of **ΜΑΣΚ** in DBMNT 1698 (no. 14; from Abd el-Qadir). Also included are corrections to three texts from Gazali. The Greek epitaph DBMNT 473 (no. 16) is reinterpreted: l. 1 does not contain the proper name Eudokia and is read as + Ἐὐδοκία [τοῦ θεοῦ] "+ Through the good will of God," while the name of the deceased is rather found in l. 6. As a result, ll. 4–6 are reconstructed as follows: τέ[λει τ(οῦ) βίου] ἐχ[ρήσ]ατ(ο) ὁ μ[ακα]ρίτης Ἐπίμα[χος] "the blessed Epimachos accomplished his life." On two potsherds, the owners' names are identified as **ΜΑΡΙΑΝΕ** (instead of **ΓΕΡΜΑΝ[ΟC]**) in the monogram of DBMNT 2505 (no. 17) and **ἸCΟΥ** instead of **ἸCΡΑ[ΗΛ?]** in DBMNT 2543 (no. 18). Finally, in DBMNT 2488 (no. 19) the writing on a potsherd from Soba, previously transcribed as **μουιλμη (?)**, is identified as the female name **ΜΑΡΙΑΜΗ**.

34. Nubia. Greek funerary stela, 26 November 1066. *Ed. princ.* M. Stroppa, "Un'iscrizione funeraria dalla Nubia," in G. Bastianini and S. Russo (eds.), *Comunicazioni dell'Istituto Papirologico "G. Vitelli,"* vol. 13 (Florence 2019) 11–17 (Pl. 2). Sandstone stela (50 × 25.5 × 5 cm) of unknown Nubian provenance framed by a raised rim on all sides but the bottom, as in **38** below. Barring a few letters in ll. 14–15, the text is virtually complete and, consisting of 26 lines, follows the common "God of the spirits"-formula quite closely, except for some minor variants in ll. 10, 13, and 22–23 (where the doxology is also abbreviated). The writing style is similar to the one on the tombstone of Staurosaiña from Dongola, whose date is less than ten years apart (1057, see *CIEN* 2.86), though the variants are different. The deceased is a certain Ioannes (ll. 6–7, 21), who is revealed in the personalized part at the end to have lived for 90 years (ll. 23–24). The dating clause conforms to 26 November 1066 (ll. 24–25).

35. Tafa (Taphis). Greek funerary stela, 6th-7th cent. *Ed. princ.* A. Avram and M. Dufková, "A New Inscription from Tafa (Lower Nubia)," *Eirene* 51 (2015) 235–238. A fragmentary funerary stela (12 × 13.1 × 5.2 cm; judging from the photo rather sandstone than limestone,

as the editors suggest), found during Czech excavations in 1961 near the North Temple at Tafa and now kept in the Náprstek Museum of Asian, African and American Cultures at Prague (inv. P 3341). The meager remains of the text are reconstructed by the editors as:

[+ ἔνθα κατά-]
 [κιτε .] μ[ακάριος/-ρία]
 [. . . . Ἰ]ατουρου
 [ἐτελεώθη]η μηνὶ *vac.*
 5 [.] ἰνδ(ικτιῶνος) *vac.*
 . . .

This is on the whole a plausible reconstruction, yet the Semitic patronym Iatouros read in l. 3 would be unparalleled in the Nile valley. The calculated length of the lines and the rarity of patronyms in Nubian funerary epigraphy rather suggest that]ατουρου is part of the name of the deceased him- or herself (perhaps Π]ατουρου; cf. Coptic **πατοῦρε**, current in the Theban region?). Moreover, stelae from Tafa seem to prefer ἐκοιμήθη, which the editors present as an alternative reading, to ἐτελεώθη, as reconstructed in l. 4 (H. Junker, “Die christlichen Grabsteine Nubiens”, ZÄS 60 [1925] 126–127). A preferable, though equally hypothetical, reconstruction would thus be:

[+ ἔνθα κατά-]
 [κεῖται ὁ] μ[ακα-]
 [ρίος .]ατουρου
 [ἐκοιμήθη]η μηνὶ
 5 [.] ἰνδ(ικτίωνος)
 [- - -]

“+ Here lies the blessed [.]atourou. He went to his rest in the month [...] of the [...] indiction.” For the textual format, cf. *CIEN* 3.26. The stela seems more carefully inscribed than those from the nearby cemetery of Ginari, excavated by C.M. Firth in 1908–1909 (see his *The Archaeological Survey of Nubia. Report for 1908/1909*, vol. 1 [Cairo 1912] 45–50).

36. Sakinya. Onomastic notes on Greek/Coptic funerary stelae, 8th-10th cent. G. Ochala, “Nubica Onomastica Miscellanea II: Notes on and Correction to Names Found in Inscriptions from Sakinya,” *BSAC* 56

37. Faras (Pachoras). Onomastic notes on Greek/Coptic/Old Nubian inscriptions. G. Ochala, “Nubica Onomastica Miscellanea I: Notes on and Corrections to Personal Names Found in Inscriptions from Faras,” *ÉtTrav* 32 (2019) 181–198. Corrections to and new readings of names in eleven inscriptions from Faras, thus eliminating many ghost names. In a Greek (DBMNT 448, without exact provenance; no. 1) and Coptic epitaph (DBMNT 1592, found in the so-called “Church in the Mastaba Field”; no. 2), the right names of the deceased are identified: ἸΗΣΟΥΣ[ΤΑ] instead of Ἰησοῦ and ΘΕΟΦΙΛ instead of ΘΕΩΡΙΑ. In two graffiti from the “Anchorite’s Grotto” (DBMNT 1673 and 1666; nos. 3–4), the names ΠΕΤΡΟΥ and ΠΕΤΡ (for ΠΕΤΡΟ) can be read instead of ΠΕΤΟΥ and ΠΕΤΙ. The other inscriptions were found during the Polish excavations directed by K. Michałowski between 1961 and 1964 in and around the

inscriptions. G. Ochala, “Nubica Onomastica Miscellanea I: Notes on and Corrections to Personal Names Found in Inscriptions from Faras,” *ÉtTrav* 32 (2019) 181–198. Corrections to and new readings of names in eleven inscriptions from Faras, thus eliminating many ghost names. In a Greek (DBMNT 448, without exact provenance; no. 1) and Coptic epitaph (DBMNT 1592, found in the so-called “Church in the Mastaba Field”; no. 2), the right names of the deceased are identified: ἸΗΣΟΥΣ[ΤΑ] instead of Ἰησοῦ and ΘΕΟΦΙΛ instead of ΘΕΩΡΙΑ. In two graffiti from the “Anchorite’s Grotto” (DBMNT 1673 and 1666; nos. 3–4), the names ΠΕΤΡΟΥ and ΠΕΤΡ (for ΠΕΤΡΟ) can be read instead of ΠΕΤΟΥ and ΠΕΤΙ. The other inscriptions were found during the Polish excavations directed by K. Michałowski between 1961 and 1964 in and around the

cathedral and were published by S. Jakobielski and/or J. Kubińska. In two graffiti (DBMNT 1830 and 1831; no. 5) the name of the cleric Ἀνανε should be read Ἀνανη, a variant of Ananias; in another one (DBMNT 1851; no. 6), one should read ΕΙΩΤΤΑ (perhaps originally with a superlinear stroke above the first τ) instead of ΕΙΩ[Ι]ΤΤΑ or Εἰν[ι]ττα. The name ΠΕΤΡΟ should be read in both DBMNT 1757 and 1786 (nos. 7–8) and the name Παπῖ in DBMNT 2112 (no. 9). Finally, in an inscription on a potsherd one should read the owner's signature, Ἀβ(βα) Χαήλ "Abba Chael" (DBMNT 2086; no. 10).

38. Faras (Pachoras). Greek funerary stela, 30 March 1184. J. van der Vliet, "Exit Bishop Tamer – the Sequel. A New Edition of the Epitaph of Papsine alias Doulista (DBMNT 78)," *ÉtTrav* 32 (2019) 217–235 picks up on his "Exit Tamer, Bishop of Faras (*SB* V 8728)," *JJP* 37 (2007) 185–191 (repr. in idem, *The Christian Epigraphy of Egypt and Nubia* [London 2018] 341–345; cf. *CIEN* 6.2), where he showed that the epitaph was not for one Bishop Tamer of Faras but for Papsine alias Doulista, mother of a(n unnamed) bishop of Faras. In this sequel, he goes one step further in providing a complete new edition of the text, based on autopsy in the Museo Egizio in Turin, including the variant readings of the major previous editions and improving the text in various points. A significant example is the age of the deceased, which is corrected from 70 to 60 in l. 26. The text is given in diplomatic transcript as uncials, in which the scribal habits (such as use of diacritics and spaces for word/clause division) can be followed, and normalized text. The inscription employs the "God of the spirits"-formula, from which there are two major aberrations. In l. 17, the "justice"-formula is drastically reduced to δι(και)οσύνη καὶ ἡ δικαιοσύνη "justice and justice," which also occurs in five contemporary stelae from the Faras region, thereby marking it as a variant specific to this time and place (p. 229). In ll. 9–10, the phrase τό<πω> ἔντ' (read τόπω ἔνθ') ἀπέδρα "a place from where have fled away" is not followed by the usual subjects (δδύνη καὶ λύπη καὶ στεναγμός "pain, grief, and sighing") but is rather abruptly replaced by ὀδηγίσας καὶ ἀναμάρτιτων (read ὀδηγίσας καὶ ἀναμάρτητος) "having guided (her) and (being) free from sins," which refers back to God, while following πᾶν ἁμάρτημα is also left out. The author argues in the latter part of the article (pp. 230–232) that this replacement is not to be seen as a corruption but rather as a meaningful variant, which is the result of a creative process of combining phrases from the liturgy ("centonization"). The author also comes back to the one major problem of the text, the fact that the deceased is

called “Papsine, the bishop’s daughter” in ll. 5–6 and “Doulista, mother of the bishop of Faras” in ll. 18–19 (pp. 227–228). He still settles on his proposal of 2007, that Papsine alias Doulista is one and the same person (and so the bishops two different men), as “the most economical interpretation of the evidence,” but discusses two alternative scenarios both of which assume that Papsine and Doulista are not the same: first, that the scribe inadvertently left someone else from his *Vorlage*, most likely Papsine, in the text; and second, as suggested by A. Łajtar, that the bishops are one and the same and hence that Papsine, dying young, would have been added to her grandmother Doulista’s epitaph. Whatever the case, the epitaph remains important evidence for the prominent role of elite women at this time and one of the latest tombstones of Christian Nubia.

39. Faras (Pachoras). Old Nubian curse, late medieval. V.W.J. van Gerven Oei, “An Old Nubian Curse from the Faras Cathedral,” *ÉtTrav* 32 (2019) 81–88. Re-edition, after the original in the National Museum in Warsaw, of a curse from the north aisle of Faras cathedral (*ed. princ.* S. Jakobielski in K. Michałowski, *Faras: Wall Paintings in the Collection of the National Museum in Warsaw* [Warsaw 1974] 308 [no. 53]). Only the last lines of the *dipinto* are preserved. In ll. 5–6, the trespasser is denied part $\tau\alpha\lambda\epsilon\alpha\ \bar{\rho}\kappa\alpha\eta\epsilon\lambda\alpha$ “in the kingdom of his son,” which may be an echo of Col. 1:13. The author compares the text with a curse in an Old Nubian document (G.M. Browne, *Old Nubian Texts from Qasr Ibrīm*, vol. 3 [London 1991] 3–4 [no. 30]) and a prayer from Faras cathedral (*CIEN* 5.70), for which he offers a new text (p. 86). The author’s historical comments (p. 88) are unconvincing; the curse most likely addresses the behavior of the faithful or even members of the clergy (thus already *ed. princ.*; cf. A. Łajtar and J. van der Vliet, *Qasr Ibrīm: The Greek and Coptic Inscriptions* [Warsaw 2010] 36–37).

40. Akasha-West. Old Nubian prayer, late medieval. *Ed. princ.* V.W.J. van Gerven Oei and A. Łajtar, “Two Old Nubian Inscriptions from Akasha West,” *ÉtTrav* 32 (2019) 89–97. Edition of two Old Nubian texts, after archival photos, the first an ostrakon of obscure purport (pp. 91–92), the second a prayer painted on the plastered front side of a mud brick altar pedestal (pp. 92–96). The prayer was left by a priest, whose name is partly damaged ($\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\tau\ . \eta$). It addresses “the holy altar of Michael” (l. 1: $\mu\iota\chi\alpha\eta\lambda\ \tau\bar{\rho}\alpha\pi\eta\varsigma\alpha\ \epsilon\varsigma\varsigma\alpha$) and appears to request the archangel’s intercession on behalf of the son of the priest.

41. Hambukol. Greek funerary stela, 9th cent. *Ed. princ.* A. Łajtar, “Epitaph of Merki Found in Hambukol,” *ÉtTrav* 32 (2019) 145–160. Edition of a marble funerary stela (30.2 × 25.5 × 3.5–4.5 cm) of a high state official, Merki (a hypocoristic of Merkourios), now in Toronto (Royal Ontario Museum, inv. 998.89.7). The stone is inscribed with a Greek epitaph of the “God of the spirits”-type that is interesting in various respects. The prayer for forgiveness of the deceased’s sins (ll. 8–12) shows a variant, <τὰ> ἐκούσια, τὰ ἀκούσια, τὰ ἐν γνῶσε[ι], τὰ ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ “those (committed) voluntarily or involuntarily, knowingly or in ignorance” (ll. 10–11), for which the editor cites several epigraphical and liturgical parallels (pp. 152–153). The scribe or mason left out part of the prayer for the soul’s rest in ll. 5–8, which he sought to remedy on the spot, partly by inserting the lacking parts in ll. 12–15. Ll. 15–18 provide the (month) date of Merki’s demise, with an erroneously duplicated ἐκοιμήθη, and his age (64). Following this, partly in the right-hand margin, the deceased’s titles are given, in the form of a simple list. He was a *notarios*, *meizoteros*, *chartoularios* of Sai, exarch of “Timikleos, the lofty land” (that is, Dongola; cf. *CIEN* 3.24), and *protodomestikos*. The editor reconstructs the deceased’s impressive *cursus honorum* (pp. 150–151) and extensively discusses his titles (pp. 153–158).

42–43. Dongola. Two Coptic funerary stelae, 758 and 771/772. *Ed. princ.* J. van der Vliet, “Two Dated Coptic Epitaphs from Dongola,” *JJP* 48 (2018) 321–330. Edition of two Coptic epitaphs found during the 2015 and 2018 campaigns of the Polish Centre of Mediterranean Archaeology of the University of Warsaw.

42. Inv. Hdd.18.322. *Ed. princ.* Van der Vliet, pp. 322–326, no. 1, Figs. 1–2. Funerary inscription (30 × 19 × 6.5 cm) of the monk Michaelinkouda, found in the debris of room W.1 in north building 4 of the Monastery on Kom H. The text begins (ll. 1–7) with the formula ϣⲓⲧⲙⲓ ⲡⲟⲩⲉⲣϣⲁⲗⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲧⲱϣ ⲙⲡⲉⲛϣⲱⲧⲏⲣ ⲓ(ⲏϣⲟⲩ)ϣ ⲡⲉⲭⲣ(ⲓϣⲧⲟ)ϣ ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲛⲧⲥ̅ (read ⲡⲉⲧⲉⲟⲩⲛⲧⲥ̅) *vac.* ⲧⲉⲗⲟⲩϣⲓⲁ ⲙⲙⲁⲩ ⲛⲛⲉⲧⲟⲛⲟⲩ ⲙⲛ ⲛⲉⲧⲙⲟⲟⲩⲧ̅ “Through the order and dispensation of our Saviour, Jesus Christ, who has authority over the living and the dead.” The opening phrase ϣⲓⲧⲙⲓ ⲡⲟⲩⲉⲣϣⲁⲗⲛⲉ ⲙⲛ ⲡⲧⲱϣ seems to be a free translation of the Greek expression νεύσει καὶ κελεύσει/βουλήσει “through the inclination and order/will” found in Nubian funerary epigraphy. The epithet of Christ is an unattested variant of the liturgical formula “who has authority over life and death” (cf. Wis. 16:13a). The epitaph continues

(ll. 8–13) with the **ΝΤΑΦΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟΦ** “he went to his rest” formula and the date (9 Pharmouthi of the 11th indiction, in year 474 of Diocletian, that is, 4 April 758). The text ends (ll. 13–15) with the formula **ΠΝΟΥΓΤΕ † ΜΤΟΝ ΝΤΕΦΨΥΧΗ ΖΑ- vac. ΜΗΝ** “God, give rest to his soul. Amen.” The other side of the stone was reused for apotropaic inscriptions. One reads “Jesus, Michael, α ω, Mary, mother of Christ.” The latter expression, **Μαρία γέννα Χ(ριστο)ῦ**, is a variant of the phrase **Χριστοῦ/Χριστός Μαρία γέννα**, which has been proposed as the model of the symbol **χμγ** (following the interpretation of T. Derda in *P.Naqlun* I, pp. 181–182; the author prefers not to correct **Χ(ριστο)ῦ** to **Χ(ριστό)ν** and to understand the noun **γέννα** instead of the verb **γεννᾷ**).

43. Inv. Hdd.2015.001 (a) and (b). *Ed. princ.* Van der Vliet, pp. 326–330, Fig. 3. Two fragments of a terracotta epitaph (fr. a: 16 × 8 × 2.5 cm; fr. b: 13 × 14 × 2.5 cm), found in different spots near the church of the Monastery on Kom H, of a cleric or monk (as shown by the epithet **ΠΕΥΛΑΒΕΣΤΑΤ(ΟC)** in ll. 2–3). The beginning of the text is lost; very little of the **ΝΤΑΦΜΤΟΝ ΜΜΟΦ** “he went to his rest” formula survives as well as the end of the date (ll. 7–8): “[in the] year [since Diocletian] 488,” that is 771/772. In ll. 8–12, the text asks God to give rest (**ΕΦΕ† Μ[ΤΟΝ ΝΑΦ]**) to the deceased in the bosom of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The epithet of God (ll. 9–10) is **Π[ΤΕΧ]ΝΙΤΗ[C ΜΠΤΗΡ]ῤ** “the craftsman of the universe,” a well-known variant (in literary texts) of the expression **ΠΑΗΜΙΟΥΡΓΟΣ ὙΠΤΗΡῤ**, but unparalleled so far in Nubian epigraphy.

44. Dongola. Greek/Old Nubian prayers for women. *Ed. princ.* A. Łajtar and V.W.J. van Gerven Oei, “Women in the Southwest Annex,” in W. Godlewski, D. Dzierzbicka, and A. Łajtar (eds.), *Dongola 2015–2016: Fieldwork, Conservation and Site Management* (Warsaw 2018) 75–78. The wall paintings in the so-called Southwest Annex of the Monastery on Kom H appear to mark it as a feminine space. This is confirmed by the two inscriptions edited here. The first is a graffito with a private prayer inscribed underneath a painting of the Virgin Mary, requesting her intercession for assistance in childbirth. The Old Nubian part of the prayer shows Dongolawi dialectical influence (p. 77); the female author remains anonymous and signs with the Greek formula **ὁ θεὸς ὄνομα ἴδεν** (for **εἶδεν**) “whose name God knows” (discussed at p. 78). The second is a *dipinto* with a dedicatory prayer for the (probably) female donor of another painting in the same room (p. 78). The name of the donor is lost, and the Greek text follows a standard format, for which see **47** below and *CIEN* 6.57–68.

45. Dongola. Greek/Old Nubian cultic graffiti, ca. 11th-14th cent. *Ed. princ.* A. Łajtar, “Anna, the First Nubian Saint Known to Us?” *BSAC* 56 (2017) 91–110. Four graffiti from an annex to the church of the Monastery on Kom H (for a preliminary announcement on the graffiti from this building, see *CIEN* 4.56). Three of the four graffiti are brief invocations of “the God of Anna” (ΑΝΝΑ ΤΑΛΛΑ), one of them signed by a certain Staurosikouda (no. 2); the fourth (no. 1), refers to Anna’s feast (ἑορτή) on 10 Tybi (no. 1). As the date shows, this Anna cannot be the mother of the Virgin Mary. The combination of archaeological and epigraphical evidence suggests that the annex in question first served as the living quarters and burial place of a holy man and subsequently developed into a commemorative church. In all likelihood, Anna was the name of the (male) saint, buried and venerated at the spot. The editor discusses other instances of Anna as a Nubian masculine name (p. 103) and several Egyptian examples of similar local cults, such as at Deir Abu Hennes (pp. 105–106; cf. *CIEN* 2.53).

46. Dongola. Greek *dipinto*, ca. 11th-12th cent. *Ed. princ.* A. Łajtar, “The Constantinopolitan Creed in an Inscription from the Monastery Church on Kom H in Dongola,” in W. Godlewski, D. Dzierzbicka, and A. Łajtar (eds.), *Dongola 2015–2016: Fieldwork, Conservation and Site Management* (Warsaw 2018) 37–46. A fragmentary *dipinto* with a copy of the *Symbolum Constantinopolitanum*, inscribed on a wall of the church of the Monastery on Kom H, probably for a liturgical purpose. The only major textual variant is the addition τοῦ θεοῦ in καθολικὴν καὶ ἀποστολικὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίαν (l. 15, discussed at p. 41). The (damaged) signature of the scribe in l. 17 is discussed at pp. 41–42, other epigraphical attestations of creeds in medieval Nubia (partly unpublished) at pp. 42–45.

47. Dongola. Greek prayer for the donor of an icon, ca. 13th-14th cent. *Ed. princ.* W. Godlewski, U. Kusz, and A. Łajtar, “A Fragmentary Wooden Icon from the Church of Archangel Raphael (SWN.B.V),” in W. Godlewski, D. Dzierzbicka, and A. Łajtar (eds.), *Dongola 2015–2016: Fieldwork, Conservation and Site Management* (Warsaw 2018) 147–154. Dedicatory prayer of a painted icon of the Virgin Mary (pp. 152–154). The prayer follows a familiar format, also used for wall paintings in Faras and Dongola (cf. *CIEN* 6.57–68). A remarkable feature is that Mary is addressed (in l. 1) as δάμαρ τοῦ Χ(ριστο)ῦ, instead of μήτηρ τοῦ Χριστοῦ, with a rare Homeric word for “wife, spouse” (discussion at p. 153). The donor is a certain Proimos (Πρώϊμος, written no less than six times in

ll. 2–4), an official with the title *joknashil* (δοκνασῶλ, l. 4). The known occurrences of this title, ranging from the eighth to the fourteenth centuries, are discussed at p. 154.

48. Meroe (quarries). Christian graffiti. A. Tsakos and C. Kleinitz, “Medieval Graffiti in the Sandstone Quarries of Meroe: Texts, Monograms and Cryptograms of Christian Nubia,” in B. Cech, T. Rehren, and A.A. Mohamed (eds.), *The Quarries of Meroe, Sudan*, vol. 1 (Doha 2018) 127–142. Preliminary report on the medieval Christian graffiti from the quarries of Meroe, focusing on quarry Q05. In Area 4a, three inscriptions are found essentially containing names: Menachael, who was apparently a priest of Dapakke (a thus far unattested toponym) on panel G11, Severos, to whom an “amen” is added, on panel G7, and George on panel G53. Given that the inscriptions are found to the left, center, and right when entering Area 4a and the first text begins with a cross while the last one ends with it, the authors entertain the hypothesis (p. 131) that the three texts form one composition to demarcate the place as sacred. However, the inscriptions could just as well have been incised on different occasions, and a common addition such as “amen” does not necessarily indicate the sanctity of the spot. Area 4b yields, apart from some fragmentary or (as yet) unintelligible texts, a graffito of a certain Merkouriosotot, again followed by “amen” (ἐλἐησ(ov) read in l. 2 is very uncertain because of an Arabic graffito written over it), on panel G16 and one mentioning a Timotheos as well as several monograms of the Archangel Michael on panel G17. The graffiti at Area 7 are difficult to read due to the soft sandstone surface. On panel G50 there is an intriguing ensemble, which is interpreted as monograms of the Archangels Michael and Gabriel with a monogram in their middle containing cryptograms of both archangels and another divine being. On the same panel are also two *nomina sacra*, $\overline{\text{IC}}$ $\overline{\text{XC}}$ and $\overline{\text{IY}}$ $\overline{\text{XY}}$, and, if correct, the name Philippos written twice.

REVIEWS

Bart Van Beek, *The Archive of the Architektones Kleon and Theodoros (P. Petrie Kleon)*. Collectanea Hellenistica 7. Leuven, Paris, and Bristol, CT: Peeters, 2017. x + 312 pages. ISBN 978-90-429-3500-6.

The archive of the engineers (*architektones*) Kleon and Theodoros has been known since the late nineteenth century, but this new publication offers the first systematic re-publication of all the papyri related to Kleon and his successor Theodoros, and adds forty previously unpublished papyri, totaling 124 texts. The author's aim is to make a new updated edition of this archive with a focus on archival studies and not to offer a full historical study or a reassessment of irrigation or stone cutting in the Fayum in the mid-third century BC. The high-quality edition of texts disentangles the many layers of (not always accurate) past corrections and hypotheses, proposes new ones and cautiously indicates when questions remain unsolved.

The introduction (pp. 1–29) starts with a clear presentation of the historiography of the archives of the two successive engineers, from the discovery by Flinders Petrie in the cemetery of Gurob in 1889, where the papyri had been recycled to make mummy cartonnage, to the first editions, interpretations, and conservation in several collections, up to the current reedition (sections I and II). It is worth noting here that other Ptolemaic texts were found among the same cartonnage from Gurob: literary fragments, soldiers' wills (*P. Petrie* 1, 2nd ed.) and tax lists (*P. Count.* 11–21). Section III surveys the content of the archive, considered as one single archive since Theodoros added his official correspondence to that of his former superior Kleon. The archive is linked to the office of engineer and goes from 260 to 236 BC (see chart on p. 10 and table 1 on p. 275 with some discrepancies). More of Kleon's documents were preserved (72 texts), including 16 private letters sent to him by his wife and sons. Because this archive was a *deliberate collection* (Van Beek's emphasis) of the two engineers, the outgoing correspondence found elsewhere, for instance in the Zenon archive from Philadelphia where other individuals from the engineers' archive are also found, has not been included. The only outgoing letters found in the archive itself are thus drafts or copies. Applying convincingly the criterion of *meaningful selection*, Van Beek

decided to include all (fragmentary) texts concerning irrigation and stone cutting, even if the name of Kleon or Theodoros was not mentioned, because many must be drafts, often copied in registers of correspondence (86–89). In addition, contracts mentioning the engineers (90–91) and accounts concerning irrigation and stone cutting (92–105) were incorporated and compose the different “layers” of an archive, drawing on Jördens’ typology.¹ The original order of the documents could not be reconstructed. Thus they are arranged by category, then chronologically when possible. Interestingly, Van Beek surmises that the letters were filed in some sort of cabinet (p. 12) with the dockets on the back visible, but there was no consistent system because not all of them have summaries.

The second half of the introduction (sections IV and V) turns to a historical survey of irrigation and stone cutting in the Fayum, a natural depression ca. 75 km south of Cairo. In the Prehistoric and Pharaonic periods it formed a lake, *P3-jm* in Egyptian (thus Fayum), supplied by a branch of the Nile, the Bahr Yusef. Large-scale reclamation occurred first under the 12th dynasty (ca. 1800 BC), yet with irrigation only on the highest terrace of the depression, while the rest formed a lake still described by Herodotus around 445 BC (Hdt. 2.149–150). Under the first two Ptolemies, the construction of a dam at el-Lahun closed off the depression and allowed for reclamation of about 1,200 square kilometers, an achievement marked around 258 BC by the new name of Arsinoite nome given to the area after the deceased queen Arsinoe II. The present archive concerns later works of maintenance (ca. 256–237 BC), and the last mention of Theodoros in 232 BC (*P.Köln* 8.342, not part of this archive) is the last trace of an office of *architekton* for such irrigation projects. Yet it seems that new canals could be constructed, since one was called after Kleon (20). Van Beek discusses land reclamation as described in the Zenon archive, including more extensive work (e.g., 15,000 men for 60 days) than in the present archive, and archaeological evidence for an artificial storage lake are discussed, down to the development of the Fayum in the Roman period. The section on irrigation ends with a review of the Nile calendar and a list of technical terms with useful explanations. Section V distinguishes stone cutting activities that happened in the Fayum during

¹ A. Jördens, “Papyri und private Archive. Ein Diskussionsbeitrag zur papyrologischen Terminologie,” in E. Cantarella and G. Thür (eds.), *Symposion 1997. Vorträge zur griechischen und hellenistischen Rechtsgeschichte (Altafiumara, 8.-14. September 1997). Comunicazioni sul diritto greco ed ellenistico (Altafiumara, 8-14 Settembre 1997)*, Akten der Gesellschaft für griechische und hellenistische Rechtsgeschichte 13 (Köln, Weimar, and Wien 2001) 253–268.

a concentrated period of time (259–254 BC) and the exploitation of quarries outside the Fayum. Kleon was only involved in stone cutting when he needed stones for irrigation works, as documented by 18 papyri. Interestingly, the stonecutter Techestheus, who delivers gravel to Zenon, may be the same person as his homonym in the present archive (57 and 101). Contractors for stone cutting made bids to obtain the work as others did for dyke works (contracts 90–91) and normally received a contract (ἐργολαβία), but in the stone cutters' cases it involved the *dioiketes* and his subalterns.

The edition of texts is divided in eight sections: I. Private correspondence (1–16), II. Official correspondence on irrigation, stone cutting and other topics (17–83), III. Related correspondence (83–84), IV. Registers of correspondence (86–89), V. Contracts (90–91), VI. Accounts (92–105), VII. Texts of uncertain type (106–119) and VIII. Later addenda (120–124). Translations are given for each text except for (part of) papyri that are too fragmentary. Each introduction is limited to a minimal description of the papyrus and information on previous publication(s), translation(s) and connections to other texts. Van Beek chose to provide contextual explanations in the line-by-line commentary, which often includes linguistic observations with references to more in-depth discussions published by Clarysse.² The readers will also enrich their understanding of administration, irrigation and stonecutting in the third-century BC Fayum, but such a structure sometimes makes explanations with broader implications difficult to find. For instance, Van Beek provides a wealth of information about wages but this is scattered through several texts (esp. 15, ll. 3–4, 64 on Kleon's wage, 80–81 on the *agora* of Theodoros, 91, 110), and thus is difficult to comprehend fully since it is not discussed in the general introduction. Subtitles to some papyri's titles could make it easier to find specific issues, especially if added to the many "letters about irrigation."

It is not possible in a few lines to do justice to the many contributions of this text edition to our understanding of the archive and its context. Regarding Kleon himself, Van Beek refutes once and for all the idea that Kleon fell into disgrace with Ptolemy II, which Wilamowitz, Bouché-Leclercq, and later Lewis had imagined on the basis of the content of a letter that Kleon had received from his wife Metrodora (#3) around the time of the visit of Ptolemy II in the Fayum in 253 BC and of an undated

² W. Clarysse, "Linguistic Diversity in the Archive of the Engineers Kleon and Theodoros," in T.V. Evans and D.D. Obbink (eds.), *The Language of the Papyri* (Oxford 2010) 35–50.

letter from his son Philonides (11). If an unexpected delay is indeed alluded to, financial problems cannot be substantiated and above all, Van Beek demonstrates that such a dramatization of Kleon's life cannot be reconciled with the fact that Kleon remained engineer for three more years (circular/ἐντολή 79) and that Kleon and his family viewed Theodoros in a favorable light and as a possible replacement (11 with commentary to 77). Van Beek's notes also clarify the diverse responsibilities of the *architektones*, above all to control the inflow of water from the Nile through the costly opening and closing of sluice-gates (θύραι, esp. 18, 21, 88). This could trigger complaints, such as the letter from Zenon to Kleon (19) about opening the gate because the estate of Apollonios could not be irrigated. 91, a register that records six copies of contracts for irrigation work, and 94 (with p. 16), about the distribution of implements, are essential to understand the administrative structure set up for the maintenance of the irrigation system. While the engineer was in charge of the planification, the nomarchs (attested until ca. 240 BC) helped him implement the work. Van Beek also solves many problems left by previous editors, not only regarding the text editions themselves, but also our general understanding. To give one example, he shows that 39, about men supposedly working in the place called Copper Mines near Philoteris – which seemed out of context with the archive – were in fact men working on canals at the Copper Mines (author's capitalization) near Philoteris. Finally, the commentaries to the texts that make up the stone-cutting dossier analyze a unique set of information also contextualized in the introduction (pp. 25–29), from stone cutters complaining about unequal treatment (51) to the organization of the work divided between contractors who had to bid (59 and 87, both perhaps written by Kleon's himself). It clarifies the term “free-stonecutter” (ἐλευθερολατόμοι) found in letters 55 and 64, which some stonecutters used to distinguish themselves from other workers, some being prisoners (52), others being σώματα (either stonecutters or assistants) with παιδάρια, either free or slaves (57).

One issue that could have deserved some attention in the introduction is the interaction between the engineers and Egyptians. A few of them stand out in the archive besides the royal scribes and their agency in the irrigation project is worth stressing: Petechonsis the vice-engineer (ὕπαρχιτέκτων in 20, 23, 45 – we do not know if he held this function at the same time as Theodoros), Poerris and Horos, contractors of irrigation works, the latter being also nomarch (91), Thamoys who contracted irrigation work from Kleon (33), Harmais, an official or a contractor working for Kleon and writing directly to him (65) and Techestheus the

stonecutter (57, 101) both possibly found in the Zenon archive, or else Teos, a village official (40). More information can be grasped here and there in the line-by-line commentaries: a letter to Kleon (21) was written with a brush and thus by an Egyptian scribe, which is rare, yet Van Beek counts three other examples in this archive (18, 33, 54). At times a (sailor's) crew (πλήρωμα) used for irrigation work complains of being "treated unfairly for ten months" (39) or stone cutters are upset at receiving different qualities of stones from Apollonios the superintendent (ἐργοδιώκτης, see 51 above). Disputes are also found between individuals bearing Greek names, such as Demetrios against Protarchos and Hephastion, somehow leading the former one to ask Kleon to be taken out of prison (54, 58).

The text edition is complemented by appendices summarizing the type of texts in two tables and visually reconstructing the chronology of the documents in figures 1a–1b (pp. 275–277), but in the introduction (pp. 9–12) the latter ones seem to be referred to as graphs 2 and 3. Maybe another chart representing the connections between the different individuals, with their function or assumed domain of activity, could have enhanced our understanding of Kleon's world and its overlap with the Zenon archive (e.g. 17, 19, 32). Five maps of Egypt and the Fayum have been included, the last two providing the possible locations of many villages of the Fayum based on Katja Mueller's former work.³ The label of Map 5, "Fayum, meris of Polemon" is misleading since the whole Fayum is represented and should be switched with the label of Map 4, while one must check the second map (mislabelled Map 3) to locate the *meris*. At times references to the maps in the commentary of the text could help the reader, for instance when the Montila canal is discussed, or when Mueller's map is discussed (p. 69). But these are only quibbles. The concordance of published texts is a useful addition, followed by a bibliography and the usual indexes of Greek terms. The twelve color plates form a representative selection and their number is limited because it is expected that the holding institutions will make all plates available. It is highly desirable, thus, that the different collections do so in the near future, while a single website gathering all the plates would be useful, as in the case of *P.Count*.

Papyrologists and ancient historians can be grateful to Van Beek for this excellent edition of texts, which fully supersedes the previous publications and saves us from navigating the meanders of the Petrie papyrus

³ K. Mueller, "What's Your Position? Using Multi-Dimensional Scaling (MDS) and Geographical Information Systems (GIS) for Locating Ancient Settlements in the Meris of Polemon / Graeco-Roman Fayum," *APF* 50 (2004) 199–214.

editions that concerned this archive. This systematic presentation of all published and of many unpublished texts related to the archive will make possible new investigations of the administrative and economic structures set up for reclaiming the Fayum.

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Dorota Dzierzbicka, Οἶνος: *Production and Import of Wine in Graeco-Roman Egypt*. The Journal of Juristic Papyrology Supplements 31. Warsaw: Faculty of Law and Administration and Institute of Archaeology of the University of Warsaw and the Raphael Taubenschlag Foundation, 2018. xix + 527 pages. ISBN 978-83-946848-1-5.

In this handbook, based on a 2011 Warsaw dissertation, Dorota Dzierzbicka (D.) exhaustively deals with some aspects of wine production in Egypt and with the import of wine in the Graeco-Roman period. Left out are the more strictly agricultural aspects of wine production in Egypt, which were covered by Schnebel and Ruffing.¹ In the first part of her book, D. first surveys the areas where wine was produced in Egypt. She then devotes two chapters to vineyard owners and to others engaged in their exploitation. After another chapter on how wine was produced and on special kinds of wine, she rounds off the first part of her book with a chapter on the distribution and sale of wine. In the second part of her book, D. surveys the areas outside Egypt from which wine was imported, with a chapter each for the Aegean, Western Asia Minor, Southern Asia Minor, the island of Leukas, Crete and the island of Onysia, Cyprus, Italy and Sicily, Gaul, Spain, and the Levant. All of this is prefaced with an introduction and a survey of the sources (archaeological and textual) and followed by two sets of conclusions, one for the first part of the book, tracing changes in wine production in Egypt in the course of the Graeco-Roman period, and another for the second part of the book, tracing changes in wine import over time, both illustrated with maps. Exhaustive bibliographies and indices round off the book.

D. sensibly restricts herself to the Graeco-Roman period: the conquest of Egypt by Alexander expanded the consumption of wine and the opportunities to import it from elsewhere, and the conquest of Egypt by the Arabs eventually led to a more restricted use and import of wine. D. also expands the scope of her predecessors by taking the archaeological evidence into account. This throws light on the production of wine (e.g., wine presses) and on the import of wine (e.g., amphoras from around the Mediterranean found in Egypt). But there is no sustained discussion of the export of wine from Egypt, and the various by-products of wine production

¹ M. Schnebel, *Die Landwirtschaft im hellenistischen Ägypten* (München 1925) and K. Ruffing, *Weinbau im römischen Ägypten* (St. Katharinen 1999). Additional works on viticulture are listed by D. on p. 56, n. 1. Contrary to what D. claims on p. 9, Schnebel (1867–1938) was not killed in World War I: he committed suicide after the *Reichskristallnacht* (see G. Kreucher, *Historia* 52 [2003] 97, n. 14).

such as vinegar are only incidentally mentioned.² More importantly, D. is a victim of the sources she has presented so admirably in her book. The finds of papyri have been notoriously arbitrary,³ and the same goes for the more recent archaeological finds. Large areas of Egypt have not been searched for papyri or explored by archaeologists. Predictably, the Fayyum figures prominently on D.'s maps, as does Oxyrhynchus in the Roman and Byzantine periods. Predictably also, the Zenon archive figures prominently in D.'s discussions throughout her book, and she even distinguishes the early Ptolemaic period (third century BC) from the later Ptolemaic period, to accommodate the unusual richness of the information provided by the Zenon archive. It does open a window onto recent immigrants from the Greek world, who would have been keen on imports from their country of origin, but Greeks and others from the Eastern Mediterranean continued to pour in throughout the Ptolemaic period, and Westerners started arriving from the second half of the first century BC onwards. It is just that there is no first-century BC Zenon archive to document their immediate impact on the import of wine. Also, Oxyrhynchus is absent from D.'s Ptolemaic maps, because few Ptolemaic papyri were recovered there, but does this mean that viticulture developed at Oxyrhynchus only in the early Roman period, supposedly because sufficient private wealth there accumulated only at that time, to allow investments in vineyards, as D. thinks (p. 404)? Hardly, and this affects many of her tentative conclusions drawn from the distribution, geographical and chronological, she presents in her book, especially in the two sets of conclusions at the end. That said, D. is well informed about many of the issues social and economic historians of Graeco-Roman Egypt have been grappling with in the past generation or so, and her take on these issues is often sensible and helpful.

For readers of this journal, the introductory section on the sources covers familiar ground until D. gets to the archaeological evidence. On pp. 36–51 she discusses the production of wine amphoras in Graeco-Roman Egypt after Delphine Dixneuf, whose recent work is also the basis for the map on p. 39. That map does not put dates on the various amphora types it contains, because amphoras are sometimes hard to date. I note that the illustration on p. 181 from the tomb of Petosiris at Tuna el-Gebel (from just before the time period covered by Dixneuf) features two

² More can be found with the help of, e.g., P. van Minnen, "Agriculture and the 'Taxes-and-Trade' Model in Roman Egypt," *ZPE* 133 (2000) 205–220, and A. Marzano, *Roman Villas in Central Italy: A Social and Economic History* (Leiden 2007).

³ See, e.g., R.S. Bagnall, *Everyday Writing in the Graeco-Roman East* (Berkeley 2011).

additional amphora types. On p. 50 D. states that, as a rule, amphoras contained wine from the same area where they were produced, but amphoras were surely reused over and over again, and if they ended up in another area, they would have been filled with wine from that area. I suspect that the Mediterranean amphoras found in India (p. 45) may have been refilled with Egyptian wine while they were in transit in Egypt.

The first part of the book contains mostly substantial chapters on where and how wine was produced in Egypt in the Graeco-Roman period. In the long Chapter One (pp. 55–110) D. surveys the wine producing areas in Egypt, or rather the areas where we know, through archaeological and/or textual evidence, that wine was produced in the Graeco-Roman period. Wine was mostly produced “in small batches”: vineyards tended to be small, with a few exceptions. The extent of one person’s holdings in the petition *P.Amh.* 2.79 (mentioned on p. 59, n. 13) is no doubt exaggerated.⁴ D. starts with the Delta (and the West Coast). The section on the Mareotis (pp. 65–70) includes the most recent finds. The illustration of the wine press on p. 69 needs to be “read” with the reconstruction on p. 185 and supplemented with the detailed illustration of the lion-head spout on the back cover. Peter Grossmann’s volume announced on p. 74, n. 84, has now appeared under a slightly different title.⁵ D. continues with the Fayyum,⁶ then moves into the Nile Valley.⁷ On p. 110 D. speculates that 5% of all land in Egypt was used for vineyards, but at 25,000 square kilometers she probably overestimates the extent of land (20,000 square kilometers would be a safer bet).

In Chapter Two (pp. 111–152) D. surveys what we know about the owners of vineyards, private and institutional.⁸ In the section on the Roman period, she misunderstands the use of “Persian of the *epigone*” in *BGU* 4.1119, which she thinks (p. 129, n. 68) makes it unlikely that his wife was an Alexandrian citizen (“Persian of the *epigone*” is merely the designation of the “weaker” party in a contractual relationship).⁹ In

⁴ See P. van Minnen, “A Note on *P.Amh.* II 79,” *ZPE* 191 (2014) 249–250.

⁵ P. Grossmann, *Abu Mina IV: Das Ostraka-Haus und die Weinpresse* (Wiesbaden 2019).

⁶ On Theadelphia I miss a reference to J. France, “Vineyards and Gardens in Second-Century Theadelphia,” in L. Mooren (ed.), *Politics, Administration and Society in the Hellenistic and Roman World* (Leuven 2000) 91–105; see also my article mentioned in n. 2 above.

⁷ On *P.Bad.* 4.95, mentioned in the section on the Hermopolite nome (pp. 91–93), see M. Schnebel, “An Agricultural Ledger in *P. Bad.* 95,” *JEA* 14 (1928) 34–45.

⁸ To the evidence for temples in the Ptolemaic period (p. 122), add H. Junker, “Schenkung von Weingärten an die Isis von Philae unter Marc Aurel,” *WZKM* 31 (1924) 53–81, which mentions an earlier grant by Ptolemy X (missing in *C.Ord.Ptol.*).

⁹ In the section on the Byzantine period I miss a reference to G. Azzarello, *Il dossier della domus divina in Egitto* (Berlin 2012) on p. 152.

Chapter Three (pp. 152–177) D. surveys what we know about who was involved in the exploitation of vineyards besides their owners: managers, skilled labor, casual labor (including specialists), lessees (from private owners and otherwise). In Chapter Four (pp. 179–226) she first comments briefly (pp. 180–194) on wine production and storage, then focuses on types of vines (pp. 194–198), aged wine (pp. 198–209), and special kinds of wine attested in Egypt.¹⁰ The bulk of the wine produced in Egypt would not have been one of the kinds discussed by D. In Chapter Five (pp. 227–252) she goes into the distribution and more specifically the sale of wine in Egypt and the people involved in the wine trade, such as Berenike of Oxyrhynchus.¹¹

The second part of the book contains sometimes relatively short chapters on the various areas from which wine was imported into Egypt in the Graeco-Roman period. First the Aegean (Chapter Six, pp. 255–283): Chios, Thasos, Lesbos, Kos, and Euboea. For the more important islands, D. gives illustrations of the distinctive amphora types (Chios: p. 263; Lesbos: p. 271; Kos: p. 277). She uses the royal ordinance *P.Bingen* 45 (33 BC) to good effect (p. 346): it allows the recipients of the privileges accorded in it to import 5,000 amphoras of Koan wine tax-free every year. Interestingly, Koan amphoras from the first century BC have been found in Arikamedu near Pondicherry in Southern India (p. 436). Next comes Western Asia Minor (Chapter Seven, pp. 287–315): Tmolos, Kolophon, Ephesus (amphora types: p. 295), Knidos (amphora types: p. 301), and Rhodes and the Rhodian Peraea (amphora types: p. 309). Southern Asia Minor follows (Chapter Eight, pp. 317–324; amphora types: p. 322): Pamphylia and Cilicia. Chapter Nine (pp. 325–328) is a brief chapter on the Western Greek island of Leukas. Chapter Ten (pp. 329–336; amphora types: p. 333) is devoted to Crete and Onysia, the island just off the East coast of Crete. Cyprus is the focus of Chapter Eleven (pp. 337–344). Chapter Twelve (pp. 345–362; amphora types: p. 347) concerns Italy and Sicily, first generically (pp. 348–352), then by area (Campanian wine, *Hadrianum*, Aminian wine, and Pollian wine). Chapter Thirteen

¹⁰ On *oinomeli* and such see also H. Chouliara-Raños, *L'abeille et le miel en Égypte d'après les papyrus grecs* (Ioannina 1989).

¹¹ On the petition about her, *P.Oxy.* 22.2342, mentioned on p. 249, see P. van Minnen, "Berenice, a Business Woman from Roman Oxyrhynchus: Appearance and Reality," in A.M.F.W. Verhoogt and S.P. Vleeming (eds.), *The Two Faces of Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Leiden 1998) 59–71, where D. could have found that her husband was not a debtor, as she thinks, but a creditor (δανειστής) of the petitioner.

(pp. 363–367; amphora type: p. 365) covers Gaul. Spain is the subject of Chapter Fourteen (pp. 369–372; amphora types: p. 370), the Levant of Chapter Fifteen (pp. 373–392; amphora types: p. 385): Laodicea in Northern Syria, Palestine, Gaza, and Askalon.

The two concluding chapters present chronologically what the earlier chapters presented geographically. First comes the production of wine in Egypt in the course of the Graeco-Roman period (pp. 395–416). D. sensibly remarks (pp. 396–397) that the evidence of *P.Yale* 3.137 cannot be generalized to the rest of the Fayyum, let alone the rest of Egypt, because it is from the fringe of the Fayyum, where land that could not well be used for arable agriculture could be used for viticulture. There are maps for each period: Ptolemaic (p. 403), Roman (p. 405), and Byzantine (p. 407). The Western Oases disappear in the Byzantine period, and this is likely not a bias in the evidence (the Western Oases were de-intensified rather quickly towards the end of the fourth century AD). More speculative are the flow-charts for the distribution of wine in the Ptolemaic and Roman periods (pp. 409 and 411 respectively). The first separates temple-owned vineyards from all the rest (a rag bag of *doreai*, cleruchic land, private land, and royal land), but they do not behave differently. The second flow-chart is more complex, because D. decided to make it more complex.

The second set of conclusions concerns the import of wine into Egypt (pp. 417–432). D. distinguishes the third century BC (Zenon archive) from the later Ptolemaic period but presents a combined map on p. 423. There is a map for the Roman period on p. 429 (showing Western imports beyond Italy for the first time) but not for the Byzantine period. This set of conclusions comes with handy tables and maps. From the chronological table of imported wines (pp. 433–434) one can read off at a glance whether the evidence for it is archaeological or textual or both, and the evidence itself is listed on pp. 435–438. The maps of the Mediterranean that follow illustrate the archaeological evidence, here amphoras, only: there is a map for each period (Ptolemaic: p. 439; Roman: p. 440; Byzantine: p. 441), and on each map the more important amphora types are superimposed.

The bibliography lists literary sources (documentary sources are left to the *Checklist*) and an impressive amount of secondary literature. The index covers literary and documentary sources but also persons, places, and a variety of subjects subdivided into terms (ancient and modern) and amphora types (by their modern designation).

All in all, an extremely welcome volume: well documented and easy to navigate and consult, as a handbook should be. As a working papyrologist I am glad to have it.

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Christopher A. Faraone, *The Transformation of Greek Amulets in Roman Imperial Times*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018. xv + 486 pages + 19 plates. ISBN 978-0-8122-4935-4.

L'étude des traditions amulettiques grecques et romaines a bénéficié ces dernières décennies d'un nombre considérable de contributions qui ont grandement fait évoluer notre compréhension des pratiques rituelles apotropaïques, curatives et conjuratoires. Christopher Faraone (ci-après F.) a joué un rôle central dans le recensement et la modélisation de ces pratiques depuis maintenant 30 ans et il nous offre ici l'aboutissement de ses recherches. *The Transformation of Greek Amulets in Roman Imperial Times* s'appuie sur un vaste corpus d'objets, de gemmes, de représentations, de papyrus magiques, de lapidaires et d'auteurs anciens, qui vont de la période classique jusqu'à l'époque impériale romaine, afin d'expliquer les transformations et les continuités dont témoignent les amulettes et qui reflètent plus largement l'évolution des pratiques magiques et religieuses en lien avec la protection, la guérison et les exorcismes.

Au début de l'époque impériale, la perception des maux physiques et psychiques qui menaçaient les habitants de la Méditerranée et les stratégies de défense déployées pour les contrer semblent avoir subi un changement important. Archéologiquement, on voit soudainement apparaître une profusion d'amulettes apotropaïques, prophylactiques, conjuratoires et propitiatoires. Leurs formules et motifs sont bien établis, récurrents et même parfois élaborés. Pourtant, quelques siècles plus tôt, ces charmes ne se rencontraient que très rarement et presque exclusivement dans la littérature. Pour expliquer ce besoin apparemment nouveau et impérieux de protection contre l'invisible, l'hypothèse auparavant avancée postulait une intensification du sentiment d'anxiété doublée de changements profonds dans les croyances traditionnelles, sous l'influence des civilisations proches-orientales (1).

F. conteste cette interprétation et démontre efficacement que l'usage d'amulettes ne s'est nullement intensifié, elles sont simplement devenues plus visibles, plus facilement identifiables aux yeux des modernes. La plupart des matériaux, des images et des formules qu'on voit alors apparaître dans les habitudes amulettiques, étaient en réalité employés depuis des siècles. Les changements qui expliquent l'apparente augmentation de la quantité d'amulettes sont d'ordre pratique et non spirituel, ils concernent l'usage nouvellement privilégié de textes écrits plutôt que de formules récitées, la miniaturisation d'images et de statuettes représentant des protecteurs puissants ainsi que la création d'une nouvelle iconographie, inspirée

des images traditionnelles. Bref, c'est grâce à l'addition de quelques mots inscrits ou d'une image gravée sur des matériaux depuis longtemps consacrés par l'usage, que nous arrivons à en reconnaître les propriétés.

Le livre est organisé selon une progression chronologique et thématique qui se divise en trois parties comprenant chacune trois chapitres, "Archaeology," "Images" et "Texts." Elles portent respectivement sur les matériaux et formes, les personnages divins et les formules de guérison et de conjuration. Cette structure conjugue thématique et diachronie à la perfection, ce qui rend la lecture fluide et aide à mettre en lumière l'évolution des techniques prophylactiques. Il en résulte que le livre se conçoit comme un tout équilibré avec une cohérence interne serrée. La lecture de chapitres pris isolément, bien que possible, servirait mal les intérêts du lecteur. La démonstration se construit et s'étoffe de chapitre en chapitre, donc pour pleinement l'apprécier, c'est un volume qui se lit d'un couvert à l'autre.

Le chapitre d'introduction définit les prémisses de la recherche et son sujet: est une amulette "any object – plant, animal, or mineral; natural or manmade, image or text – that the Greeks placed on their bodies, domestic animals, homes, ships, vineyards, or cities in the hope of protecting themselves, of curing some illness, or of gaining some benefit, usually understood in the abstract – for example, charisma, prosperity, or victory." (5). Les amulettes ont été utilisées en Grèce depuis l'époque archaïque. Cependant les plus anciennes comportaient généralement peu de marques extérieures attestant de leur pouvoir. F. entreprend donc, dans la première partie (27–101), la tâche délicate de décrire les objets antérieurs aux changements qui rendront leurs pouvoirs manifestes. Au chapitre un, l'auteur esquisse un portrait sociologique de l'utilisation des amulettes. Les enfants semblent avoir été priorisés. Certains garçons avaient une corde transversale au milieu du corps, sur laquelle une ou deux dizaines de pendentifs pouvaient être attachés. Les femmes se classent en deuxième position. Elles se nouaient des amulettes autour des hanches, des cuisses et des bras pour apaiser leurs problèmes féminins, faciliter la délivrance, réguler leurs menstruations ou éviter l'avortement spontané (37). Les hommes, étonnamment, avaient peu d'amulettes, même si les risques encourus sur le champ de bataille auraient pu laisser supposer le contraire. Ils portaient parfois des charmes pour obtenir des bienfaits ou une guérison, mais la protection concernait principalement les femmes et les enfants.

Le deuxième chapitre répertorie les formes. Fréquemment, il s'agit de matériaux organiques et d'objets trouvés par terre, soit des coquillages, des dents, des ossements d'animaux, par exemple. Il faut aussi signaler les amulettes faites de mains d'hommes, modelées pour représenter par

exemple des lunules ou des disques. Le plus connu de ces disques était probablement le mascaron de la Gorgone. Il y avait aussi des répliques de parties génitales, de gestes obscènes et d'armes. Citons en particulier la massue, métonymie d'Héraclès, qui souvent pendait aux portes des maisons, sur les oreilles et autour du cou des femmes. Considérant que les oreilles et la gorge étaient tenues pour les portes d'entrée vers l'intérieur de l'humain, exactement comme les portes qui donnent accès à l'intérieur des maisons, ces points étaient réputés vulnérables et les massues y agissaient probablement à titre de protection. On trouve aussi des représentations de phallus, de vagins, de gestes explicites (la figue, le majeur dressé...) qui constituaient des menaces implicites de violences sexuelles contre les maladies et les forces malveillantes.

Enfin au chapitre trois, F. passe en revue les matériaux portés en amulettes, surtout des métaux, des pierres et des plantes. Les matières choisies avaient une importance cruciale. Au-delà de leur rôle comme support pour un possible texte amulettique, elles avaient des propriétés intrinsèques. Pour certaines matières, le mode d'action était sonore (bronze), d'autres produisaient des odeurs âcres (ambre, jais, asphalte, soufre) et enfin, certaines imitaient les fluides humains et pouvaient parfois être réduites en poudre, puis bues (galactite, améthyste, hématite). On pouvait aussi utiliser les pierres en onguent ou, évidemment, les porter telles quelles. Porter ces matériaux sur le corps implique, dans une version réduite, le rituel concomitant. L'usage de la plupart de ces matériaux semble avoir été inspiré par le Proche-Orient.

Les deux sections suivantes concernent les transformations qui ont par la suite affecté ces amulettes. D'abord, la deuxième partie (105–173) étudie les images qui apparaissent dès la période hellénistique. Les amulettes étaient déjà considérées puissantes en elles-mêmes, de par leur matériau et leur forme, mais il s'y ajouta alors des images de divinités et de protecteurs. Le premier type de ces images apotropaïques est analysé au chapitre quatre, le type que l'auteur appelle les "figures en action." Ce sont des illustrations de personnages divins et héroïques, dépeints en plein triomphe sur l'ennemi, figés ainsi, éternellement victorieux. Ces scènes se veulent des "analogies persuasives" (106, 112): de même que le mal est banni par le dieu sur l'amulette, qu'il en soit ainsi dans la vie du porteur. Les images étudiées dans ce chapitre comportent le mauvais œil attaqué de toutes parts, le cavalier saint qui surplombe une démonsse prostrée, Apollon archer et deux types héracléens: Héraclès qui combat le lion de Némée et Héraclès enfant contre les serpents. Ces divinités combattantes sont très différentes des statues de dieux de l'époque précédente, statiques, augustes et paisibles.

L'influence provient de l'Est. Les reliefs monumentaux de souverains triomphant sur des petits seigneurs trouvés en Égypte et au Proche-Orient avaient, eux aussi, un aspect performatif.

Le chapitre cinq se concentre sur les images de divinités qui sont des “gardiens domestiques,” soit les stèles hermaïques, la Triple-Hécate, Hermès avec son sac d'argent et le dieu Panthéos. Leurs statues étaient présentes dans les maisons et les villes depuis quelques siècles, mais pour s'approprier leur pouvoir apotropaïque, ces images ont été réduites et sont devenues des amulettes pouvant être portées sur le corps. À l'époque romaine, ces images ont aussi commencé à être gravées, parfois accompagnées de mots magiques, sur des gemmes. Ces divinités apparaissent ici pour la première fois en tant que protecteurs personnels plutôt que domestiques. Elles démontrent que les habitudes épigraphiques changent.

Le chapitre six découle de la constatation qu'il y a très peu de divinités classiques grecques sur les gemmes. Ce sont plutôt des dieux égyptiens : ceux de la période pharaonique tardive et ceux de la période ptolémaïque. Ce chapitre concerne donc les images de dieux égyptiens qui ont été portées en amulettes, Harpocrate sur le lotus et Isis lactans, pour l'époque pharaonique ; Chnoubis, Harpocrate Alexandrin, Sérapis et Isis-Fortuna, pour les ptolémaïques. On y voit aussi, pour des fins de comparaison, trois déesses grecques en Asie Mineure, Aphrodite Anadyomène, Némésis de Smyrne et Artémis d'Éphèse. L'image canonique de ces dieux résultait souvent d'un syncrétisme ptolémaïque. Jusqu'à cette date on représentait ces dieux dans un format relativement grand. C'était des peintures, des statues grandeur nature, voire monumentales, ou des statuettes. Depuis maintes générations ils étaient vénérés dans les temples et les laraires, dispensant leur protection à la communauté. Puis, à la période hellénistique et romaine, leurs images ont été réduites pour être portées individuellement, repoussant maladies, cauchemars ou fantômes, attirant la grâce, la beauté ou la chance, pour chaque fidèle, personnellement.

La dernière partie du livre (177–237) culmine avec la plus importante des transformations, l'addition de textes. Ici, F. fait appel au concept d'“acte de langage.” Des paroles performatives accompagnaient généralement les amulettes, ce dont les auteurs attestent dès Homère.¹ Cependant, aux périodes anciennes, ces actes de langage s'inscrivaient dans l'oralité. Ce n'est pas avant le premier siècle EC que les amulettes seront régulièrement affublées de petits textes. Selon toutes probabilités, l'influence poussant à fixer des mots sur le matériau amulettique proviendrait encore

¹ P. ex. Hom. *Od.* 19.455–458.

une fois, de l'Est. Chez les Mésopotamiens, les Égyptiens et les juifs, la puissance de la parole écrite était depuis longtemps établie. Ce serait donc à l'imitation des scribes d'Égypte et des Orientaux que les habitants du monde romain occidental auraient voulu capter cette puissance et la poser, pour toujours, sur leurs amulettes.

Les textes inscrits se divisent en trois catégories: "les prières" (chap. 7), "les incantations" (chap. 8) et "les cadres cognitifs" (chap. 9). Les prières se définissent par le fait qu'elles invoquent un dieu pour solliciter sa protection, la guérison ou un bienfait abstrait. Elles peuvent prendre différentes formes, le plus souvent très simples et elles peuvent même être particulièrement concises, par exemple quelques voyelles, des mots magiques, un verbe à l'impératif, ou le nom d'un dieu. Il s'agit de mots qui avaient en eux-mêmes le pouvoir de chasser maladies et démons. Ainsi, les acclamations "grand est le nom du dieu" ou "le dieu subjugué" interpellait une divinité, le plus souvent protectrice, pour que soit déployée sa puissance en faveur du porteur. La nature permanente de l'invocation écrite lui conférait une valeur supérieure à la prière orale. Auparavant les détenteurs des savoirs magico-religieux, des mots de pouvoir et des noms divins cachés étaient les spécialistes rituels. Maintenant la protection est assurée en continu par ces objets.

Au chapitre huit, ce sont les incantations apotropaïques qui sont analysées. Contrairement aux prières, elles ne contiennent pas d'appel au divin. Elles sont habituellement chantées par des hommes de grand renom, parmi lesquels on peut citer David, Orphée, Épiménide et Empédocle. Il y avait en Grèce une longue tradition orale de chants métriques qui pouvaient chasser les maladies et les entités malveillantes. Les formes de ces incantations d'époque classique sont connues grâce à quelques textes: les tablettes d'or orphiques, des vers d'une incantation de protection hexamétrique gravés sur deux tablettes de plomb, une en Sicile et une autre en Crète, l'incantation de la Thessalienne Philinna contre le mal de tête,² ainsi que plusieurs témoins de deux types d'incantations conjuratoires, la "formule-*pheuge*" et les trimètres iambiques des formules d'arrêt. La transformation de ces incantations a été profonde. En passant de l'oral à l'écrit, la figure d'autorité a aussi changé. Celui qui détenait le pouvoir de chasser les forces hostiles par ses mots n'était plus le chanteur se produisant oralement, ce pouvoir résidait maintenant dans le charme en soi.

Le neuvième et dernier chapitre de cette partie, est un ouvrage que F. a vingt fois remis sur le métier. "Les cadres cognitifs des actes de langage"

² PGM XX 13–19 = *Suppl.Hell.* 900.

(“Framing Speech Acts”) renvoient à deux types d’énoncés performatifs, les *historiolae* et les exorcismes. Ces actes de langage ont la capacité d’intégrer dans une structure complexe les formules amuletiques vues précédemment, les prières et les incantations, tout en insistant sur le rôle d’un pouvoir supérieur (221). Les *historiolae* ne s’adressent pas directement aux dieux, ce sont des arguments apotropaïques, des narrations de tourments divins dont triomphe éventuellement la victime. Ainsi, de la même manière que le dieu a été guéri, le malade humain sera guéri. Les *historiolae* grecques plus anciennes étaient des hexamètres récités oralement, mais à la période romaine, on voit apparaître ces actes de langage sur les amulettes. Ils ont entre temps perdu leur forme versifiée, mais ce sont encore des mots puissants pour agir sur la maladie.

Concernant l’exorcisme, F. en donne une définition qu’il qualifie lui-même d’étroite. Littéralement et étymologiquement, exorciser signifie “to adjure (i.e., a demon) out” (222). L’élément *horkizein* implique inéluctablement un serment. Dans le monde grec, cette pratique résulte d’une influence juive, mais elle tire aussi son origine des performances orales traditionnelles visant à guérir les maladies spasmodiques.³ L’acte et non l’objet, conditionne la définition de l’exorcisme. En effet, la maladie peut être l’objet d’un exorcisme en bonne et due forme si elle agit comme un démon. Les fièvres, les tumeurs ou même les utérus turbulents sont interrogés, mis sous serment, puis sortent, ayant été exorcisés. Mais, d’un autre côté, la nécessité absolue du serment et du recours à une autorité suprahumaine fait dire à l’auteur que Jésus n’était pas un exorciste. Il a chassé des démons en appliquant des formules semblables à la formule-*pheuge*, certes, mais formellement il s’agit d’incantations et non d’exorcismes. En fait, cette définition d’exorcisme semble trop étroite.

Le chapitre dix, la conclusion, fait la somme de l’immense quantité de données et d’arguments présentés, tout en ouvrant quelques pistes de réflexion. L’introduction de textes sur les amulettes est la plus importante des innovations étudiées. Elle traduit un mouvement de l’éphémère vers le durable. Les inscriptions rendent permanents des actes de langage jusqu’alors oraux et en font des objets tangibles. Cette transformation entraîne une réflexion sur les acteurs sociaux qui produisaient et qui portaient les

³ F. explique la pertinence des performances orales contre les maladies spasmodiques en détail dans, e.a.: “Magical and Medical Approaches to the Wandering Womb in the Ancient Greek World,” *ClAnt* 30 (2011) 1–32, en part. 9–11 et “Magic and Medicine in the Roman Imperial Period: Two Case Studies,” dans G. Bohak, Y. Harari et S. Shaked (éds.), *Continuity and Innovation in the Magical Tradition* (Leyde 2011) 135–157, en part. 137–139.

amulettes. On assiste à l'émergence d'un type de professionnels qui possédaient des manuels de magie et qui avaient tout intérêt à encadrer les rituels traditionnels avec une structure plus complexe pour en tirer profit. Toutefois, les papyrus magiques donnent la fausse impression que ces marginaux et ces étrangers étaient devenus la norme, or ils n'avaient pas fait disparaître les fournisseurs locaux quotidiens, les femmes âgées, les nourrices, les artisans ou les scribes. L'étude de F., en portant attention au périmètre protégé par les amulettes, montre aussi un changement dans les valeurs sociales. Alors qu'à l'époque préromaine, les motifs et objets apotropaïques s'affichaient souvent aux portes de la ville ou à l'entrée de la maison familiale, à l'époque impériale, c'est au cou des individus que s'attachent les amulettes, favorisant le bonheur personnel.

En conclusion, ce livre est un incontournable pour tout amateur de religion et de magie gréco-romaine. Il se lit avantagement de la première à la dernière page. Sa structure est claire et son argumentation solidement appuyée par une abondance d'exemples, en plus d'une centaine d'images. L'auteur fait la part belle aux continuités et aux legs grecs, mais il retrace aussi consciencieusement les antécédents proches-orientaux des pratiques et des textes qu'il expose. Il tempère l'influence de l'Égypte, surévaluée à cause des papyrus magiques. De plus, il y a neuf appendices contenant les traductions de recettes magiques préservées dans des manuels et traités anciens. Rappelons pour finir que l'auteur avait souligné dans sa préface le risque que représentait une étude couvrant ainsi plusieurs domaines. Il est évidemment impossible pour quiconque de maîtriser la littérature, la papyrologie et l'histoire de l'art tout à la fois. Or il s'en est sorti avec brio, entre autres grâce à l'inclusion de notes détaillées et d'une bibliographie très étendue.

Chloé Ragazzoli, Ömür Harmanşah, Chiara Salvador, and Elizabeth Frood (eds.), *Scribbling through History: Graffiti, Places and People from Antiquity to Modernity*. London: Bloomsbury, 2018. xiii + 244 pages. ISBN 978-1-4742-8883-5.

Ancient graffiti have for a long time been neglected in epigraphy. Compared with the more formal inscriptions they usually dealt with, epigraphers treated them as inferior scribbles by the masses, hardly worthy of note, and as acts of vandalism defacing monuments. Research in the last few decades has demolished such biases, and an increasing number of scholars have taken graffiti seriously as a rich source of evidence for individual expression in the ancient world. Key in these studies has been an emphasis on “context”: the relations between graffiti and between texts and images, the performative value and materiality of graffiti, and their placement in a specific socio-cultural context.¹ Based on a conference held at Oxford in 2013, the current volume builds on this recent research, casting the net even wider by including graffiti specialists from a wide variety of cultures, from New Kingdom Egypt to contemporary Turkey. The twelve papers are divided into three sections, the first dealing with graffiti within landscapes, the second more specifically focusing on walls and/or buildings in which they are found, and the third on their relationship with the written page.

After a stimulating introduction, the first section opens with a paper by C. Ragazzoli on the ca. 70 graffiti from the so-called “Scribe’s Cave” at Deir el-Bahari. This is actually an unfinished tomb (ca. 2000 BCE) that was later visited by personnel from the temple of Hatshepsut at the beginning of the 18th dynasty (ca. 1500 BCE).² They mostly refer to themselves as “scribes,” visited in groups (as appears from the texts signed by multiple hands), and left hieroglyphic and hieratic texts as well as figures presumably on the occasion of festivals, although these pious occasions apparently did not prevent them from also leaving two erotic figures. We fast-forward to Christian Egypt with the paper by A. Delattre, who discusses three groups of Coptic graffiti from Western Thebes.³ The first two are five graffiti left by Paternoute (middle of seventh century) and four by Horsiesios (first half of eighth century) at a crossroads, which illustrate

¹ See, e.g., J.A. Baird and C. Taylor (eds.), *Ancient Graffiti in Context* (London 2011), esp. the introduction by the editors on pp. 1–19.

² For a full study, see in more detail her *La grotte des scribes à Deir el-Bahari: la tombe MMA 504 et ses graffiti* (Cairo 2017).

³ See on this paper also *CEN* 6.33 in *BASP* 56 (2019) 314–315.

their rise in the ecclesiastical hierarchy (respectively from reader to deacon and from deacon to priest). The third group are six graffiti incised by Papa John of Titkooh (sixth/seventh century) in various places. John also seems to have written other graffiti, such as for another man from Middle Egypt, suggesting that he was travelling in a group, which again indicates that incising graffiti was often a group activity. Ö. Harmanşah brings us to late Bronze Age (fourteenth-thirteenth century BCE) rock inscriptions from western Anatolia and includes some interesting observations on the situation of these monuments within the landscape. Under the catchy title “Tweets from Antiquity,” M.C.A. Macdonald introduces us to the Safaitic graffiti from the Syro-Arabian deserts (first century BCE-fourth century CE), which can in majority be considered as pastime activities by nomads and contrast with the more formulaic Nabataean graffiti of people from settled areas. The last paper in this section, by C. Gruber, discusses the graffiti left by demonstrators at Gezi Park, Istanbul, in 2013.

Section two opens with a paper on the graffiti from Pompeii by R.R. Benefiel. There are over 11,000 such graffiti, and the author highlights three characteristic categories, gladiator graffiti, greetings, and poetry. With E. Olton’s paper we move on to the Maya city of Tikal (Guatemala, ca. 600–800 CE), where some figural graffiti have been found in room 9 of Maler’s Palace on the Central Acropolis. The author interprets the divergent depiction of the “Ruler and Protector” theme in these figures as an attempt to satirize divine rule, but it could just as well be the result of the different medium used, and other interpretations are equally possible. With H. Navratilova’s paper, we return to New Kingdom Egypt, here surveying the graffiti of visitors to the pyramid complexes of Memphis, which are particularly concentrated in the 18th dynasty (ca. 1543–1292 BCE). It can be noted that, as Ragazzoli before her (pp. 25–26), the author (pp. 132–133) adopts a strict definition of “visitors’ graffiti” as applying to visitors, often scribes, to funerary monuments of New Kingdom date. However, epigraphers working in later periods often use this term for graffiti left by visitors at any kind of monument, including temples.⁴ A bit more discussion of the terminology could have clarified this discrepancy. The last paper in this section by K. Stern gives a neat overview of Jewish graffiti at the necropolis of Beit Shearim, in particular Catacomb 20 (second to sixth centuries CE). She convincingly demonstrates that these graffiti “are not incidental, random, or careless, but deliberate and potent; they constituted acts

⁴ See, e.g., A. Łajtar, *Deir el-Bahari in the Hellenistic and Roman Periods: A Study of an Egyptian Temple Based on Greek Sources* (Warsaw 2006), with my review in *BASP* 46 (2009) 281–286.

of commemoration, architectural modification and spatial appropriation, deliberately enacted by Jews in the late ancient Mediterranean” (p. 146).⁵

In section three, “Graffiti and the written page,” G. Dudbridge illustrates how verses inscribed on the walls of hostels in medieval China (cf. those on the Pompeian walls) made it into notebooks and then survived in transmission. The last two papers compare graffiti with marginal annotations in medieval manuscripts (J. Rogers) and annotations in contemporary social book platforms (M. Jahjah), although the merit of such comparisons remains somewhat implicit.

The advantage of this book is that it brings together specialists from so many backgrounds reflecting together, and from multiple angles, on a common theme. It offers an excellent introduction to, and many astute observations on, the issues and methodologies involved in studying ancient (and modern) graffiti and is thus recommended to anyone working on this fascinating category of evidence.

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⁵ See now her *Writing on the Wall: Graffiti and the Forgotten Jews of Antiquity* (Princeton 2018), esp. the thought-provoking introduction on pp. 1–34.

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